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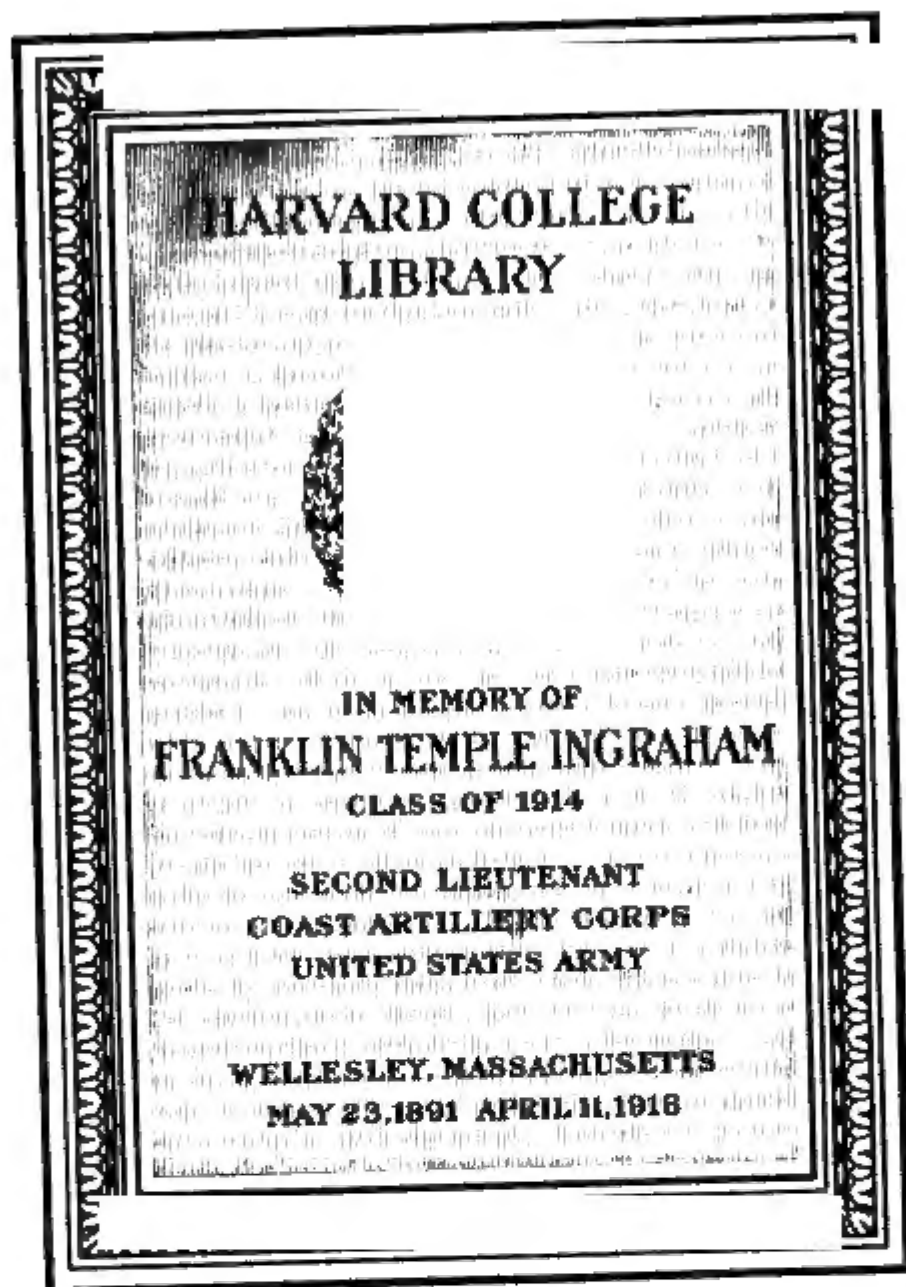
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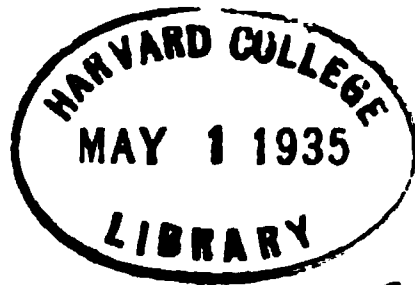
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JULY, 1832.

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ART. I.—*Souvenirs sur Mirabeau et sur les deux premières Assemblées Législatives.* Par Etienne Dumont, de Genève. London. Bull. 1832. 8vo. pp. 342.

ALL the world is exclaiming that this is one of the most interesting and instructive volumes which has ever been presented to their notice. Whig and Tory—Conservative and Radical—all join in the general chorus of encomium. Even the revolutionary press has had the candour to invite the public attention to it, although it teaches some lessons that might well cause the Genius of Revolution to cower “like a guilty thing,” and to shrink back to its native darkness. It is, however, impossible to be surprised at this unanimity of praise. In the first place, the period to which the volume relates is one of intense and tremendous interest: secondly, the principal figure in the group which it exhibits was among the most extraordinary specimens of human nature which the world has ever looked upon: thirdly, the artist who has executed these vigorous sketches is a person eminent alike for his talents and his virtues: and, lastly, the volume derives an unspeakable charm, even from its unfinished character; for it rather resembles a collection of masterly fragments than a complete work; and the mind is consequently relieved from the weariness, which is apt to steal over flesh and spirit, in toiling through a formal treatise or a regular and solemn history.

A word or two respecting the author, before we proceed to the book itself. Mr. Dumont was a native of Geneva. His original profession was the Church, and when very young he succeeded in fixing his reputation as a powerful preacher. In 1783 he visited Petersburg, where certain individuals of his family were then established; and, during a residence of eighteen months, acquired the regard of all who knew him, by the activity of his

mind and the elevation of his principles. In 1783, he left Petersburgh for London, where he became attached to Lord Shelburne, then prime minister. His first connection with that nobleman was in the character of tutor to his son; and, in that office, he speedily entitled himself to the confidence and friendship of his patron. It was at this period that he became acquainted with Fox, and Sheridan, and Lord Holland, and many other of the most illustrious men in England; of whom Sir S. Romilly seems to have stood foremost in his esteem and admiration.

It was in 1788 that he first became personally known to Mirabeau, during a short residence at Paris with Sir S. Romilly, already his intimate friend. On his return from that excursion, he formed an intimacy with the renowned Jeremy Bentham, with whose speculations he was so deeply captivated, that he devoted the greater portion of his life to the labour of interpreting to mankind, the somewhat oracular utterances of that Lycophron of Jurisprudence.

In 1789, Mr. Dumont was tempted back to Paris, by the return of Mr. Necker to the administration; an event which held out some prospect of the restoration of her lost independence to the Republic of Geneva. When once he was in the French capital, he found that events were in progress there, of such stupendous interest, that he was unable to deny himself the pleasure of hovering near their line of march. He speedily renewed his connection with Mirabeau, and became his secret and confidential auxiliary, both in the composition of his writings and the advancement of his projects. But the office of *doer* (*faiseur*) to that turbulent politician, threatened at last to force him into a painful and rather inglorious notoriety; and, for this reason, he returned, after some time, to England; and plunged once more into the enchanting labyrinth of Mr. Bentham's meditations.

In 1814, the restoration of Geneva recalled him to his country, which, from that time to the hour of his death, he never quitted for any considerable interval. He there merited the gratitude of his countrymen by the dedication of his talents to their interests; and won the attachment of all to whom he was known by the goodness of his heart, the energy of his benevolence, and the superiority of his attainments and abilities. His death took place in 1829, during an excursion of pleasure in the North of Italy.

Previously to the appearance of this work, Mr. Dumont had been principally known as the apostle of Mr. Bentham. It so happens, however, that the missionary has departed this world before the prophet; but, it appears that he has left behind him

various writings in manuscript, dictated, not by a love of literary renown, but chiefly by his zealous desire to put the world in complete possession of the discoveries and revelations of his venerated master. Of these compositions, no part is, at present, (according to the judgment of the editor, Mr. Duval,) in a condition to be presented to the public. It has therefore been thought advisable to select from his posthumous works the present volume, for immediate publication; both, because it was less in need of revision than the rest, and because it exhibits the powers of the deceased as an original writer. Mr. Dumont appears before us now—not as the interpreter of Jeremy Bentham—but as the sagacious and philosophic observer of great events, and over-ruling characters. In his other writings, his own labours are so mixed up with those which it was his purpose to illustrate, that it would be impossible to separate his fame, as a *Publicist*, from that of his great original. But, here, he steps forward in a character which raises our regret that a larger portion of his time was not devoted to some more independent walk of literature.

We now hasten to the volume before us. It consists entirely of *Reminiscences*. The author is incessantly regretting that he omitted, while he was on the spot, to detain and perpetuate a multitude of fleeting facts and circumstances, highly interesting in themselves, but, apparently, of slight importance, as they were hurrying onward in the tumultuous procession of mighty events. Had he but preserved minute and written notices of every thing that was passing before his eyes, he might have enriched the world with a representation of those fearful times, which would have united all the charms both of picturesque and philosophical interest. As it is—he complains—he has little to offer but a collection of confused remembrances. He sat down to his work at the importunity of his friends; and soon found himself engaged in the task of recalling the lineaments of a fierce and vexatious dream, which had long past away—but which, fortunately, had left traces too deep to be ever obliterated from his memory. His narrative begins with the year 1789, the period at which he visited Paris together with his friend Duroverai, ancient Procurator-General of Geneva, for the purpose of deriving advantage to his country from Mr. Necker's re-establishment in the ministry: but before his plunge into the midst of affairs, he introduces a few brief notices respecting the previous life and habits of Mirabeau. It appears that this strange man had been in London in 1784, and had there become intimate with Romilly. At that time his only trade was literature; his pen was the only instrument he had, whereby to work his way in the world, or even to win his daily bread. But never was adventurer more indefa-



tigable, more enterprising, or less fastidious. Nothing came amiss to him. No matter whether he knew any thing of his subject or not; to work he went. To study a thing, and to write upon it, were, with him, one and the same process; and nothing could be more surprising than the dimensions to which all literary projects would suddenly swell, the moment he laid his hand upon them. He got acquainted with a geographer—and, immediately, the outline of a Universal Geography was spread out before his mental vision. If any one had proposed to him the elements of a Chinese Grammar, the design would instantly have expanded into a comprehensive treatise on that language. A sufficient *honorarium* would easily have engaged him in the compilation of an Encyclopædia; and if he did but little of what he undertook, by his own personal labour, he had a wonderful, and almost magic facility, in appropriating the labours of other men. Though his patience of mere drudgery was small, his activity was immense. He was incessant in his inquiries among people who could furnish him with information. He was wonderfully sagacious in *unearthing* hidden talents. Where he did not work himself, he contrived to make other people work with a vengeance. He could surround himself with under-labourers, whom he brought into subservience by the arts of flattery, by professions of personal friendship, and by an appeal to all the motives of public spirit. The men thus employed were the carpenters, the hod-bearers, and the masons; but Mirabeau alone was the architect. His conversation was a perfect whetstone, which gave the keenest edge to the tools he employed. Nothing was ever lost by him. Anecdotes—conversations—thoughts—all were carefully laid up in his capacious repository. He made the reading and the studies of his friends completely his own; and he managed so to use his most recent acquisitions, as to give the impression that he had never been without them. And by these means it was that any work which he undertook advanced, under his hands, with astonishing rapidity towards its completion. It was as if one could see a tree growing visibly, day by day, and almost hour by hour, to its full dimensions. By these accomplishments and fascinations he secured the services of Mr. Dumont. No sooner did he find that this gentleman might be made useful to him, than he began to say all manner of handsome things of his friends, and, above all, to talk to him about Geneva. “This,” says Mr. Dumont, “was a sort of *Ranz des Vaches* to me!—and thus it was that I was first mollified, and then subjugated.”

In 1788, when Dumont and Romilly arrived in Paris, the personal character of Count Mirabeau was at the lowest possible discount. His litigations with his own family—his familiarity with

the inside of prisons—his licentious manners—his abductions of women—all these were too much even for the accommodating morals of the good city of Paris. His name was pronounced with scorn in all respectable families. Romilly began to be ashamed of him, and had resolved to have nothing to do with him. But Mirabeau was not to be shaken off. He was not a man of punctilio. He found out their lodging; and one day a carriage was heard rolling to the door. Romilly retired to his chamber; and, immediately after, Count Mirabeau was announced. He immediately began to converse with Dumont about Geneva—the mother of so many distinguished men!—and to protest that he never should be happy until he could be instrumental to the restoration of her liberties. There was no resisting this. Two hours glided away like a single moment; and, in the eyes of Dumont, every thing interesting in Paris was concentrated in the person of Count Mirabeau! “With whom, in the name of wonder,” said Romilly, issuing from his imprisonment, when the visitor was gone—“with whom is it that you have been conversing this tedious length of time?”—“It is one you are well acquainted with, and, surely, you must have overheard an Eloge, of which you were the subject, and which might make a superb funeral oration.”—“What Mirabeau!”—“Even Mirabeau—and I am this day going to dine with him!” The Count himself soon returned, and carried off the pliant Genevan and the saturnine Englishman in triumph. All prejudice vanished. The triumvirate were perpetually together; the *belle saison* was diversified with parties of pleasure; they dined together at the Bois de Boulogne—at St. Cloud—at Vincennes; at which last place, a part of the entertainment of the day was a visit to the dungeon in which the Count once had the honour to be incarcerated for three years!

The colloquial fascinations of this extraordinary man, appear to have been of the very highest order. He broke down all the conventional impediments by which men are kept at a convenient distance from each other. He came, at once, into contact with his companions. And yet, under the disguise of an abrupt and blunt familiarity, he would conceal the most consummate artifices of flattery and politeness. Nothing could be more animating than the transition, from the flat and smooth surface of common-place society, to the sharpness and roughness of the coin, fresh from the mintage of Mirabeau. He was then, too, full of curious anecdotes, gathered in his residence at Berlin, where he had resided a short time; and had signalized his return by the publication of a work on the Prussian Monarchy in *eight volumes*, in which every thing was collected which related to the

administration of the kingdom. The ministers of Prussia must have been thunderstruck to see themselves furnished with more ample materials than they could find in the Bureaux of their own respective departments; and this, too, by a man who was only a few months among them, and had done nothing, to all appearance, but show himself in society. But, as usual, Mirabeau was only the architect. The joinery and masonry were executed by Major Mauvillon, an officer whose serviceable, but unknown talents, the Count had honoured with his confidence, and, moreover, with all the drudgery of the compilation!

The reputation of Mirabeau as a writer was at this time rapidly advancing. There was scarcely a subject of much popular interest which he did not turn into fame and profit. Romilly had addressed a letter to a friend on the horrors of the Salpêtrière and Bicêtre. Mirabeau soon got hold of it. To translate and publish it was the affair of a single day; and that it might form a little volume, he joined with it the version of an anonymous pamphlet on the administration of penal law in England. The whole was announced as a translation from the English by Count M., but the public insisted on giving him full credit for the original authorship. The sale was accordingly rapid, and the profit covered his expenses for a whole month! He published on banking—on stock-jobbing—on the order of Cincinnatus, &c. &c. He *published*—but if all the *writers* had claimed their share, there would have been left for Mirabeau little, but the skilful combination—the bold touches—the biting epigrams—and the occasional flashes of masculine eloquence, very different from that of the French Academy! At one time the underlings began to rebel. But it was all in vain. The Count's reputation was now too firmly established to be assailed by the murmurs of the operatives. Besides, they had, after all, but little reason to complain. But for his parental offices, their obscure labours would never have seen the sun; or, if they had, they would, probably, have perished almost as soon as born, for want of the principle of life and vigour which he alone could impart to them.

During these two months Dumont lived *more*, than during whole years of the rest of his life. Just before his departure, Mirabeau put into his hand a list of literary articles, with which he gravely expected his friend to furnish him soon after his arrival in England. Their number was no less than eighteen! This was an instance of his insatiable avarice of materials for future reproduction. He would have desired no better—says Mr. Dumont—than to be the *Bureau d'adresse* of the whole universe. So much for his mere intellectual powers, as hitherto

developed and displayed. His moral peculiarities were scarcely less perplexing and anomalous. If we may trust the author of these memoirs, he was the votary of vice, and the idolater of virtue. He was one of the most profligate men of his age; but, nevertheless, he had a decided predilection for men of rigorous principles, and of manners directly opposite to his own. Whether this is to be ascribed to his love of contrast—to a relish for *antithesis*, extended even to morals—or whether it was the effect of a certain native elevation of mind, it may not be very easy to decide. His friend is disposed to ascribe it to the more noble cause. He fancied that he could discern in Mirabeau, through the disguise of his vices, a vigour and dignity of character, which plainly distinguished him from all those featureless persons—those mere shadows and apparitions—which then flitted about in Parisian society: in short, that his virtues were his own, and his defects borrowed or adopted from other men. At the same time he confesses, that the exalted feelings of honour, which were so active within him, were impulses rather than principles; and that there was nothing in him uniform or sustained. His movements, (if we may venture to supply an illustration,) were like those of the kangaroo. It seemed as if his mind was incapable of the ordinary *paces* of mortal men, and could only go forward by prodigious leaps and bounds. In addition to all this irregularity, his passions were absolutely terrific. He burned with pride. He was devoured by jealousy. His aberrations were so wild and impetuous, that he often lost all knowledge or recollection of himself.

In 1789 Dumont returned to Paris. His recollections of all he saw and heard at that period present him with nothing but a chaos of confused opinions. Necker was the divinity of the moment. Sieyes, at that time little known, was, nevertheless, the prompter of all who were impatient to speak on public affairs. Rabaud de St. Etienne and Target were at least on a level with Sieyes in reputation. La Fayette, with his head full of America, was thought to be ambitious of becoming the Washington of France. The house of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld was the point of union for all the nobility who were favourable to popular measures, and the abandonment of privileges. Those of the noblesse who were desirous of preserving the ancient constitution of the States-General, formed the aristocratic party, and were the objects of outrageous invective. Still, though the noise was loud, the individuals who made it were comparatively few. The great body of the nation, even at Paris, looked forward to the States-General *merely as an instrument for the diminution of taxes*. The creditors of the state considered them

solely as a rampart against bankruptcy: they had often suffered bitterly from the breach of the public faith; the *deficit* made them tremble; and they were glad of any hopeful expedient for placing the finance of the country on a footing of stability. In other respects, the diversity of views was endless. The *Noblesse* had, within their own pale, an *Aristocracy* and a *Democracy*—so had the Church—and so likewise had the *Tiers-Etat*. “It is impossible,” says Mr. Dumont, “to paint the confusion of ideas—the derangement of imaginations—the downright burlesque of popular notions—the fears—the hopes—the passions of all parties.” Any one would have imagined, (as the Count de Laraguais observed,) that he was looking on the world the day after the creation; that hostile and divided colonies were adjusting their allotments, just as if nothing had ever existed before them; and that the past was to go for nothing in making arrangements for the future!

The *French* names introduced above will remind the reader that this picture represents the state of things at the commencement of the *French* revolution. If those names had been omitted, he might have been in danger of fancying that he was reading a description of certain matters much more recent, and much nearer home!

When the States General were opened, the first thing they did was to quarrel about the verification of their powers. The *Tiers-Etat* insisted that it should be done in common; the two Orders that it should be done separately. The question was trifling in appearance; but, in its tendency, of immense importance. The *Tiers-Etat* was resolved, that they and the two orders should form one general Assembly, in which their own preponderance was certain, and the influence of all other parties would be inevitably *swamped*. Upon this object, therefore, they fixed from the very outset. This was a prey which nothing could rend from their jaws; and the nobility and clergy incurred contempt as well as hatred by their powerless efforts to take it from them.

Mr. Dumont very justly remarks, that the omission to settle this question, before the actual assembling of the States, was one of the most fatal blunders of the ministry. If the King had decided for the union of the Orders, he would have secured the *Tiers-Etat*; had he pronounced for the separation of the chambers, he would have lost the *Tiers-Etat* indeed, but he would have gained the Nobles and the Church. But whatever might have been his decision, it would have been obeyed; for no one would have thought of commencing the session of the States by an act of resistance to the King, who was then regarded as the provisional legislator. He left the question undecided, and thus



threw open the lists to the combatants, with the certain issue that the royal authority would become the spoil of the conqueror. The interval of inaction occasioned by this controversy, was, beyond measure, pernicious. The flames of party spirit grew fiercer every moment. The third Estate advanced daily from strength to strength; and at last felt themselves powerful enough to send a peremptory summons to the two Orders, and, on their refusal, to constitute themselves a National Assembly. The germs of confusion were prodigally scattered, and rapidly took root, during this miserable *interregnum*. The epoch, says Mr. Dumont, is one which is worthy of the deepest attention of the *historian*. Alas! for the ignorance or inadvertence of the man! Had he not learned, or had he forgotten, that history is of no more value than Moore's Almanac, and that the annals of past times are fit only to repose with the reveries of Albumazar or Messahalab?

Before we proceed with Count Mirabeau, it may be as well to introduce here some description of his personal appearance. He was of a large, robust figure. His features were strongly and coarsely marked, and his face actually *riddled* with the small pox. But he was proud of his very deformity. He imagined that there was something irresistibly commanding in it. "People do not know," he would say, "the power of my ugliness." His toilet was, evermore, an affair of the gravest importance. His head of hair was enormous, and was always most scientifically arranged, so as formidably to augment the volume of his head; and, when thus prepared and fitted out, Olympian Pericles was not worthy to be compared to him. "Whenever I shake my terrific locks," he said, "there lives not the mortal that would dare to interrupt me." He would studiously place himself before a large mirror while he was speaking, in order that he might have the satisfaction of contemplating the majestic dignity of his own demeanour—throwing back his head, and squaring his shoulders in the attitude of defiance. He seemed to derive an additional inspiration from the sight of his own image. Nay, he was elevated and enchanted with the very sound of his own name, and would often frame imaginary dialogues, in which he himself was always introduced, as a speaker, with these words: "Le Comte de Mirabeau vous repondra," &c. &c.

Such was the curious mortal who was soon to appear as the mightiest orator of France. His first appearance in the great national *club* was anything but gratifying. When the *appel nominal* was made, his name was, positively, received with yells and hootings. The explosion of insult and contempt was such as would have destroyed any man but Mirabeau. Such was his in-

famous celebrity, that, in the Assembly, they spoke openly of quashing his election, when they came to the verification of their powers. He attempted to speak on three occasions, but the murmurs were so loud and general that even he was silenced. However, if he could not get a hearing *there*, he knew that he was sure of one elsewhere; and so he, incontinently, published a journal, under the title of the *States-General*, in which he mercilessly caricatured the whole Assembly—compared the deputies to a pack of schoolboys, unkenned for the holidays—gibbeted Necker, the idol of the nation—and overwhelmed the government and the legislators with a volley of epigrams. The anonymous sheets were soon suppressed by authority; but this only made matters worse. Mirabeau was rather animated than dejected by this arbitrary proceeding, and, instantly, came forth, in person, with a letter to his constituents. He thus placed himself in a position perfectly unassailable; for who would dare to question the right of a representative to render an account to the people of the public proceedings of *their* Assembly?

His exasperation, at this period, was absolutely furious. He protested that he was the victim of a sort of *ostracism* against talents!—but he vowed that he would throw a weight into the balance which should make his persecutors feel how light they were. Dumont spared no pains to lower these inflammatory symptoms. He had influence enough to persuade him to re-cast entirely the draft he had prepared of the letter to his constituents, and to give it a tone of greater moderation; and he wrung from him a promise that he would abstain from forcing himself upon the Assembly—that he would suffer all the half-talents and half-reputations to find their level—and would wait for some occasion of speaking, which might be worthy of his powers. Soon after this, he was introduced to Necker, with a view to his admission to office. From this conference he came forth with no feelings of *idolatry*. He said that it would be doing great wrong to the minister to suspect him either of malice of heart, or depth of understanding. The interview, however, was not wholly fruitless. It opened to him the glimpse of an embassy to Constantinople. He was delighted with the proposal at the time. It not only gratified his self-importance, but it awakened, in a moment, his passion for gigantic literary adventure. The very thought of the “turbaned Turks” raised up in his mind the project of an—*Ottoman Encyclopædia*! But the subsequent turn of affairs, and the vast ascendancy of Mirabeau, soon raised him far above an embassy, and placed him in a condition to dictate stipulations rather than to receive them.

It should be noticed, that his first triumph in the Assembly had

taken place previously to this conference. The following was the occasion of it. A note, written with a pencil, had been handed over to Mirabeau from Duroverai, who was seated in the hall, as a stranger, during a debate. This attracted the notice of a Mr. M. . . . , then one of the most terrible fulminators in the Assembly. He immediately denounced the insolence of the exile—the refugee—the pensionary of England—who had dared to intrude himself into their deliberations. The cry was instantly heard,—“Where is he? who is he? he must be made known!” Fifty voices were clamouring at the same moment. But the voice of Mirabeau was more powerful and penetrating than all. It might be said, with prosaic truth, that he, *τόσον ἀυδήσασκ' ὅσον ἄλλοι ποντήκοντα*. He declared that he rose for the purpose of pointing out to them the stranger they were looking for, and denouncing him to the Assembly. And then, after a few preliminary sentences, he pointed to Duroverai, and proceeded—

“This stranger, this proscribed exile, this refugee, this pensionary of the king of England, is one of the most estimable citizens now living upon earth. Never had liberty a defender more enlightened, more laborious, or more nobly disinterested. Well has he merited the hatred of aristocrats!—and, at this moment, he is involved in the proscription which aristocrats have caused to issue forth from the destroyers of the liberty of his country. And then, his pension from England!—what is it but a sort of civic crown, placed on his brows by the hand of a generous people, who seem to have been smitten with the sacred love of freedom by the tutelary genius of the human race? This is the stranger—this the exile—whom I have heard denounced by the voice of Frenchmen! The time has been, when the unfortunate could embrace the altar, and find there an inviolable refuge from the fury of the wicked and the merciless. This very hall has been consecrated to liberty in the name of the French people. Will you then endure that the martyr of liberty should receive an outrage, or an insult, within its walls?”\*

The effect of this glorious burst was perfectly electrical. The hall echoed with acclamations of applause. Nothing of similar elevation and dignity had been heard in “the tumultuous prelusions of the commons.” It was a new sensation. It was the triumph of that eloquence whose magic pervades all great assemblies. In a moment after, Duroverai was surrounded and thronged by deputies impatient to atone for the affront he had endured. Poor Dumont, who was present, and had been frozen with terror when he saw his countryman threatened with exposure, was now almost beside himself with transport. He saw in the occurrence a pledge of the restoration of his country. He hailed the esta-

\* The passage is given at greater length by Mr. Dumont; but the above are the points of it.

blishment of Mirabeau's ascendancy, which—as he hoped (good easy man!)—would be beyond measure beneficial to the cause of rational liberty. “And if,” he exclaims, “if Mirabeau *had* always served the public in the same spirit in which he now served his friend—if he had always put forth the same noble courage, and the same generous zeal, to silence the calumnies which perpetually disgraced the tribune—he might have been the saviour of France!”

It is impossible, here, to resist the temptation to introduce a circumstance which occurred about this period, and which beautifully indicated the *genuine* humanity and patriotism that impelled the choice spirits of that tempestuous time. The Bishop of Aix was deputed by the Clergy to the Commons to propose a conference. He appeared, accordingly; and having made a pathetic representation of the miseries of the rural population, he seconded his eloquence by the production of a fragment of coarse black bread, “that beasts would cough at,” and which, nevertheless, was the sole diet to which the poor were now reduced. He then besought the Commons to send some of their deputies to confer with those of the Clergy and the Nobles, on the means of assuaging these calamities. The Commons, however, were inflexibly resolved to decline any proceeding which should seem to recognise, for a moment, the existence of the two Orders as a separate assembly; and yet they were unwilling to compromise themselves, in the eyes of the people, by the direct repulse of so charitable a proposal. To manage this matter, required some address. But it was accomplished with signal success by a deputy who, after expressing his sympathy with the distresses of the indigent, spoke as follows:

- “Go,” said he to the Prelate, “go back to your colleagues; and if they are impatient to relieve the sufferings of the people, return with them to join the friends of the people, in this hall. Tell them not to retard our operations with their studied artifices of delay: or rather, ye ministers of religion,—worthy imitators of your Master—renounce the luxury that surrounds you; resume the modesty of your origin; dismiss the insolent lacqueys that attend you; sell your superb equipages; and convert these worthless superfluities into sustenance for the poor.”

This was admirably adapted to the passions of the moment; and the speaker was rewarded, not with loud applause, but with a deep and awful murmur, still more animating. And who—(does the reader imagine)—was this friend of his suffering species—this apostle of humanity, that cried out, “*To what purpose is this waste?*”—It was one who was well worthy to rank with the original author of that exclamation—it was one who, in three short years, was to deluge Paris with blood, and whose name was to make all

France tremble from one end of it to the other—it was the execrable and fiend-like Robespierre. Surely we may venture to exclaim, *He that hath ears to hear let him hear!*

But the instruction that rushes upon us, in these pages, is bewildering by its abundance. We have, here, a short but interesting notice of Sieyes—reserved, abstracted, and inflexible; one whom it was scarcely possible to bring within the precincts of familiarity; who spoke his thought once, and when he had dropped his word, appeared careless whether any one was minded to pick it up. If objection was made, he answered not; and scarcely any thing could provoke him to discussion. As a writer, his reputation was great. He was the oracle of the *Tiers-Etat*—the most formidable enemy of privileges—and the bitterest scorner of the actual order of society.

“I had believed,” says Dumont, with singular naïveté, “that this friend of liberty must love the English. Here, at least, I thought myself on sure ground with him. But to my surprise I found, that the whole constitution of England appeared to him no better than a mere quackery, contrived for the purpose of imposing upon the people. I spoke to him of the modifications peculiar to this system—of its reciprocal compromises—its disguised restraints—the mutual dependence, concealed indeed, but not less real, of the three branches which constitute the legislature. I could easily perceive that he listened to all this with sentiments of pity; and that all influence of the Crown was, in his judgment, just so much venality—all opposition to it, merely a farcical intrigue of the antechamber (*manège d’antichambre*). The only thing he admired in England, was the trial by jury; and even this he egregiously misunderstood; and, like all other Frenchmen, formed the most false conceptions of it. In a word, it was clear that he regarded the English as mere *children* in the art of government and constitution-making; and he believed that he, himself, was able to provide France with a much superior scheme.”

Politics, indeed, formed a science which he was persuaded that he had completely mastered; the surest sign, says Dumont, of his profound ignorance. But where is the spirit of Sieyes now? Is it in the paradise of folly?—in the region of “transitory things—abortive, monstrous, and unkindly mixed?” Alas! Alas! it would seem as if it were wandering over Europe with a fresh commission of mischief; and had recently visited the land of political “*childhood*,” for the *benevolent* purpose of teaching it the art of making constitutions.

And here, too, we have the Bishop of Chartres, a very different character from his Grand-Vicar Sieyes; an amiable, benevolent, unsuspecting, Christian man. He was honestly persuaded that the *Tiers-Etat* could have no other earthly object but to reform abuses, and to do good. Pure in his intentions, a total stranger

to intrigue, he followed only his conscience, and acted in strict conformity to his sense of duty. His religion, like his politics, was sincere but tolerant, and he rejoiced to see the Protestants relieved from all restraint. He foresaw that great sacrifices would be exacted of the Clergy, but he never dreamed that they would be the victims of the revolution. *Shortly after, the goods of the Church were declared the property of the nation.* At that period, Dumont found him one day in tears, dismissing his domestics, reducing his hospitable establishment, and selling his more precious effects for the payment of his debts. His regrets were not for himself personally. But his self-accusation was bitter for suffering himself to be deceived, and for having embraced the interests of the *Tiers-Etat*, which had violated, in the season of its strength, all the engagements it had taken in the day of its weakness. Melancholy, indeed, it was, for such a man to have contributed to the success of a party so iniquitous! But never did there live a human being with less cause for self-reproach.

But we must return to Mirabeau. A month had now passed, and the two orders still refused to assemble in the same hall with the *Tiers-Etat*. Their firmness obtained for them the name of *aristocrats*. The word was soon found to exert a magical power to their disadvantage; and Dumont bitterly regrets that they did not counter-work the spell, by coining a good nick-name for the opposite party; which, in the absence of any such symbol of disparagement, became gradually identified with the whole French nation: so that the people saw nothing but the *aristocrats* on one side, and the *nation* on the other. The effect of the contrast was tremendous: and the good people of Paris, so *flaccid* (flasque) in their ordinary state, was rapidly filled out, like a balloon, with inflammable gas. While the public mind was in this fiery condition, the charm was wound up by the mighty enchantment of two more words. The *Tiers-Etat* declared itself the *National Assembly*; and thus, virtually, proclaimed, that the King, the Nobility, and the Clergy, were to be nothing!

The part played by Mirabeau during the discussions which preceded the adoption of this title, threatened to shake his popularity to pieces. Dumont, and the other confidential friends of the Count, had constantly before their eyes the English constitution, from which they had learned, that a legislative body in two branches was far preferable to a single assembly without regulation or control. They succeeded in possessing the great orator with the same conviction; and he accordingly proposed that the Commons should organize themselves under the title of *Deputies of the French People*. He was listened to without impatience: but when the proposition was supported by Malouet,



who was known for a ministerial man, the storm began to howl. Dumont was in the gallery: and being provoked by the absurdities which he heard vented in such profusion, employed himself, on the spot, in hastily writing his thoughts on the subject, in the shape of an address to those friends of liberty who thought themselves degraded by the title proposed by Mirabeau. That same day he dined with the Count, and exhibited to him his sketch of an address. To Mirabeau it appeared so triumphant, that in spite of all remonstrances, he was determined, as he said, to launch the red-hot bolt at their heads at the very next meeting. A speech was immediately got up, with Dumont's address, by way of peroration. The only difficulty was, now, to get a hearing for it. But Mirabeau was so powerful in the galleries, that the Assembly did not dare to silence him. The exordium, and the argumentative part, met with only a doubtful reception. Then came the peroration, which was uttered by Mirabeau with his most appalling thunders. But it only brought down a still more terrific tempest. The Hall echoed with sounds of fury, till the commotion became universal. In the midst of the uproar, Mirabeau stood erect and immovable; while Dumont was in the gallery, ready to sink into the earth, in his dismay at the horrid failure of the experiment. When the tumult began to subside, the orator resumed, with a grave and solemn voice; and said, "Mr. President, I consign to your desk this paper, which has raised such murmurs, and has been so ill-understood. I am willing to be judged, as to its merits, by the friends of liberty." Having uttered these words, he left the Assembly in the midst of the most outrageous menaces and imprecations. Dumont was almost afraid to go near him. But his apprehensions were entirely groundless. Mirabeau was perfectly satisfied with what he had done; and, about an hour afterwards, his friend found him triumphantly reading his discourse to a knot of Marseillais, who had collected round him, and who were all but falling into fits with admiration of it!—His courage, however, as Dumont remarks, was only the courage of the moment. The motion for adopting the title of National Assembly, was carried by a majority of almost 500 to 80; and among those 80 Mirabeau was not found. He kept away, and did not vote upon the question; and he thus escaped appearing on the list of "traitors sold to the aristocracy." In spite of all this, however, his popularity at the Palais Royal did not wane, while the name of Malouet, Mounier, and others, was pronounced with execrations.

The audacity of this usurpation both confounded and enraged the nobility. The time, they said, was now come for the King to place himself at the head of his troops, to arrest the leaders of

sedition, and to disperse the Assembly. It was in the state of parties, at this moment, that Mr. Dumont thinks we are to seek for the germ and principle of the events that soon followed in rapid succession. The vigour of the Court evaporated in the pompous imbecility of the Royal Session or Bed of Justice, which annulled the offensive decree of the Commons, but did not ordain the re-union of the Orders. For the three or four days previous to this solemnity, the Deputies were excluded from the Hall—a measure which only drove them first to the Tennis Court, (where they pronounced the famous oath, that they would never separate until the Constitution was complete)—and the next day, to the Church of St. Louis, where they were joined by a rather doubtful majority of the Clergy, who came to unite themselves to the Tiers-État. This union took place in the midst of embraces, and tears, and plaudits, and transports—all very much in the French manner. The *dévoûment* of the clergy was extolled to the skies:—in the course of a short time not an ecclesiastic could show himself in public without being brutally insulted!

On the day of the *Séance Royale* Dumont was at the palace, and saw the magnificent procession defile. His description of it is short, but singularly impressive. The ministers of the King made their appearance. They wore an air of studied composure; but their emotion pierced through the disguise. The bearing of the Comte d'Artois was full of pride. The King appeared sorrowful and pensive. The multitude was immense, and the stillness profound. When the King entered his carriage there was the roll of drums, and the flourish of trumpets—but not a note of applause—no *vive le roi*. Fear alone restrained the murmurs of the crowd. *Non tumultus, non quies; sed quale magni metûs, aut magnæ iræ silentium erat.* The vast procession then began to move: all the royal household, the guards, the officers, the cavalry. They approached the Hall, where the three Orders together were waiting in mute indignation, and distrust of each other. Never were passions more violent, or more conflicting, shut up within the same enclosure. The whole ceremonial was similar to that of the States General. But the one was a national festivity; the other was as gloomy as a gorgeous funeral.

When the *Séance* was over, the king retired, together with the nobility and the clergy. The Tiers Etat were then left alone to ruminate upon the effects of the decree which they had passed so lightly. They found themselves placed under the necessity of trampling on the crown, or retracing their own steps. In the midst of their silent consternation, a messenger arrived from the King, and summoned them to retire. And then it was that Mi-



mirabeau pronounced the words which have formed an epoch in the Revolution. "Go," said he, "and tell your master that we are here by the power of the people, and that nothing but the bayonet shall drive us from our post." These memorable words rallied, in an instant, the drooping courage of the Assembly; and before the King had well reached his palace, the Royal Session was a nullity!

It may appear as strange, as it was lamentable, that Mirabeau should have thus thrown his torch into the combustible heap, which otherwise, perhaps, might not have burst into such fatal explosion. Mr. Dumont accounts for it in this manner. The Royal Session was concerted at the suggestion of Duroverai, purely in order to save appearances. The plan was, that the King should reverse the decree of the Assembly, but at the same time should order the reunion of the Three Estates, which was now become inevitable. This measure would thus be the act of the King, and not the result of a decree of the Tiers Etat; the Nobility would be saved from humiliation, and the nation possibly from civil war. The Count of Artois, however, succeeded in defeating that part of the plan, which, in the view of Necker, was its very essence. It was resolved to reverse the decree, but not to order the reunion. All this, together with the exclusion of the deputies from their Hall for several days, produced a general belief that the States were to be dissolved; and Mirabeau who, unfortunately had not been apprized of the original design, was the dupe of the general delusion. At the crisis, therefore, he threw himself, with his whole weight, headlong into the popular scale, and let loose the elements of confusion, beyond the possibility of recall. When he afterwards learned the real origin of the *Séance Royale*, he fell into a paroxysm of rage. "So"—said he—"Duroverai did not think me worthy of being consulted! I know he considers me merely as a madman with certain lucid intervals. But I could have told him beforehand the consequence of his precious measure. It is not upon an elastic people like the French that these stupid forms can be played off. And this M. Necker!—what a man to be trusted with measures such as these. One might as well apply a cautery to a wooden leg as give advice to him, which he is in no condition to follow." Then, heating himself with the prospect of all the perils which must ensue from this rash expedient, he added, in a prophetic spirit, "This is the way that kings are brought to the scaffold."

It is the firm persuasion of Dumont that, up to this time, the deputies acted with very little of concerted design. The utmost that can be said, is, that there might be the beginnings of some-

thing like organisation among the Bretons. The "*Club Breton*" was certainly formidable by its union, and was probably practised upon by the minority of the *noblesse*: "but never," says Dumont, "shall we have a complete history of the Revolution, until some one of that party shall have given his faithful memoirs of it to the world." Sieyes himself revolted against the desperate character of their proceedings. On his return from one of their secret meetings he said to Dumont, "I will have nothing more to do with these people. Their politics are those of a den of conspirators. They propose the most desperate enterprizes as if they were common expedients." With characters of this description it is certain that Mirabeau had no connection. His wild, irregular, untractable temper made him very unfit to be the member of a confederacy. He had not sufficient steadiness and coherency of mind to win the confidence of his companions, and therefore was disqualified for becoming their leader: and he had too much pride, and too much force of character, for any inferior post. He, therefore, remained totally independent of all parties, wrapped up solely in his own personal ambition, envious to excess of all rising credit in the assembly—"epigrammatic in general, but flatterer in detail,"—separated from his colleagues by his disdain of some, and his jealousy of others. Dumont saw him frequently; and is satisfied that *Mirabeau had not the slightest concern in the movements of the capital*. He further expresses his distinct conviction, that it is a great error to ascribe the Revolution to the machinations of secret agitators. It is ridiculous, he says, to attribute to conspiracy an impulse so sudden and so vast. The whole mass of society was, somehow or other, in a state of morbid and feverish irritation. A cry in the Palais Royal—an accidental movement—a mere nothing—was then sufficient to cause a general commotion. In this condition one tumult produced another tumult. The symptoms of one day were aggravated to fierce exasperation by the next. One deep called to another, till the stormy deluge burst over the whole face of the kingdom. In a word, the people of France were in a state which resembled that described in the Caliph Vathek. The football was thrown down. A few began to kick it. The by-standers were driven, by some strange but irresistible impulse, to join in sport. The pursuers of the game swelled rapidly to an enormous multitude. On they swept together, till they found themselves upon the edge of a precipice: and the whole herd rushed violently down into destruction.

It is one very curious feature of the time, as described by Dumont, that the creditors of the state were, of all others, the most ardent partisans of the States-General. They foresaw that bank-

ruptcy, and, with it, their own ruin, must be the inevitable consequence of the dissolution of that body. They were in decided opposition to the court, because they were persuaded that, if once relieved from the domination of the Assembly, the King would have nothing to do but to pass a sponge over the debt, in order to extricate himself from the *deficit*, and secure a considerable surplus revenue. This would, of course, enable him to mitigate the imposts, and, so, to propitiate the whole nation; who, thenceforth, would think nothing more of the States, the constitution, and the sovereignty of the people, and, least of all, of the distresses of the creditors. In the midst of all these agitations, appeared *Mirabeau's* celebrated Address to the King for the dismissal of the troops. By this time, perhaps, the reader will hardly be surprized to learn that *Mirabeau's* address was, substantially, the composition of *M. Dumont*! The author was full of the subject, and, as he honestly confesses, animated by the flatteries and caresses of his principal—(who was drunk with the glory of his own recent triumphs)—and completed his task with extraordinary rapidity. The Count was as fondly attached to this production as if every syllable of it had been his own. He was, more especially, lavish in his praise of its happy combination of temperance and vigour. “My own style,” said he, “easily assumes the tone of strength. I can readily find *words that burn*. But the moment I attempt ‘the glib and oily art,’ I am sure to become tathe and insipid; and the vapidness of my own compound gives me a pain in the stomach.” He would not listen to a word of criticism upon this, or any other performance, on which his own name had been stamped. His self-love embraced his adopted children with so much cordiality, that his bowels yearned towards them with truly parental emotion. “Whenever I worked for *Mirabeau*,” says *M. Dumont*, “I felt something like the satisfaction of an obscure individual, whose children had been changed at nurse, and introduced into a great family; although conscious that he was their father, he would be compelled to treat them with profound respect. This was my case. When once my progeny was adopted by *Mirabeau*, he would defend them even against their parent: nay, he would even allow me to praise them, and would consider my admiration as a mark of esteem and friendship for himself.” At length, however, *Dumont's* satisfaction with this obscure and unambitious agency, gradually subsided. It began to be whispered that he and *Duroverai* were the *operatives* of *Mirabeau*. The Count himself led a life of perpetual agitation and discursion. His occupation in the Assembly and its committee was almost incessant: and yet his appetite for pleasure never seemed to desert him, and he always appeared to

have time to throw away upon his indulgencies. The world refused to believe that a man, thus distracted between public business and personal gratification, could be the author of all the writings that were perpetually coming forth in his name; and they were perfectly right. In fact, there was a multitude of workmen in constant employ to build up the fabric of his reputation; and when once Dumont found that he was numbered among the gang, by all the pamphleteers of the day, he ceased to feel any pleasure in his occupation: and it was this circumstance which eventually determined him to quit France and to return to England.

Soon after this, Dumont engaged with Mirabeau and Duroverai in conducting a Journal by the title of the *Courier de Provence*. There was something rather low and sordid in this affair,—from which the parties promised themselves “mountains of gold.” But the history of it is, altogether, sufficiently laughable. Mirabeau, *of course*, intrigued with the wife of the publisher, who was a vixen and a cheat. He was irritated and disgusted with her scandalous dishonesty, and said to her one day, “Madame le Jay, if there were no such thing as probity in the world, it really would be necessary to invent it, if it were only to make our fortune by it.” But Madame le Jay had another system of ethics. She contrived to swallow up all the profits, and to set *messieurs les auteurs* at defiance. Mirabeau, who was her paramour, was in no condition to use very high language with her; and, besides, he was absolutely confounded by her effrontery and her cunning. He vowed that it was more easy to manage the whole National Assembly than one woman when she had made up her mind upon any thing: and, as for proceedings at law, the whole bar would turn pale in her presence before they would convict her: for he defied the most *tortuous* attorney to approach her in subtlety of invention. It was even as he said. The lady was *too many* for them all. *She* pocketed the money, and *they* were obliged to pocket the vexation, and to contrive some better arrangements for the future conduct of their Journal.

The freedom of this publication was extreme. Sieyes complained bitterly of the license of its criticism on his own productions: and Mirabeau was obliged to beg that there might be a mitigation of hostilities. “I conjure you,” he said, “not to embroil me with that man; his vanity is *implacable*.” The assembly were not quite so sensitive as the Reverend *Grand Vicar*. On reverting, since, to some of the articles, Dumont was astonished at the hardihood with which the proceedings of that body were canvassed. But their haughty omnipotence disdained to notice these liberties, although the censures were extended to

every department of their labours. The want of connection and order in the operations of finance; the practice of laying down general principles, without considering questions of detail; the insidious anticipation of important decisions; the total overthrow of the ancient executive power, without first providing any other institutions to fill their place; the conversion of the assembly into a bureau for receiving accusations; its absorption of all the functions of the executive ministry; the wretched defects of its interior police;—all these were exposed to the public with a boldness which might well surprise the authors themselves, when reviewing it in calmer times: and it exhibited, in truth, a glorious picture of incoherence, disorder, and wild precipitation. After all, however, Dumont confesses that the work was generally very middling, and often miserably bad. The rapidity of the whirlwind which carried the Assembly forward, allowed observers no time for study or meditation. To represent their proceedings must have been like attempting to exhibit on canvass the progress of a deluge, which is every instant changing the face of the country, and before which all traces of ancient fabrics, and all signs of human habitation, are constantly disappearing.

The Assembly was at last complete. The majority of the *noblesse* and the minority of the clergy had united themselves with the commons. But still the winds which had been let loose, were sweeping onward in their career of ruin through the country. In this emergency, Dumont, who was then the Great Address-maker, set to work, and produced an address from the National Assembly to the people. It had immense applause, and no success. It is not, he remarks, with phrases that insurrections are to be arrested; and the Assembly was in no condition to employ any stronger instrument. *They were so fearful of offending the people, that they regarded as a snare, all motions tending to the suppression of disorder, or the censure of popular excesses. By the people they had triumphed; it was therefore impossible for them to be severe against the people. They protested, indeed, that they were filled with affliction and displeasure by the atrocities of the brigands, who had insulted the nobles, and burned down their châteaux: but, in secret, they rejoiced at a reign of terror which they considered as necessary. They, accordingly, dispensed compliments to authority, and encouragement to licence.* The language of respect for the executive power was still conceived in the most approved and established forms; but they could scarcely disguise the satisfaction with which they saw the ministers revealing their own feebleness and *nothingness*. “If you were strong enough to make yourselves respected, you would likewise be strong enough to make us tremble.” This was the sentiment

which pervaded at least the whole of the *Côté Gauche*; and it made the hands which held the reins of government powerless as the grasp of infancy. Of a truth, there is nothing new under the sun, or ever will be! It has sometimes been said that individuals seldom grow wiser by experience. It is greatly to be feared that nations seldom grow wiser either by experience, or by example. But, however this may be, we apprehend that the above representation must, at the present day, stir up some fearful *searchings of heart* in the bosoms of men who have not utterly lost all aspirations after wisdom. They, who now can contemplate such pictures without emotion, must surely be duller

“than the fat weed

That rots itself, at ease, on Lethe's wharf.”

About this period Burke's celebrated work on the French Revolution came out. Its effect in England was prodigious. Germany was more sluggish. It had suffered more severely under feudal oppressions; and therefore still fixed its admiring regards on the labours of the French Assembly, as the beau-ideal of legislation. Nevertheless, Dumont allows it to be possible, that the illustrious author of this work, by awakening governments and proprietors to the danger of the *New Political Religion*, may have been the Saviour of Europe. In France, of course, it was, at the time, very much like *the sounding brass or the tinkling cymbal*; for the faculties of the whole nation were then absorbed by the Assembly's famous declaration of the *Rights of Man*.

The idea of such a declaration was purely American. The time devoted to the preparation of it is remembered by Dumont as a period of *mortal ennui*. Empty verbal disputes—metaphysical jargon—insolent swaggering—the Assembly transformed into a sort of political Sorbone—the apprentices in legislation trying their hand on all manner of wretched puerilities. After casting aside a number of models, a committee of five was appointed:—Mirabeau was one; and with his usual generosity he first took the whole labour upon himself, and then—distributed it among his friends. So to work they went,—Dumont, Duveroi, Claviere—digesting, disputing, adding one word, and blotting out four, and producing, at last, their beautiful piece of veneering, their precious mosaic, of the Rights of Man, *which never had any existence*.

Dumont, as he went on, became every hour more sorely alive to the ridiculous nature of the task. Every step he took presented him with a more comprehensive and distinct apocalypse of this Limbo of Nonsense. It is quite amusing to see the caustic, and almost testy, humour, with which he, here, *shows up*



its absurdities. Only think—says he—of rights existing previous to laws or constitutions! And then—the gibberish of, “men are born *free* and *equal*!” Free!—they are not born free: they are born in a state of abject feebleness and dependence. Equal!—when were they equal?—where?—how?—How can they ever be equal? The whole world is a congeries of inequalities. The whole scheme of the rights of man is a manifest and monstrous lie. It would require volumes to give any reasonable or intelligible import to this equality which is here to be declared broadly, and without qualification or exception. Dumont succeeded in impressing the other four sages with his own misgivings. Mirabeau had even the courage to produce this heresy in the assembly when he presented the *projet*. “I plainly tell you”—he said—“that any declaration of rights anterior to a constitution will always be as worthless as the last year’s almanack.” But having thus shot his bolt, he did no more. He had launched his happy phrase and was content. He had not the faculty of diving into a subject. No one so quick in seizing its striking points. But he developed nothing. He was totally deficient in one great department of his vocation, the art, or at least the practice, of refutation. He was a great orator, but no debater. However, he had said quite enough to excite astonishment and rage. “Who is this”—it was asked—“who dares to abuse his ascendant, by cramming down our throats the *pour* and the *contre* at his pleasure? Are we to be the sport of his eternal contradictions?” He might have blown the murmurers to atoms, if he had chosen; but there was no keeping him steady to his gun.—And so, the work of transcendental philosophy went on. The modern rivals of Prometheus continued their unnatural mysteries; and the shapeless, but terrific monster, the Rights of Man, started into life, to make night and day hideous, and to fill the world with prodigies of massacre and pillage.

But if much time was lost in this portentous preparation, ample redemption was made in the nocturnal session of the 4th of August. Never, since the structure of Pandæmonium, was so much work done in so short time. One would imagine, indeed, that a race of “drudging goblins” had been employed upon the task; for no mortal power seemed equal to it. What would have taken ordinary men a whole year to meditate and arrange, was proposed, argued, voted, and resolved by acclamation. It is difficult to say how many decrees were made in that one stupendous night: the abolition of feudal rights—the abolition of tithes—the abolition of provincial privileges,—three things which alone involved a whole system of jurisprudence and policy,—together with ten or a dozen other enormous matters—all were dispatched in less time than is

devoted to the first reading of a single bill of any importance, by the slow-paced, thick-winded legislators of England. Nay—roads, railways, bridges, and gas-lights, have been treated with infinitely more ceremony in the British Parliament as hitherto constituted than the rights, usages, and institutions of a thousand years were treated by this new-born giant of the revolution. Dumont was witness of these incredible operations. It seemed to him as if some inscrutable infatuation had seized upon the Assembly. They were smitten with a sudden passion for ruining themselves and all the rest of the world. Every one had some new sacrifice to offer—some fresh oblation to place upon the altar of their country—some costly spoil wherewithal to decorate their temple of liberty. All invidious privileges—all burdens onerous to the people—were eagerly renounced. The men were drunk with the new wine of patriotic fanaticism. The austere Genius of legislation assumed the frantic demeanor of a bacchanal. All were dizzy with the swiftness of the general movement: and some actually wept for joy at the glorious spectacle of concession outstripping the pace of demand. It is true that this fever of magnanimity was not quite universal. There were some who would vastly have preferred not to be ruined! But finding that they *were* ruined by the *generosity* of their colleagues, they were resolved to suffer in good company; and, therefore, they swelled the glories of the night by other noble sacrifices, which could cost them nothing.—And what was the object of all this superb immolation? In what was this paroxysm of insane prodigality to end?—"In reducing to a political unity a monarchy which was formed, successively, of an aggregate of many states,—of which each had preserved certain ancient rights, certain peculiar privileges, thus exhibiting a constitution of anomalies;—and all this was to be dashed in pieces, at a blow, in order that it might be moulded anew into a fabric of rectilinear symmetry and uniformity!"

The morning which followed this revolutionary: debauch, brought with it sobriety, and qualmishness, and heart-sickness, and miserable languor. Mirabeau and Sieyes, indeed, were not present at the scene of intemperance. But they were filled with utter disgust at the result. "*Voilà bien nos Français*"—said Mirabeau—"they take a month to dispute about syllables, and only a single night to overthrow the ancient order of the monarchy." The Reverend Grand Vicar was more especially indignant at the abolition of *tithes*, and he was resolved to tell the Assembly his mind. At the next session he accordingly made them a speech full of force, and admirable reasoning, in order to show *that to abolish tithes without an indemnity, would be to pillage the clergy of their property, only to enrich the proprietors of the land:* and he



finished with the memorable words—"They desire to be free, but they know not how to be just." But it was all to no purpose. Neither argument nor antithesis would do. They saw in the speaker only a priest who was unable to strip himself of his personal interest, and they almost refused him a hearing. Yes—the very Sieyes to whom, a month or two before, the whole assembly rose, as one man, when he entered the Hall—that very Sieyes now had a narrow escape from being positively hissed and hooted down! Dumont saw him the next day. He was boiling with wrath at the iniquity and brutish stupidity of the Assembly. He never forgave it: and one day, was pouring out his "splendid bile" in conversation with Mirabeau; the orator replied—"my dear Abbé, *you have unchained the bull, and now you gravely complain that he makes use of his horn.*"—They were both, however, agreed on one thing; namely, that a single assembly must be without check or regulator; and that the session of the 4th of August demonstrated to what extremities of madness such an assembly might be whirled, by the eloquence of fear, and the contagious enthusiasm of the moment.

And, after all, did the decrees of the 4th of August put an end to outrage and *brigandage*? On the contrary, they did literally nothing but show the people their strength, and convince them that their worst excesses against the noblesse would certainly remain unpunished, and perhaps might be rewarded. Always be it remembered, says Dumont, "that *what is done through fear, never answers its purpose. They, whom you think to disarm by your concessions, only redouble their confidence and audacity.*"

The first great constitutional question which he *debated* in the assembly was that of the Absolûte Veto. We say *debated*, because we presume that none can be misled by the phrase. Every one knows pretty well that a *debate* in France is, in general, the most wearisome of all sublunary things; and this, precisely in proportion to the difficulty and importance of the subject. It is, in fact, the reading of a succession of pamphlets, totally unconnected with each other; of discourses prepared in the study, which refute objections that have *not* been made, and which leave unrefuted objections which *have* been made. The effect of this system is, that the discussion always remains stationary. There is abundance of movement, but none of it progressive. There is no *getting on*. Nothing—as Dumont observes—but a *passionate* interest in the subject, could hold out against the murderous *ennui* of such a method of *debating*. But to come to Mirabeau. It so happened that in the *debate* on the Veto, he got himself into a scrape, inexpressibly ridiculous. In an evil hour, he ventured to go without the aid of his tried and faithful friends and advisers:

He had fallen into the hands of the Marquis de Caseaux—a man whose brain seemed to be made of wool—a most tedious, mystical, and unintelligible personage—but, who contrived, nevertheless, to fascinate, and, what was worse, to indoctrinate Mirabeau. He said not a syllable to Dumont and the others, of his new Apocalyptic Mentor; but only told them that he had thoroughly prepared himself. His appearance in the Tribune was like life from the dead to his auditory, who were nearly destroyed by a long succession of most execrable speeches. But who shall describe his condition, when he began to give utterance to the composition before him? He had scarcely, he it observed, cast a glance over the material which his *familiar* had provided for him—so that, to his utter dismay, he suddenly found himself in a labyrinth of involved reasoning, long periods, embarrassed constructions, all rendered more perplexing by a collection of the oddest words imaginable; and, this, too, without the power of extricating himself; for in the plenitude of his reliance upon his provider, he had omitted to prepare himself by meditation or research. Dumont was present, and detected the hand of the Marquis, before Mirabeau had uttered three sentences. Of the rest of the audience, the more intelligent contrived to find out that he was *for* the Veto; which alone was sufficient to raise loud murmurs against him. All could feel that he was doling out the most intolerable fustian, and this made the tumult nearly uncontrollable. In vain did he endeavour to burst from his trammels, and he himself. In vain did he sally out into all sorts of digressions, and *let off* a multitude of brilliant and crackling common-places against despotism. He was compelled to come down again into the wilderness of his manuscript; and this was always a signal for the renewal of the uproar. In spite of his courage and self-possession, which, on such occasions, never wholly deserted him, he was scarcely able to finish his discourse; and when he came down, he confessed that, as he advanced with his reading in the tribune, he felt himself covered all over with a cold sweat, and that he should certainly have thrown his manuscript away, but that he had unfortunately left himself so “*heinously unprovided*” with other matter, that he could not venture to do without it! But neither good nor evil ever come unmixed. He lost the good will of those who could understand him, by supporting the Absolute Veto; and, by them his obscurity was supposed to be designed, with a view to secure himself a safe retreat into the opposite opinion, should he find it expedient to change: but, fortunately, he was quite unintelligible in the galleries: and so, they very indulgently took it for granted that he must be one of the most inflexible antagonists of the obnoxious prerogative.—And

this was the way in which great constitutional questions were disposed of in this august assembly!—As for the *veto*,—the people were in a state of frantic terror about it. They knew as much of what it meant, as the Irish peasantry ever knew of what is meant by *emancipation*. Their ignorance invested it with unspeakable horrors. They seemed to think it was a monster ready to devour every thing. They once surrounded Mirabeau's carriage, with loud supplications that he would deliver them from the *veto*; and such was their importunity that he was compelled to dismiss them with "a somewhat patrician politeness." However, he finally, left the *veto* to its own fate. He voted neither for or against it. He, once more, kept out of the way; and thus, a second time, escaped appearing on the list of traitors; and he affected to mask this cowardice under the disguise of contempt for the assembly!

It has been a matter of dispute whether, or not, Mirabeau was implicated in the atrocious events of the 5th and 6th of October; and Dumont is unable to clear up the doubt. All he can say is, that, if Mirabeau had any connection with the Duke of Orleans (to whom this insurrection has been imputed)—he never entrusted Dumont with the secret. He certainly was, at this time, a good deal with two very suspicious characters, both of whom were supposed to be agents of the Duke. The one was Camille Desmoulins the Procureur General de la Lanterne—who afterwards affirmed that Dumont was an emissary of Pitt, and placed about Mirabeau to lead him astray. The other was La Clos, of whom Mirabeau himself said that in point of morals no blame ought to be imputed to the man, for that he really had lost all taste for morality, and was no longer sensible of the difference between good and evil! Another suspicious circumstance was, that Mirabeau had cooked up a volume against Royalty, out of the writings of Milton, in whose works, it is true, might easily be found some of the very best ingredients for a drastic compound of Republicanism. This work accidentally fell into the hands of Dumont, who burned the whole impression; and thus, perhaps, saved his friend either from destruction or from public infamy. What was the Count's object in this compilation, Dumont is unable to conjecture, with any approach to certainty. He conceives it possible, however, that he might choose to have such a battery, in readiness to open on any great and critical occasion—such, for instance, as the flight of the King: in which case he might discharge his grape-shot at the rear of fugitive royalty—propose the Duke of Orleans for Lieutenant General of the kingdom—and become his prime minister. But all this is merely surmise; and Dumont intimates that Lafayette is one of the very few persons now living who are completely in possession of

the secret of these occurrences. Indeed the whole conduct of the orator at this time is sufficiently inexplicable : or explicable only on the supposition that he was on the watch for some occasion that might minister to the honour and glory of Count Mirabeau : in a word, that he resembled the sea-gull that rides undisturbed on the boiling ocean,

“ And trims his feathers, and looks round for sprats ! ”

Most assuredly, there was no principle of high-binded and disinterested generosity at the bottom of his proceedings : for, in the stormy session of the assembly which followed the *fête* given to the military at Versailles, Mirabeau threw himself into the midst of the tumult, and thundered out, that he was prepared to denounce by name the principal actors in those sacrilegious orgies, provided that a decree should first be passed, that the person of the *King alone* was sacred and inviolable. This single sentence appeared to point directly at the Queen. It made the *côté droite* tremble : nay, the very democrats themselves turned pale at it, fearing that it might hurry them into violent and perilous extremities.

On one great occasion, indeed, he gave his full support to the ministry, and this very occasion it was that elevated him to the summit of his renown, and established him as the greatest orator, or rather as the only orator, in France. Necker was at this time almost at his wits' end. To use the language of M. Dumont, he had to keep a vast and complicated machine in motion, with a mere thread of water, which was, every moment, on the point of drying up. He was, therefore, compelled to resort to a loan ; as the only expedient to save the wheels of government from stoppage : and Mirabeau engaged to be the advocate of this project. The political *botchers* were for modifying the plan, in order to save the honour of the Assembly, whose dignity, they said, would be compromised by the unqualified adoption of any ministerial measure. No one knew better than Mirabeau that this august body was always sure to spoil and mangle every thing on which it laid its hand. He, therefore, put forth all his powers, to persuade the Assembly to receive the project, just as it was, without one tittle of alteration. Nothing could be more splendid and magnificent than his success. He told them to their face, that the failure of the former loan was solely their work : that they had so mutilated and disfigured the plan as to render its success impossible. He described to them the national revenue as on the very point of exhaustion, and the public credit as tottering to its ruin. He then painted to them the endless calamities which must rush in through the breach of the public faith, and showed

them the gulph of bankruptcy yawning before their feet. The picture he presented to them was executed with amazing power and sublimity. It was, indeed, as Dumont observes, what might be called one of the common places of eloquence: but it was a common place, which, in his hands, expanded itself into all the grandeur of the most original conception, as it might have done in those of Cicero or Bossuet. The audience fancied they saw the frightful abyss before them; and heard the groans of the victims it was devouring.

“The triumph,” says Dumont, “was as complete as it was possible for it to be. Not a syllable—not a breath—was heard in reply. The Assembly was subjugated by that irresistible power which seizes on a multitude as if it were one man; and the ministerial project was received, untouched and unchanged, with the most entire confidence. From that moment Mirabeau stood alone; he had no rival; others were good speakers, he only was eloquent; and the effect was the more overpowering, because this speech was a sudden reply: it could not possibly have been prepared, it was the produce of the moment, and it proved that he was in possession of resources incomparably superior to any thing which had ever been supplied to him by his confidential auxiliaries.

A specimen of this celebrated burst of oratory is given us in a note. We will *endeavour* to convey some faint notion of it to the English reader.

“Our respect for the public faith, our horror for that word of infamy, a bankrupt nation—is already guaranteed by solemn pledges and declarations. If it were not so, I then would drag to light, without shrinking, those secret motives, (motives alas! concealed, perhaps, even from ourselves,) which now are tempting us madly to recoil from a great act of self-devotion—an act which, however, must be wholly worthless, unless it be executed without hesitation or reserve. There may be men among us, who are seduced by the fear of sacrifices, and the terror of imposts, into familiarity with the notion of a breach of the public engagements. To such men I would say,—what, then, is national bankruptcy itself? Is it not, of all imposts the most inhuman, the most iniquitous, the most disastrous? . . . . Listen, my friends, I implore you, to one word—one single word. Two ages of robbery and pillage have dug out the gulph, in which the realm of France is now on the point of being swallowed. It is ours to fill up this frightful abyss. Well then—look upon this list of the proprietors of France. Fix upon the most opulent of their number, and thus, mercifully reduce the multitude of sacrifices. Only make your choice: for surely, it needs must be, that some should suffer rather than the people should perish. Behold—here are two thousand of our Notables: the possessions of these men are, alone, sufficient to fill the chasm which is yawning before your feet. Why, then, a moment’s hesitation? Seize, this instant, on your victims:

smite them down without mercy, and plunge them into the abyss. It is done—and the gulph is about to close its jaws again. What! do ye start back with horror? Irresolute and faint-hearted men! do ye recoil and shudder at this needful and righteous immolation?"

This, it must be confessed, is a strain of awful and tremendous irony. Whether it would exactly do for the British parliament may, perhaps, be questioned. But we can imagine nothing better adapted to agitate and to command a Parisian Assembly.

It happened that Molè, the first actor of the théâtre François, was present at the delivery of this speech. He was deeply struck with the astonishing force of Mirabeau—with the sublimity of his voice—with his power of dramatic painting: and it occurred to him that the man who could make that speech, was even worthy to be the greatest of actors! He accordingly said to Mirabeau, in a pathetic accent, "Oh, Monsieur le Comte, what an incomparable discourse; and how admirable the tone in which it was pronounced. O heaven! how false have you been to your true vocation!" The man himself could not help smiling at the turn of this encomium. But Mirabeau was not only satisfied with it—he was highly flattered. And what more intoxicating compliment could be paid by an idolater of his profession?

A few days after this, it was resolved that there should be an address from the Assembly to the French people, in order to forward the measures of the ministry; and the mighty orator was employed to draw it up. As usual, he turned the matter over—not to the Marquis of Caseaux—but to the faithful and indefatigable Dumont, who completed it in three days. It was extremely well received; but its effect, he says, was very similar to that of a sermon,—it was applauded, and forgotten.

The next measure in which the Count ranged himself on the side of the crown, was the proposal for proclaiming *Martial Law*. The popular license was then becoming intolerable. A handful of mutineers was sufficient to make the governor of a citadel tremble. *Every act of personal defence was a capital crime; and the clamours of the populace were much more formidable than the battery of an enemy.* Mirabeau had long said that this dictatorship of the rabble ought to be sternly put down; and Dumont thinks that he was the very first to propose martial law. The suggestion, of course, was vehemently opposed. But it is a very remarkable, and almost an unaccountable thing, that his resistance to plebeian insolence on this occasion did not lose him a single shade of his popularity. It is scarcely possible to conceive a more signal proof of the ascendancy, which his great powers had established for him over the public mind. It is a curious circumstance, that two of our own countrymen were ap-



plied to for their advice in the preparation of this measure. During the discussions, the English model was often appealed to, and always with the most egregious misconception of it. There were, however, then two English advocates at Versailles, with whom Dumont was acquainted, and he was solicited to obtain from them a written exposition of martial law in England. These gentlemen very wisely declined the office; and the fact is mentioned by Dumont to illustrate the contrast between the national reserve and caution of the English character, and that eternal impatience to come forward and to meddle, which is so universally characteristic of the French. This is a subject on which he has expressed himself more largely in another place (c. viii.), where he sums up his judgment by affirming his belief, that if he were to stop any hundred persons at random in the streets of London, and as many in the streets of Paris, and were to propose to them to take upon themselves the government of the country, ninety-nine out of the Parisian hundred would accept it, and ninety-nine out of the English hundred would refuse it.

It is unquestionable that Mirabeau was now approximating more and more closely to the court. Our limits will not allow us space to mark out the exact trajectory in which he was then moving. It must be sufficient to say that he had a project, on which he sounded Dumont, for the removal of the king from his present virtual captivity, to Metz, or to some other position in which he could exert a perfect free agency, and perhaps overawe the democratic party in France. The scheme however was abandoned, principally in consequence of the sluggishness and irresolution of the King, who always sunk into apathy the moment the assaults of the Assembly were intermitted. The Count was likewise disposed to comparatively moderate views with respect to the Clergy, who now seemed to be placed almost beyond the pale of the French nation. He embraced the views of the Bishop of Autun, (his Excellency the French Ambassador, now in England,) that the Clergy ought not to be turned out to utter destitution, but that their property should be sold for the redemption of the debt, and a fixed salary substituted in its place. On this subject Dumont had little communication with him, and therefore had no opportunity of inculcating his own views, which were always formed with reference to *England*, where, he observes, it is *one sacred principle of all reforms that they never should be made at the smallest expense to living persons*: for what sort of reformers, he exclaims, are those, who know no other expedient but that of immolating some in order to better the condition of the rest?

The connection of Mirabeau with the court, was now pretty

clearly indicated by the change in his mode of living. He migrated to the *Chausée d'Antin*; he furnished his house in a style of fastidious luxury; he exhibited, in short, the suspicious spectacle of a "Tribune of the people emulating the splendour of Lucullus." The truth is, that he was receiving 20,000 francs a month from the Count d'Artois, under the pretence of assistance towards the liquidation of his debts. The debts, nevertheless, were left unpaid,—all, at least, except the most pressing ones,—and Mirabeau became the centre of a brilliant assemblage both of rank and talent. This pension was however soon discontinued: for the Count was a very untractable counsellor, and complained that they wanted to make him useless, by insisting on the sacrifice of his popularity, which was the grand instrument of his success. Still his costly establishment was kept up, and eventually enlarged; so that his connection with the wealthy and the powerful could not be doubtful. In the month of March following Dumont quitted Paris. His more intimate knowledge of the Count did not augment his esteem for him. He was satisfied, indeed, that Mirabeau was attached to the King, and willing to defend the monarchy against the jacobins. But there was too great a mixture in his motives to be endured by the simple integrity of the Genevan, who was disgusted with his ostentatious mode of life, and by the indelicate and unscrupulous means by which it was supported. Besides, the name of Dumont was beginning to be openly associated with that of Mirabeau, as one of his numerous under-labourers. There was a manifest disposition in many quarters to strip the gorgeous creature of his borrowed plumage; an operation which, of course, brought forward the claims of the original owners: and Dumont did not choose to appear in the character of agent or compiler to a man whose personal character was so immeasurably below his public renown.

Before he quitted Paris, he saw his friend in a situation entirely new, that of President of the Assembly, and never was the chair so admirably filled. It called forth powers which no one ever dreamed of his possessing. He introduced an order and a precision into the proceedings, of which, till then, people had no conception. With a word he cleared the question of every thing unessential; with a word he appeased tumult and confusion. He showed the most judicious respect to the whole Body,—he managed the parties in it with incomparable skill,—his answers to the various deputations which appeared at the bar, whether prepared or extemporaneous, were always remarkable for their gracefulness and dignity, and were satisfactory even when they conveyed a refusal;—in a word, his activity, his impartiality, his presence of mind were such, as wonderfully to exalt his reputa-



tion in a post which had been a fatal quicksand to most of his predecessors. He had the singular address to make himself appear the first man in the Assembly, although he could no longer ascend the tribune, and might therefore be thought to have lost his most brilliant prerogative. His enemies joined in the choice, in hopes of his extinction; instead of which, he blazed out with more splendour than ever.

But the career of this extraordinary being was now drawing to a close. His health was sinking under the joint operation of various causes,—a life of incessant hurry and agitation, which left him no interval of repose from seven in the morning till 10 or 11 at night,—the fierce and burning corrosion of violent passions,—the more chronic fever of an impatient and irritable spirit;—and, lastly, the artificial heat supplied by frequent imprudencies of a luxurious table. He said, that if he were a believer in slow poisons, he should fancy that some pernicious drug had been given him. At last, the inflammation of his system produced ophthalmia; and when he was President of the Assembly he was compelled to apply leeches to his neck in the intervals between the morning and the evening sittings. When Dumont took leave of him, his emotion was greater than he had ever seen him betray. He said, that probably they should never meet again; and then, he added, in a prophetic tone, (which savoured, nevertheless, of his usual egotism)—

““ When I am gone my value will be perceived. The evils which I have laboured to arrest, will then rush over the whole of France. That faction which trembled before me, will then be left without controul. I have nothing before my eyes but visions of evil. Ah, my friend, how truly did we judge when we wished to hinder the commons from declaring themselves the National Assembly? Here is the origin of all the mischief. Ever since they succeeded in this, they have shown themselves unworthy of their victory. *They have chosen to govern the King, instead of governing by the King. But very soon it will be neither he nor they that will govern. A vile faction will tyrannize over all, and cover the whole kingdom with horrors.*”

At the time when these terrible presentiments were uttered, Dumont believed that they were chiefly prompted by his hatred for certain individuals whose influence was then almost predominant. The honest man of Geneva could not imagine that the leaders of the jacobinical gang had wickedness enough to accomplish such dire vaticinations. But France and Europe soon felt that the dying man was indeed a prophet. In three months after delivering this dismal burden, Mirabeau was no more.

In the remainder of this work will be found many interesting traits of the character and private life of this individual. They are such as tempt us, most powerfully, to an extension of this

article. We have done our best to resist the seduction; but we are not wholly proof against it, and are unable to forbear soliciting the patient attention of our readers to some further particulars. There never was, perhaps, a more curious compound of greatness and littleness than was exhibited in the life of this strange mortal. He was gifted with powers to controul the destinies of an empire, and yet he was capable of things which would disgrace a swindler or a fortune hunter. He was master of expedients which might have excited the mortal envy of Ferdinand Count Fathom. For instance: he addressed a young lady with a view to matrimony. The parents of the damsel discouraged his attentions, and a rival appeared, dangerous enough to stimulate his vanity and to awaken his ingenuity. In this emergency, nothing could be more masterly than the result of his deliberations. One evening, a carriage was seen to convey the Count to a spot near to the door of the lady, and there it remained for several hours. This phenomenon, of course, raised the curiosity of the neighbourhood; and the spies of the rival reported that the Count Mirabeau had been seen to enter the house of his mistress, and that he had remained there all night. The success of this contrivance was quite as complete as any of the subsequent political triumphs of the orator. The lady, from that moment, was out of the market; the rival incontinently sounded a retreat; and the parents were but too happy to hush the matter up by a speedy marriage! But the fates are sometimes grievously blind to the most transcendent merit! In this instance they were not propitiated even by the powers displayed by Mirabeau. The match turned out miserably unpropitious. It was soon broken by mutual infidelities; and a final separation was the consequence.

His disposition to fatten upon literary pillage, displayed itself even at this period of his life. He would begin an address to the idol of his heart with the following words—"Listen, my beloved friend; I am about to pour my own soul into your's." And this *transfusion* of his soul turned out to be nothing more than the *transcription* of an article from the *Mercure de France*, or from the last new romance. Again—before his public life commenced he had many an hour of weary solitude, in which "his imagination devoured itself." And what did he do to allay these unnatural cravings, but compose an amatory work (*un ouvrage erotique*) which was neither more or less than a compound of all that was impure, in all the authors of antiquity!

It was astonishing (says Dumont) to see a man like Mirabeau emerge from all this mire of obscenity. Astonishing, in truth, it was: so astonishing, that there is only one thing more wonderful; and that is, that having emerged into a region where his energies

might have been the salvation of a kingdom, he should think, without loathing, upon the scenes of his original degradation; and still more, that he should endure to act them over again. But human nature is, in the beginning, the middle, and the end of it, an enigma. We have only to think of poor old Sheridan—and there, alas! is an end of all speculation on the matter. If the heart is corrupt and unclean, what are the most commanding powers of intellect or imagination but the whitening of the sepulchre? It must be allowed, however, that Mirabeau was deeply sensible that his loss of character was to him a tremendous and irreparable damage. Dumont has seen him weep burning tears of regret for it. “Most cruelly,” he exclaimed, “do I expiate the errors of my youth.” But these tears did not flow from the pure source of awakened moral sensibility, but from the bitter fountain of disappointed ambition. He felt conscious that if his reputation for virtue had been equal to his renown for talent, all France might have been at his feet. The wonder is, that when he became known, he made no magnanimous efforts for his own redemption. What can be said of a man who, while he was wielding “the fierce democratie” of France, could condescend to intrigue with the scolding and cheating wife of an obscure bookseller?

But let us turn away from his moral character to his merely mental faculties. With all his powers, we can scarcely conceive it probable that, such as he actually was, he could even have made much deep or permanent impression in the British Parliament. Occasional bursts of powerful rhetoric do not answer there. They do nothing for a man but fix the eyes of the public upon him in expectation of greater and more useful things: and if he disappoints that expectation, there is an end of him. Now Mirabeau would, infallibly, have disappointed this expectation. It has been stated above that he was no debater. He was only a great political electrician. This did very well in France, where people are fond of electrical shocks. But Englishmen have no notion of being galvanised, and made to kick and sprawl to no purpose. They have no objection to occasional excitement, but they do not, like Frenchmen, live upon excitement. That Mirabeau had mental *talents*, which might have qualified him for a debater, may be very possible; but it is extremely questionable whether his temperament would ever have endured the necessary training. He had great *activity*, but very little *industry*. He could, whenever he chose it, *get up* the information necessary for a great occasion with surprising quickness; but he had nothing like sustained and habitual diligence. He never knew what it was to be constantly accumulating a *capital* of valuable intelligence and accomplishment. He was never in a condition to

endure a *run* upon his mind ; and without this substantial fund, a man is at any moment liable to stop payment, or at least to be reduced to the humiliating necessity of a reliance on the help and credit of his neighbours. Mirabeau was perpetually on the brink of this sort of insolvency ; and, occasionally, he fell into it. In his own country this did not ruin him ; but it would very soon have done for him here. With us, it very rarely happens that the fate of a great measure turns upon a fine speech. The gift of utterance is only one of many faculties by which the public man has to win his way to the confidence of his hearers. If Mirabeau had been, in England, only the same sort of person that he was in France, we should never have heard of him as the *unique* and only orator, the solitary example of supreme eloquence in his generation. His admirer, Dumont, confesses that he was decidedly inferior to the *athletes* of the Parliament of England. Nay, Mirabeau himself was aware of his own defect, for he said on one occasion, when he had failed to make an impression, " I perceive that, in order to speak extemporaneously on a subject with any effect, it is necessary to begin by knowing it." Obvious as this may appear to us, it is, we believe, a discovery yet to be made with our volatile neighbours.

But though so thoroughly French himself, he had, nevertheless, a mighty contempt for some of the peculiarities of Frenchmen. He utterly disdained that " false heat" which he described as " the thunder and tempest of the opera." He never lost the senatorial gravity and composure. Even his dignity, however, had something about it which we should deem almost laughable ; —the air of pretension—the attitude of pompous grandeur—the head thrown back—the chest dilated—the shoulders squared !—All this on the floor of St. Stephens would only make people stare ; and, perhaps, inquire who was the honourable member's dancing master ? On the other hand, he had some redeeming qualities which might have partly overpowered the bad effect of his ostentatious bearing. His self-possession was marvellous. We have already seen that it was sufficient to bear him up in the midst of the bewilderment in which he was entangled by the absurdities of the Marquis of Caseaux. It sometimes displayed itself in a manner still more extraordinary. In the very midst of his most animated harangues, he could receive and peruse a succession of scraps in pencil, handed to him by his friends ; and whenever they were worth using, he could introduce their contents with surprising effect into his speech ; so that Garat used to compare him to a mountebank, who could tear a piece of paper into twenty pieces, swallow the fragments, and then reproduce them whole.

Mirabeau died insolvent. He had been the pensionary of Monsieur and the King, and may possibly have received the wages of other employers. But the accounts of his venality were probably much exaggerated. "I know not how it is," he would say, "that I am such a beggar, having all the Kings, and all their treasures, at my command." It does not appear that his mercenary habits brought with them any sense of degradation. "Pride," as Dumont observes, "was, to him, in the place of integrity." The price paid for him only elated his self-importance. "A man like me," said he, "may accept a hundred thousand crowns; but a hundred thousand crowns cannot *purchase* a man like me." He affected to consider the money he received purely as an instrument, without which he could not do his work: and it must be admitted that he never appears to have entertained the thought of raising a fortune out of his pay. The splendour and luxury of his style were, doubtless, very much to his taste; but it is also true that, in a certain measure, they were necessary for the establishment and extension of his influence. He considered himself, in short, not as the pensionary, but merely as the banker and agent of the King.

It is the opinion of Dumont that, if he had lived, he would have curbed, and even have crushed the Jacobins, and given to France a constitution fit for rational beings. To us this appears extremely doubtful. He might have accomplished this, if steadiness, high principle, and self-devotion, could, by miracle, have been infused into his nature. There would then have been "a combination and a form indeed—to give the world assurance of a statesman." But alas! this must, surely, have been as impossible as to erase the ravages of the small pox from his countenance. His death, however, was, beyond all doubt, a deplorable loss to France. It was the extinction of all hope or chance of salvation. It was the signal which let slip the hell-hounds of massacre and confusion. His decease was as the breath of life to the Jacobinical faction. Robespierre, Petion, and a multitude of other obscene birds, who hid themselves from the lightnings of his eye, then took wing; and the whole land was covered with their hideous *ravin*.

His greatest quality—in the judgment of Dumont—was political sagacity. In this he appears to have left all immeasurably behind him. In 1782 he spoke of the assembling of the States General as a thing that must infallibly come to pass, and foretold that he himself should be a deputy, although, at that time, he was but a needy adventurer in literature. No one penetrated, as he did, into all the consequences of the *Séance Royale*, or saw through all the motions and designs of the popular party. On

the breach between them and the Crown, he exclaimed, "You will now have nothing but massacre and butchery—you *will not even have the execrable honour of a civil war.*" And when his death was approaching, he said to Talleyrand, "I carry with me the last shreds of the monarchy."

He was so incessantly tossed about by the waves of political life—and brought into perpetual contact with such a multitude of various characters and interests—that, in a comparatively short time, his experience became immense; and the effect was, that language failed him, in his attempt, to describe the many-coloured results of his observation. He was obliged to coin a phraseology for himself, to exhibit the shades and gradations of talent and quality, vice and virtue, which were constantly present to his mental perception. Nothing like *pretension* could escape the search of his penetrating discernment: but he had also an eye for every thing that was truly great and good. "There was in him"—to use the exact words of Dumont—"an enthusiasm for what was fair and noble, which his personal vices never could degrade. The mirror might be soiled and tarnished for a time, but it always resumed its lustre. If his actions and his words were at variance with each other, it was not from falsehood or hypocrisy, but from mere inconsistency (*inconséquence*). His reason enabled him to soar; his passions made his flight devious and unsteady." He was, in a word, a Colossus, made up of gold, and clay, and materials of every sort. "There was in him much good, much evil, much of every thing. It was impossible to know him, without being forcibly taken with him. He was a man whose energy qualified him to fill a vast sphere." It was greatly to be lamented that the elements with which "he filled his sphere" were of such a miscellaneous and conflicting nature; or that he was removed before he had an opportunity of establishing the final predominance of the salutary principles.

One chapter of this most interesting volume is devoted to anecdotes, bon mots, and traits of private character. We could transcribe them with delight; but this must not be. One of his sayings, however, we cannot forbear to record. He was of opinion that the world had, hitherto, been governed by illusions, but that these were now passed away. "Mankind"—he said—"had long been looking through a magic lanthorn; but now the glass is broken." The justness of this image we cannot stop to examine: but one would imagine that, whether right or wrong, these words of Mirabeau had become the oracle of our own time and country. We seem to be heartily tired of *our* toy! and Heaven only knows how long it may be, before its glittering fragments are at our feet. We are "putting away childish things." It



remains to be seen whether the pursuits and achievements of our manhood are a whit more rational, or more useful, than those of our infancy.

Like Lord Byron, Mirabeau, with all his faults, had the power of strongly attaching all who were in his service. He had a valet by the name of Teutch, whose office, of course, it was, to assist at the decoration of his person. With Mirabeau, the mysteries of the toilet were often exceedingly solemn and protracted; and he occasionally relieved their tediousness by bestowing kicks and cuffs on his faithful lacquey. These little attentions, at last, became quite a necessary of life to Teutch; but it once happened that, for some considerable time, they were intermitted, in consequence of his master's absorption in public cares; and poor Teutch was in despair. Mirabeau observed his dejection, and inquired the cause. "Of late *Monsieur* has entirely neglected me," was the reply: and *Monsieur* was, positively, obliged to knock the man down, in order to satisfy him that he still retained his place in his master's confidence and good will. This renewal of kindness reconciled Teutch to life; and he lay sprawling on the floor in transports of delight and convulsions of laughter. The *real* despair of this poor fellow, when his master died, is not to be described!

The agonies endured by Mirabeau, in his last illness, were dreadful. The fatal malady was an inflammation in the bowels. To the last, he appears to have preserved a sense of his own high importance. His *exit* was that of a great actor on the national theatre. Talleyrand said that he *dramatised his death*. It is further most remarkable that one ruling peculiarity was strong in him to his latest hour. After a paroxysm of torment, he called for his papers, and selected from them one which contained a discourse on *Testaments*. This he put into the hands of Talleyrand, and said—"There—these are the last thoughts which the world will have of mine. I make you the depositary of them. You will read them when I am no more. This is my legacy to the Assembly." Will it be believed?—these last words and thoughts of *Mirabeau*, were—to Dumont's certain knowledge—no other than a treatise composed wholly by Mr. *Reybaz*, drawn up with the greatest care, but in a style and manner to which that of *Mirabeau* had not the slightest resemblance. The pangs of dissolution could not extinguish the itch of literary appropriation, in one, whose affluence of personal renown exceeded the collective wealth of all the men whom he had ever laid under contribution!

To revert, for one moment only, to his political views and designs. It is stated confidently, by Dumont, that his connection

with the court, in the last six months of his life, had no other object than his advancement to the administration. His success in this point was necessary to enable him to reverse the most pernicious decrees of the Assembly. Some have attributed to him, at this period, the project of a counter-revolution; but Mr. Dumont professes his ignorance of any such design, though his hatred and contempt for the Assembly, indeed, render it probable enough.

"I am persuaded"—he adds—"that he wished to establish the royal authority; but, I am also persuaded, that he was anxious for a constitution similar to that of England; and that he never would have entered into any plan, which had not a national representation for its basis. *A nobility, however, was, in his estimation, indispensable, because he regarded it as essential to the monarchy:* and he, assuredly, would have revoked the decree by which it had been abolished. His personal ambition was, to efface, by his administration, the glory of all former ministers. He felt himself strong enough to attract to himself men of the most distinguished capacity. It was his desire, as he said, to surround himself with a glory of talents—(*une auréole de talens*)—the brightness of which should dazzle all Europe."

We cannot take leave of this most interesting volume without noticing one opinion entertained by Dumont, which, though it may not be altogether peculiar to himself, he has stated with greater confidence than, perhaps, any writer on these events;—and that is, that, although some change might have been inevitable, the Revolution might have been averted or arrested by a monarch of a different character. People have debated—he says—interminably, on the causes of the Revolution; whereas, in his apprehension of the matter, there was only *one* efficient and overruling cause, namely, *the character of the King*. Place a king of a character firm and decided in the situation of Louis XVI., and the Revolution would never have taken place. His whole reign did nothing but bring it on. In Dumont's opinion, there was not a period during the whole of the first Assembly in which, if he could but have changed his character, he might not have re-established his authority, and formed a mixed constitution more firm than the parliamentary and aristocratic monarchy of France. He ruined all by his weakness, his indecision, his half-measures, his half-counsels, and his want of foresight. All the subordinate causes did but assist in developing this grand and primary cause. When the prince is feeble, the courtiers become intriguers, the factious insolent, the people audacious, honest men timid; the most faithful servants are discouraged, men of capacity are then repelled, and the best designs have no result. A monarch distinguished by energy and dignity, would have drawn round him all



those who were, actually, against him. The Lafayettes, the Lameths, the Mirabeaus, the Sieyes', would never have dreamed of the game they played against the King; and, in working on a different plan, would have appeared to be different men. Again—speaking of the dreadful 10th of August, 1792—Dumont adverts to it as one of those emergencies, in which, if Louis could suddenly have been inspired with firmness and vigour, he might have reconquered his throne, and destroyed anarchy. The whole mass of the French people were then weary of the excesses of the Jacobins; and the attempt of the 10th of June had excited general indignation. If the King had acted with vigour—if he had repulsed force by force—if he had seized the first moment of certain victory, to treat the Jacobins and Girondins as enemies, who, having a hundred times violated the constitution, could never have appealed to the constitution in their defence—if he had shut up the clubs of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers, dissolved the Assembly, and seized the factious,—that very day would have restored his authority. But this weak prince—continues Dumont—never reflected that the safety of his kingdom depended on his own safety; and he preferred exposing himself to certain death, to giving orders for his own defence!

We state this opinion to the reader simply as we find it. It will, of course, be received with the same qualification which must be applied to all human judgments on probabilities and contingencies. Its value, however, must be considerable, delivered as it is by a man who had such facilities for watching the progress of events, and of ascertaining the state of public feeling and opinion. At any rate, it is one additional and useful testimony to the soundness of the general maxim, that, on great and critical occasions, *every thing may be gained by energy and courage—while every thing may be, and probably will be, lost by feebleness and vacillation*. But the worst of it is, that this, like many other inestimable truths, is too often laid up among the treasures of wisdom, to be approved—admired—and neglected!

In presenting to our readers the above selections from the work of Mr. Dumont, we must protest against the supposition that it has been our design to offer them a substitute for the volume itself. We have been able to present to them, in this paper, but *a small portion* indeed of the instruction and entertainment afforded us by Mr. Dumont: and our object has been, not to extinguish, but to stimulate their curiosity, which nothing *ought* to satisfy but the possession of his work. It is of no small importance, in days like these, to be made acquainted with the sentiments of one who has long been known as the devoted and intelligent friend of the human race, the worshipper of rational freedom,

and the strenuous champion of *truly* liberal institutions, but, at the same time, as the decided adversary to all destructive empiricism. Let it be remembered that this virtuous and able man was a close spectator of what he here describes: nay—it may truly be said that he was more than a spectator; he was sometimes an actor; he wrought, with his own hand, in the midst of the fire. After an interval of many years, he sits down to record the mature result of his experience and his reflections; and, surely, the most *liberal* may receive, without suspicion, the testimony of one who was a decided admirer of the grand principles of the French Revolution, though he scorned its follies and detested its excesses. Without presuming to pledge ourselves for the exact value of every opinion or sentiment he has uttered, we may, at least, venture to pronounce thus much—that none among us can rise from the perusal of this little work, without a more ardent attachment to the institutions which our forefathers have left us; none—that is—except those who are in the very gall of revolutionary bitterness, and the very bond of radical iniquity; none, except those are madly bent upon destroying the noble work, or, we might rather say, the sacred *growth* of centuries. The sound of the tempest causes the child to cling more closely to the bosom of its parent; and it is to be hoped that even a picture of its terrors may produce a similar effect on all Englishmen who yet preserve any remnant of a truly filial heart.

We have felt very strongly impelled to extend this article by a selection of passages, from the work before us, which might almost be produced as predictions, or as commentaries, applicable to events which have recently passed, or are actually passing, before our eyes—passages which, if they had been written by Dumont within these two years, might, in some quarters, be bitterly resented, as disguised censures of the hardihood of our experiments on the British Constitution. But we have been withheld by the recollection of our limited space, and by our unwillingness to tax unreasonably the patience of our readers. And, after all, it is perhaps quite as well that we should forbear. They who will consult the book for themselves will easily perceive that our aid would be quite superfluous. It would be a downright insult upon their sagacity and common sense, to suppose that the assistance of a monitor or an expounder could be needful. The application of many parts of this work to the occurrences of the present day is quite obvious enough to force itself on the attention of all, who read with any higher view than merely to fill up the tedious vacancy of unoccupied hours. We, therefore, are disposed to content ourselves with, once more, urgently soliciting of our readers to enrich their libraries with

this volume. Abundant as it is in wisdom and information, its dimensions are extremely moderate. It does not number 350 pages. It consequently has nothing in it to overpower the patience, or to alarm the frugality, of those who may desire to possess it. And, if any further recommendation could be wanting, it will be found in the sketches which the work exhibits of various other distinguished actors in the terrible drama of the Revolution, in addition to its finished portrait of Mirabeau.

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ART. II.—*The Poetical Works of John Milton, with a Life of the Author.* By the Rev. John Mitford. 3 vols. London. 1832.

WE have two objects in noting Mr. Mitford's edition of Milton; first, because we are desirous of saying a few words upon the political and religious character of the poet, which are naturally suggested to us by the present season of popular excitement and moral anarchy; and secondly, because we consider the life, which is prefixed to the poems, to be written in a spirit of gentle and candid searching after truth which cannot be too highly estimated, or too carefully cherished. The friends of Milton—and who would absent himself from that company?—have no reason to complain of the paucity or general intelligence of his biographers. The notices of his life by Philips and Toland have formed the text-book of subsequent writers; for Philips was the pupil and friend of the poet, and Toland was fortunate enough to obtain some communications of great interest from the poet's family. Both the memoirs breathe an air of veracity, and are distinguished by a spirit of homely interest. Next in order to these, we believe, appeared the life by the elder Richardson, the painter.

Richardson fully merits the character given him by Mr. Mitford, who calls him "an ingenious, inquisitive, and amiable man, but a singularly quaint and mannered writer." The reader may form some estimate of his style from the following description of Milton's personal appearance:—"He was," says Richardson, "rather a middle-sized than a little man, and well proportioned; latterly he was ———— no—not short and thick, but he would have been so, had he been something shorter and thicker than he was." Anything more ridiculous than this cannot well be conceived. Dr. Birch presents a singular contrast to Richardson. If these two biographers had lived in our days, and contributed to the periodical press, (almost every man of talent now writes either quarterly, monthly, weekly, or daily,) Birch would have

flung an article of gigantic proportions into the columns of the *Antiquarian Magazine*, and Richardson would have distilled his quaintness and humour into the pages of the "*Tatler*." Dr. Birch's *Memoir* very considerably increased our knowledge of Milton, and to his unwearied researches we are indebted for an account of the manuscripts of Milton preserved at Cambridge, and for specimens of the various alterations which the original text had undergone.

But the life which has excited the most discussion is that written by Dr. Johnson. The author of the *Rambler* had few feelings in common with the author of the *Treatise upon Prelatical Episcopacy*. Mr. Mitford has placed the peculiar characters of the poet and biographer in a very proper light.

"A violent tory and a high churchman," he says, "undertook to write the life of a republican and a puritan; a man remarkable for his practicable wisdom, his strong sense, and his rational philosophy, delivered his judgments on the writings of one distinguished for his high imagination, his poetical feeling, his speculative politics, and his visionary theology. Johnson came, it must be owned, with strong prejudice and much dislike to his subject; and nothing perhaps saved Milton from deeper censure but his biographer's conviction of his sincerity, his admiration of his learning, and his reverence for his piety. Had Johnson lived in the poet's day, he would have stood by the side of Salmasius in the field of controversy, and opposed Milton on every question connected with the interests of society, the existence of the monarchy, and the preservation of the Church."

The life of Milton was not the only instance in which the English moralist permitted the bitterness of political animosity to deaden the feeling of the noble and the beautiful. Thomson shared almost equally his unjust and unfounded malignity. Perhaps we have employed too expressive a word, but Johnson declared in one of his letters that he loved a good hater, and certainly his conduct towards his adversaries went some way towards upholding this confession of faith. In the memoir he not unfrequently contradicts himself, and the opinion which is delivered in one page, with all the energy and over-bearingness of positive truth, is either forgotten or abrogated in another. We will adduce one specimen only. Dr. Johnson is speaking of Milton's alleged facility of composition at particular seasons, and he laughs at the notion entertained by some, of the imagination being in any degree dependent upon the influences of nature. "The author," he continues, "that thinks himself weather-bound, will find with a little help from hellebore that he is only idle or exhausted." This occurs at page 192, and at page 195 we find the following strange converse of the sentiment. After

quoting Richardson's account of Milton's lying awake whole nights without being able to make a verse, and of the sudden rushing of the poetical faculty upon him at other times, he observes—"Yet something of *this inequality happens to every man in every mode of exertion, manual or mental*; the mechanic cannot handle his hammer or his file at all times with equal dexterity, there are hours, he knows not why, when his hand is out." No man saw more clearly than Dr. Johnson into the complex machinery of the human mind. But sometimes the eyes of his understanding were so blinded by prejudice that he could not see. A mind so totally unideal as that of Johnson, and which was generally occupied in the severer and least imaginative studies, may easily be conceived to have been little affected by the changes of the weather. The balmy winds and purple light of May were not likely to bring any increase of power to the labouring compiler of a dictionary, or the splenetic writer of a political pamphlet. But upon more sensitive and more delicately modulated feelings, the influences of nature have been most extraordinary. Rousseau declared himself incapable of sitting down at his desk, and proceeding in the labour of composition like a professed *litterateur*. His inspiration seemed to come to him only while wandering in the quiet scenes of nature, and in the serene solemnity of her beauty. A similar anecdote is related of the illustrious Jean Paul Richter, a man certainly as unlike Rousseau in the tone of his spirit, and the peculiar powers of his mind, as the author of the *Confessions* was to the biographer of Milton.

A perusal of Hayley's Memoir, after the fiery and sarcastic invectives of Johnson, has not unfrequently produced on our mind an effect resembling that caused by one of Washington Irving's touchingly simple stories, after the wild and fevered sublimity of some of Maturin's novels. Our comparison may appear inapposite, but we think it will convey our meaning to the reader. Johnson is all poignant and bitter—Hayley all gentle and benevolent. Todd has gracefully and truly styled him the affectionate biographer. The great object of the memoir was to soften the severity of Johnson's criticism, and to set forth in a fairer light "the circumstances which had excited the indignation of the critic." Hayley was desirous of investigating the poetical rather than the political character of Milton. The principal aim of his account was to exhibit a full and just idea of him as a poet and a man. The splendid edition of his works, which Hayley superintended, was expressly devoted to the decoration of his poetry. He makes the great poet as much as possible his own biographer. His manners and habits of mind accordingly appear in a new

and agreeable light, from the collection and arrangement of the various little incidental sketches which the hand of Milton has itself drawn of his early passions and pursuits. In some of the Latin poems, especially, the spirit of the author breaks beautifully and mildly forth. But if Johnson was unfitted to pronounce a judgment upon Milton, by reason of his political prejudices, Hayley was equally unable to do him justice, from the want of any corresponding grandeur or majesty of thought. He was an elegant and facile versifier, but the admirer of Miss Seward could offer little homage worthy of acceptance by the blind singer of the Fall of Man. The reflections and criticisms of Hayley fell like dry autumn leaves upon the mighty rushing stream of Milton's poetry. We must not, however, omit to acknowledge our obligations to Hayley for his ingenious remarks upon the *Adamo* of Andreini and other dramas of a similar character, although we are by no means prepared to agree with some of Milton's biographers, in supposing him acquainted with every obscure versifier from the beginning of the world. We are glad to find Mr. Mitford rejecting these vain hypotheses. We remember to have seen it somewhere affirmed, that Homer discovered the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in an Egyptian temple; and arguments, almost tantamount to this, have been advanced to deprive Milton of any claim to original invention.

Few of our readers are ignorant of the interesting translations made by Cowper from the Latin poems of Milton. A life of the poet from the pen of the author of the *Task* would, we think, have been a treasure. Not because we are disposed to agree with his enthusiastic friend, that "the minds of Milton and Cowper were most truly congenial," but because we are quite assured that the biography would have been written in a spirit of universal tenderness and kindness of heart, which must have rendered it especially precious. Most men address themselves to the composition of the memoir of a great individual under the influence of some favourite passion, or still more seductive and injurious prejudice or opinion; theirs is, of course, the only true and pure Catholicism either in religion or in politics, and in exact proportion as the subject of the history may dissent from this or that creed, or agree with this or that policy, he is pronounced a Christian or a heretic, a patriot or a revolutionist, an angel or an apostate. But in William Cowper these hateful and sickening animosities found no resting-place. Those whom he loved, "he did love indeed," but those whom he disliked, were rather affectionately avoided than bitterly remembered. His gentle and Christian feelings would have blunted rather than re-edged the fiery sword, which is ever and anon flashing out in the



hand of the controversial Milton. In the translation of the Latin and Italian poems, many traces of this charitableness are discovered. "The poems on the subject of the gunpowder treason," he says, "I have not translated, both because the matter of them is unpleasant, and because they are written with an asperity, which, however it might be warranted in Milton's day, would be extremely unseasonable now." And in a letter to Mr. Johnson, he expresses sentiments equally conciliatory. It was not until after much painful anxiety that Cowper could nerve his mind to the task of superintending, or rather illustrating, a new edition of Milton. And when he had formed his resolution, he set about his task with fear and much trembling, and was perhaps only tempted to the undertaking by the length of the period allotted for its completion. Hayley suggested to his friend the expediency of converting the notes which he had collected into a few dissertations upon the poet himself, and Cowper acknowledged the propriety of the advice. But the rapidly increasing infirmities of his beloved friend Mrs. Unwin, and his own declining health, appear to have prevented the accomplishment of his design. The string of the bow was broken, and the arrows were gone from the quiver. In a letter to Hayley upon the subject of Milton, he says, "after writing and obliterating six lines, in the composition of which I spent an hour, I was obliged to relinquish the attempt." Hayley expressed his belief that Cowper had actually finished two dissertations, but concluded, after an unsuccessful search, that they had disappeared in the confusion of his papers.

Todd's Life of Milton is rendered valuable by the laboriously collected information which it contains. He offers the account of the poet's life, to borrow his own words, "with the utmost deference," assuring the reader, however, that the materials "are drawn from authentic sources." The memoir was undertaken, moreover, principally with a view of weaving in some new anecdotes relating to Milton's friends, his works, and the times in which he lived. So much humility is rarely, at least in our day, the companion of so much merit. Mr. Todd would, perhaps, have been more popular, had he been less bountiful in the use of his large stores of antiquarian knowledge, which tend rather to crush the delicate beauties of poetry, than to invest them with any alluring and comely ornaments. But learning does not very frequently employ taste as her scribe; and her manuscripts, which if written in a fairer hand would have been received into every house, are consequently not seldom confined to the solitude of the studious scholar. The elegance of Heyne has certainly gone as far towards perpetuating his reputation as his scholarship.

After Todd we may mention Symmons, in whom Milton found a champion willing and ardent to avenge the puritan upon his enemy Johnson. It may be affirmed of Symmons, that he surpassed Johnson in the fury of his political animosities and the intemperate spirit of his partizanship. He descants upon Milton's love of liberty with the tone and energy of a leader of the great unwashed haranguing the ten thousand of the Birmingham democracy. In the estimation of Symmons, the *Paradise Lost* would have been a far less beautiful composition if the author had been a tory. In the preface to the life of the worthy doctor he *glories* to profess himself a *whig*, and declares that truth, religious, moral, and political, is alone what he professes to pursue, and if, he continues, he fancied this prime object of his regard to be by the side of the mufti, or the grand lama, of the wild demagogues of Athens, or the ferocious tribunes of Rome, he is ready to recognize and embrace her. We believe this is the orthodox creed of a political Quixote. Why any man should *glory* in belonging to any individual sect or party, or why he is to turn renegado merely because he *fancies* he sees truth by the side of the mufti, we are willing to acknowledge our inability to assign any reason. Truth abideth in a region inaccessible to the feet of the bigoted of either party, and even in her hourly ministrations in the public streets of our cities, and in the turmoil and misery of this actual life, she is to be seen only by eyes which have been purged by a divine influence from the mist spread over them. By the genuine christian and the honest patriot alone is her presence recognised in the calmness and ambrosial beauty of the atmosphere which surrounds her.

In the opinion of Symmons, the *Memoir of Johnson* is a biographical libel; and Hayley, for his impertinence in presuming to suppose his friend Cowper's *Version of Milton's Latin Poems* superior to the doctor's, is rarely mentioned in any terms save of obloquy and reproof. But not contented with setting forth Hayley's want of judgment, he hints very intelligibly at certain improvements which his (Dr. Symmons's) *Translation* had suggested to Hayley, and which the poet of Earham did not hesitate to communicate to the version of Cowper. Certain it is, that the doctor's *Translation* appeared about two years before Cowper's, with the exception of the specimens published in Hayley's *Life of Milton*, and if we add to this the inferiority of the author of the *Task*, in a poetical sense, to the author of the present *Life of Milton*, the solution of the question will be very easy! William Cowper was one of the most placable of God's creatures, and yet of a truth this *Life of Symmons* would have awakened his anger somewhat! Dr. Symmons, it has been seen, is no admirer of



Dr. Johnson, but while sneering at his politics, he manifests no indisposition to take as much as possible of his style and manner. The Rambler's Iron Mace, which was so accursed a weapon when employed with all the giant strength of its owner in dealing destruction upon the head of a martyr-whig, becomes a consecrated instrument when performing a like friendly office upon the head of a tory. But Symmons's mace is a counterfeit. He is no more like Johnson, the very construction of whose sentences he sedulously imitates, than a certain creature, more particularly mentioned in one of Æsop's fables, to the nobler animal which it sought to resemble. Dr. Symmons bears about the same proportion (mentally) to Samuel Johnson as the traveller who sits on the nose of Jain Boromeo does to that gigantic statue.

We know not any accomplishment more difficult of attainment than a graceful and gently flowing style, and yet few things appear easier to the hasty and unphilosophical inquirer. Of course, the importance of the acquirement is far greater in some cases than in others. The novelist may, in some measure, atone for the errors of his style by the vigour and freshness of his characters, and the poet, by the warm and beautiful colours of his fancy; for, in a novel we do not so much regard the *manner* as the *matter*; we think rather *what* Corporal Trim says, than *how* he says it; and in the poem it is rather the thought than the expression which engages our admiration. But in a biographer the style is every thing, next to industry and honesty it is the endowment most imperatively demanded. Ordinary writers are like ordinary women; they cannot afford to be plain and simple; as it is true beauty only in a woman which needs no adornment, so in an author it is true genius alone which permits the use of a quiet and unpretending style. These remarks are suggested to us by Dr. Symmons's Life of Milton. He imitates Johnson, and, like most of the tribe, succeeds in copying all the defects and few of the beauties: he finds the language of his master rushing along in a full and sometimes magnificent torrent, and concludes immediately, that nothing can be good which is not great. Accordingly, in his Life of Milton, he seems continually talking at the pitch of his voice; few things are said as they ought to be said, but the simplest and most self-obvious circumstance is announced like an eastern satrap, with a flourish of trumpets—one or two instances will suffice. The doctor wishes to say that it is uncertain at what period the idea of the Paradise Lost was conceived in the mind of Milton, and he expresses it thus: "It is uncertain in what happy moment he determined on assigning to the Paradise Lost the honour of being his chief work, and of placing this divine theme upon the summit of the Roman mount."—p. 527.

And again, the hours when the poet's genius flowed with the greatest freedom are "luminous moments," glowing "with efficacious splendour."—p. 546. And in another place we are represented as having gained by Milton's controversial writings "the spectacle of a magnificent mind in a new course of action, *throwing its roaring fulness over a strange country,*" &c.

We are actuated by no motive save that of honourable criticism in these observations: Dr. Symmons's *Life of Milton* is a work of considerable pretension, and characterised throughout by a most polemical spirit. To say that Dr. Symmons is a man of talent and a scholar, is only to say that these qualifications ought to have been more carefully employed. The terms in which he speaks of his son and daughter, unhappily removed from him in the spring of life, prove the author to be an amiable and affectionate parent; we wish the language which he applies to his political and literary opponents would enable us to add to this the merit of being an able and impartial biographer.

These irregular and cursory remarks have brought us to Mr. Mitford's *Memoir*, of which he informs us the works of Toland, together with those of Philips and Wood, have formed the basis.

"After being indebted to them for the necessary facts," observes the writer, "and for occasional expressions, the remainder of the narrative has been the result of my own inquiries, and formed from the conclusions of my own judgment. To the poetry of Milton, from my earliest youth down to the commencing autumn of my life, I have ever looked with a reverence and a love not easily to be surpassed; for the sentiments adopted and avowed by him on the great and complicated questions of civil liberty and political rights I have, as becomes my situation, and is suitable to the habits of my mind, expressed myself with that temperance of opinion and moderation of language, which can alone expect to conciliate attention or to demand respect."

When we read these introductory remarks we confess we augured well of the following pages, and our augury has been accomplished. It has been frequently said, (and with how much truth!) that a great book is a great evil, but with respect to the present *Memoir*, we are inclined to reverse the protest. If Mr. Mitford's *Life of the Poet* had been longer it would have been better; although we cannot say that he has entirely omitted to notice any interesting circumstance in Milton's history, it may, nevertheless, be objected, that many things which demanded patient investigation are passed over in too rapid a manner. These defects evidently arise not from the inability or negligence of the editor, but from the confined limits allotted to him.

It is neither necessary nor expedient to enter into an elaborate analysis of the *Life of Milton*. He was educated, it is well

known, for the Church, to which his earlier feelings appear to have inclined him; Dr. Newton, on the contrary, expresses an opinion, that his prejudices against the doctrines of the Church were very early formed. To us it seems idle to inquire whether his objections arose from a dislike to the Church and her discipline, or the aversion he afterwards manifested so strongly to the dominion of the Episcopacy. His own obscure and enigmatical explanation of the circumstance would support the hypothesis both of Newton and Johnson.

“‘By the intention,’ he says, ‘of my parents and friends I was destined of a child to the service of the Church *and in mine own resolutions*. Till coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the Church, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which unless he took with a conscience that he would relish, he must either straight perjure or split his faith; I thought better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and began with servitude and forswearing.’”

In this passage he evidently alludes to the subscription to the Articles, at well as to canonical obedience; we see cause of rejoicing rather of regret in the determination of Milton not to enter the Ministry. The Church already possessed a noble company. The recondite and logical learning of Bishop Hall required no assistance even from the powerful and affluent mind of Milton. If he had entered the Church, it may not be asserting too much to say that he would never have been the Immortal Poet of England. The enthusiasm of his spirit, which was continually lifting him up above the tumults of politics and party into the golden empyrean of the imagination, would have burst forth in fiery indignation against the beleaguers of the Holy Temple and the scorers of God’s Anointed. But the fact was, and it deserves to be carefully noted, that Milton at no period entertained any decided or firmly grounded religious opinion. In his boyhood, a lover of the reformed religion for which his father had sacrificed his patrimony; at one time a puritan, at another a Calvinist; now insisting upon the excellence of Arminius, now disavowing Protestantism altogether; at one season a favourer of the Anabaptists, at another of the Independents. He began by belonging to every sect, as a French writer has cleverly said, and ended by belonging to none. Dr. Newton believes him to have been a quietist with the interior of religion, although paying so little regard to the exterior. That he grew old without any visible worship is unfortunately true. His own opinion of prayer in the *Iconoclastes* is very singular, and furnishes a commentary upon his own life. “I believe,” he says, “that God

is no more moved with a prayer elaborately penned, than men truly charitable are moved with the penned speech of a beggar." This was, of course, a blow aimed at the solemn ordinances of the Episcopal Church. Dr. Johnson has beautifully remarked in his *Life of Milton*, that "to be of no Church is dangerous." A life like Milton's, in which a portion of every day was passed in the contemplation of intellectual beauty and the study of the Scriptures, might well be called a "perpetual prayer;" from his lips the offerings of gratitude and praise ascended to the Throne of Thrones; from his lodging in St. Bride's Court, with as much fervour and holiness as in the solemn and majestic gloom of a Cathedral. Pure religion and piety, we are well aware, are dependent upon no place or circumstance. Every patch of grass by the road-side, every green field, and every wild and solitary dingle, is consecrated to the worship of the Almighty. Wherever the wandering foot of man may penetrate, on the mountain top or in the forest glen, where no sound is heard save the bee bustling among the lily-bells by the hedge-rows, and the linnet making the thickly-woven leaves to rustle with its dancing feet,—there, even there, the pilgrim may bend his knee and lift his eyes to heaven, with a certain belief, that He, who neither dreameth nor slumbereth, will accept his supplication—all this has been, and will be again! But all men are not endowed with the spirit which dwelt in Milton. If every Church through the land had been destroyed, *he* would still have continued to pour out the song of praise from the sanctuary of his own heart. If the Bible itself had become a sealed book, he would have preserved a transcript in his memory.

To Milton, therefore, the want of any particular form of worship was probably not injurious, but so far as his example has been instanced as an authority for others, to condemn the ordinary solemnities of religion as an unnecessary pageant, his conduct is to be regretted. Religion, it has been finely said by our greatest moralist, of which the rewards are distant, and which is animated only by faith and hope, will glide by degrees out of the mind, unless it be invigorated and reimpresed by external ordinary stated calls to worship, and the salutary influence of example.

The memory is tenacious least of all of the pure truths of Christianity. The first thing which the child forgets in the afternoon, is the chapter he has read in the morning. We speak generally, of course, and not individually. Our intercourse with the world naturally tends to deprive our hearts of their primitive purity. We need not, indeed, become gamblers or libertines, or wanton despisers of any sacred commandments, but by gradations

almost imperceptible, the beauty of our feelings will be worn away.

If we carry a garland of flowers, gathered only an hour before, and still wet with the dew of the morning, along the crowded street of a city, we shall soon discover that the silver dew has been dried up, and the bloom rubbed from the leaf. Religion, whose rewards are so dimly descried by the mortal eye, has to contest the superiority with temporal aggrandisement and present glory, whose treasures are distinctly visible, and whose rewards are immediate and magnificent. Even the long-watching and stedfast eye of the Christian pilgrim will sometimes involuntarily turn away from the contemplation of the crystal towers of the New Jerusalem, beheld gleaming with a faint and uncertain lustre over the distant horizon, and rest in momentary admiration upon the golden cities which the Tempter has spread around. Never, then, let us plead the example of Milton in excuse of our non-attendance upon the duties of the Sabbath. Let the evening of the Saturday find us lying down like tired wanderers at the gate of the Holy Temple. For our own part, we may affirm with all humility, that we never entered a place of worship without feeling a quiet and delightful serenity diffused over our senses, like a traveller who suddenly turns away from the burning and dusty road, into the cool and refreshing shadows of the forest. The animosities of our heart, and the evil-prompting of our passions, (and who shall say that from these temptations he is exempted?) rapidly die away, and we walk out into the business and tumult of life with our heart invigorated, and our love of piety renewed and strengthened. God is of a truth, as Jeremy Taylor has nobly said, included in no place, not bound with cords, not divided into parts, not changeable into several shapes, filling heaven and earth with his present power and his never absent nature. We may, indeed, imagine Him to be as the air and the sea, and "we all enclosed in his circle, wrapped up in the lap of his infinite nature." Let us, therefore, pray by the bank-side, and in the fragrant grass, standing and walking, and sitting down, for the voice of thanksgiving ought to be as a lyre, whose music is never silent; but let us remember, in the words of that glorious Divine from whom we have quoted, that though "God will go out of his way to meet his saints,"—yet that God's "usual way is to be present in those places where his servants are appointed *ordinarily* to meet."

Let us return to Milton. The celebrated *Treatise of Theology*, discovered in the State Paper Office in the year 1823, has furnished some interesting evidence of the state of Milton's mind towards the conclusion of his life. Bishop Sumner has pointed

out, in his preface to the treatise, the passage in the *Paradise Lost* where the language of Milton respecting the Trinity may be seen.\* We would refer the reader to the chapter on the *Son of God*, in the treatise on Christian doctrine for a curious commentary upon these passages. That the Treatise on Christian Doctrine is genuine, we have, notwithstanding the dissentient opinion of the learned Bishop of Salisbury, a very fair right to conclude. That a treatise of Divinity was composed by the poet is attested by Toland, and we learn from Aubrey that the manuscript remained in the hands of Mr. Skinner. It was afterwards delivered by Daniel Skinner, the fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, together with Milton's State Letters, into the hands of Elzevir, with a view to their publication at Amsterdam. Elzevir, who was naturally alarmed at the tenets inculcated by the poet's writings, declined printing them; and a message which Skinner received from Dr. Barrow, then Master of Trinity College, forbidding him, on pain of losing his fellowship, to publish any MS. injurious to the Church or State, effectually precluded any further efforts on his part. When he returned to England, he had an interview with the Secretary of State, Sir Joseph Williamson, and upon this circumstance is founded the supposition of his having then relinquished the manuscripts. It will be remembered, that when this Treatise was discovered, in 1823, the name of Milton was found affixed to it.

"Of this treatise," says Mr. Mitford, "it is by all acknowledged, that it is written with a calm and conscientious desire for truth, like that of a man who had forgotten or dismissed the favourite animosities of his youth, and who had retired within himself, in the dignity of age, to employ the unimpaired energies of his intellect on the most important and awful subject of inquiry. The haughtiness of his temper, the fierceness of his scorn, the defiance of his manner, his severe and stoical pride, are no longer seen. He approaches the book of God with an humble and reverential feeling; and with such a disposition of piety united to so powerful an intellect, and such immense stores of learning, who would not have expected to have seen the 'star-bright form of truth' appear from out the cloud; but wherever we look the pride of man's heart is lowered, and the weakness of humanity displayed. With all his great qualifications for the removal of error and the discovery of truth he failed. His views appear too exalted, and his creed too abstract and imaginative for general use. The religion which he sought was one that was not to be attached to any particular church, to be grounded on any settled articles of belief, to be adorned with any external ceremonies, or to be illustrated by any stated forms of prayer. It was to dwell alone in its holy meditations, cloistered from the public gaze, and secluded

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\* *Paradise Lost*, lib. iii. v. 64, 138, 140, 305, 350, 384, 415, 603, 605, 719, 720; lib. vi. v. 676, 884; lib. x. v. 63, 67, 85, 225.



within the humbler sanctuary of the adoring heart. If the believer felt it to be his duty to attach himself to any particular church, that church was to be unconnected with the state. The ministers, if such were necessary, were to be unpensioned, perhaps unpaid by their congregations. The sacraments were to be administered, and the rites of burial and baptism performed by private and laick hands. Instead of receiving instruction from the preacher, each individual, even the weakest, according to the measure of his gifts, might instruct and exhort his brethren. The opinions advanced in this work differ, not only widely from those of the Church of England, but from all the sectarian churches that exist. With regard to his theological tenets, the most remarkable are those which he avows on what is called the anthropopathy of God; attributing to God a spirit human passions, and a human form. If (he says) God habitually assigns to himself the members and form of a man, why should we be afraid of attributing to him what he attributes to himself?"

We must break in upon Mr. Mitford's clear explanation of Milton's belief, in order to say a few words upon the sentiments there advanced. With respect to the style and spirit of this treatise, we are willing to allow that they are usually mild and conciliatory. But we cannot entirely coincide with Mr. Mitford in thinking it totally free from Sectarian jealousy, or with Bishop Sumner, in saying that scarcely a sentence will be found in which local or temporary interests can be suspected of having influenced the mind of the author. There is certainly no violent attack upon episcopacy, no ingenious invective upon the royalists, launched under covert of an observation upon covenants. Archbishop Laud's tyranny, and King Charles's despotism, are alike passed over; yet occasionally a glimmer—a sudden flash—breaks up from the embers of his mouldering animosities, which shows they were not altogether extinguished. In the chapter *Of Particular Churches*, for instance, he cannot resist a fling at the ministry. "What are we to think, then, of the faith of those whom I have so often heard exclaiming, in the language of unbelief, 'If you take away the church revenues you destroy the gospel.' Hence," he continues, "to exact or bargain for tithes, or other stipendiary payments under the gospel, to extort them from the flock under the alleged authority of civil edicts, or to have recourse to evil actions and legal processes for the recovery of allowances purely ecclesiastical, is the part of wolves rather than of ministers of the gospel." And he refers to the Acts of the Apostles, c. xxv. 29, and seems fully satisfied that the warning against "the grievous wolves," which St. Paul addressed to the Elders at Ephesus, applies with perfect truth to the ministers of the Church of England! Bishop Sumner has noticed a similar sentiment in *Paradise Lost*. Lib. xii. v. 508.

"Wolves shall succeed for treachery, grievous wolves."



And in the *Considerations on the likeliest means of removing hirelings, &c.* and in the History of Britain, this favourite expression is discovered.

The way in which he seeks to illustrate his singular attribution of human passion and a human form to God, is equally extraordinary. "We do not say that God is in fashion like unto man in all his parts and members, but that as far as we are concerned to know, he is of that form which he attributes to himself in the sacred writings." A human form must be composed of members, and it is no longer human than when so composed. Neither does the Deity attribute to himself any certain form in the sacred writings. "The Lord came down upon Sinai in thunder and in fire, and the mountains bowed beneath him;" but in what form or fashion did he come? Job heard the rushing of a mighty whirlwind, and a voice speaking in the midst—but unto what may we liken him who spoke in the whirlwind? When any expressions are used in the Scriptures indicative of a particular form assumed by the Deity, they are of course employed to make the revelations of the divine will intelligible to our understanding. They speak "to us through analogy."

The pride of reason, though disclaimed by Milton, it has been well remarked by Dr. Channing, formed a principal ingredient in his character. He had erected an image of intellectual excellence, as he supposed, and he worshipped it. How far his theological opinions might have been modified by the learning and argument of Bull and Waterland, or his political theories by the calmer and more practicable systems of Somers and Locke, we do not profess to determine. Our own hopes are not very sanguine on this point, although we know that a different opinion has been entertained by many learned men. Milton delighted to apparel his mind in the panoply of his own wisdom. While he expected every one to listen to him, he manifested very little courtesy towards the wishes or inclinations of others.

Milton was thirty-six years old when he published his *Tractate on Education*, and the *Areopagitica*, or speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing. We shall begin with the *Tractate on Education*.

That he who had already proved himself a visionary in religion and politics should carry the same dreaming enthusiasm into a system of education is perfectly natural. Accordingly his scheme of education is a beautiful and fleeting dream, as impalpable to the plastic fingers of the politician as the earlier and equally splendid visionings of Plato. His idea of the object of learning is sublime. He considers the end of learning to consist "in the repairing the ruin of our first parents by regaining to know God

aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith; makes up the highest perfection." If Plato had lived in the days of Milton, and under the same dispensation, he would have written thus.

The system which Milton proposed was "the likest he could find by reading to those ancient and famous schools of Pythagoras, Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, and such others," out of which so many illustrious poets and princes and historians proceeded. We know not if the circumstance has been noticed, but it is rather singular that Milton, whose hatred of individual power (except in his own person) was so bitter, should have invested the government of the one hundred and fifty students and servants, of whom his establishment was to be composed, in the person of one. As in the ancient Palæstra, the education of the body was insisted on equally with that of the mind. A knowledge of the exact use of the weapon, "to guard, to strike safely with edge or point," is scarcely of inferior importance to the comprehension of the politics of Aristotle and the philosophy of Lucretius; and an acquaintance with the various "locks and grips of wrestling," is a necessary adjunct to the study of Virgil and Socrates.

Well, indeed, may the originator of such a system describe it as tedious at the first ascent, even while declaring it to be "so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospect and melodious sounds on every side, that the harp of Orpheus could not be more charming." But perhaps the most romantic idea was the introduction of solemn music between the out of door amusements (the gripings and cuttings already mentioned) and the season appointed for refreshment. Not the "Ayrie-Burgomasters" of that Plato whom he so desired to unsphere, could have imagined any thing more unearthly than this. Even the rewards and ordinary recreations were to partake of the stately Attic character, and to be fashioned as much as possible after the Model of the Grecian masters. In his school, as in his republic, Milton legislated only for persons like himself.

The existence of a class of beings, differing from him in character and sentiment, seems never to have been remembered, or remembered only to be despised. The course of education is not adapted to the varieties of talent and capability, but every boy is to be a Socrates or a Tully in spite of nature. Milton, nevertheless, was so convinced of the practicability of his scheme, that if he had possessed the power, it would have been instantly and generally carried into execution. By degrees what a change would have been worked in our habits and customs. Instead of

the "royal Hamlet" and the gentle lady "married to the Moor." we should have listened to the complainings of the chained Prometheus, and have had our eyes delighted with the choral solemnities of the Œdipus and the Antigone. We should not have required a royal academy for our painters, for their works would have been exhibited like those of Apelles and his illustrious contemporaries before the assembled multitudes, and a modern Athens would speedily have arisen upon the banks of the Thames.

Cowley's proposition for the advancement of experimental philosophy partakes largely of the visionary nature of Milton. The objects which were particularly to engage the attention of the professors, were among the most interesting and obscure that could be selected. The ingenious poet enumerates them with singular felicity of language.

"1. To weigh, examine, and prove all things of nature delivered to us by former ages; to detect, explode, and strike a censure through all false monies with which the world has been paid and cheated so long, and to set the mark of the Coll. upon all true coins, that they may pass hereafter without any further trial. 2. To recover the lost inventions, and, as it were, drowned lands of the ancients. 3. To improve all the arts which we now have. And lastly, to discover those which we have not."

This would be excellent if we did not know it to be impossible. We must look to humbler individuals and less imaginative minds for the improvement of our schools. From John Milton and Abraham Cowley we shall obtain nothing but dreams.

Our space declines unfortunately much faster than our subject, and we hasten to offer a few brief observations upon Milton's political character. It has been the fate of Milton, in common with many other illustrious men, to have his name and principles used to sanction crime and rebellion. The republicanism of Milton was the republicanism of a poet. His political life was a pilgrimage to a purer and more ennobled state of being, to which the phantom light of a warm and enthusiastic temperament led him on. The liberty he worshipped was the liberty of the soul. In the *Areopagitica* he affirms boldly, that "when complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed, the utmost of civil liberty is attained that wise men look for." He would have scorned the noisome atmosphere of a mob-government. Milton was too conversant with the history of the world not to recollect that the most terrible tyranny is that of the multitude. His beloved Greece would have furnished him with an example. With Pericles departed the spirit of Athenian freedom, and a wild and hot-blooded demagogism, generated by the pestilential passions of a dissolute democracy, arose in its place.

Cicero traced the decline of ancient Greece to the licentious character of her political assemblies, *concionum immoderata libertate concidisse*. Liberty, that golden emanation of the soul of man, so beautiful yet so evanescent in its colours, was dispersed like a vapour before the whirlwind of popular tumult. The death of Pericles was a signal to all the daring and reckless revolutionists of the time. Then sprung up a ferocious desire of change in the legislative body, and a hatred of established institutions among the people. They esteemed the contempt of the laws—liberty, and an universal equality the only national happiness. Eloquence became a prostitute in the hands of Cleon, that *gratissimus adulator* of the people, and men to whom the Athenians would have hesitated to intrust their private property, were promoted to the first offices of the state, and invested with the government and disposal of the revenues.

If the author of *Paradise Lost* had been temporarily seduced into an acknowledgment of the superior excellence of a purely popular government, the habits of his own thought would have soon convinced him of his error. But the liberty which Milton adored was perpetually united to right reason, and from her “had no dividual being.” Dr. Symmons has an excellent passage on this subject, which it gives us much pleasure to quote.

“With Milton the idea of liberty was associated with that of the perfection of his species. Against tyranny or the abuse of power, wherever it occurred, and by whatever party it was attempted in the church or state, by the prelate or the presbyter, he felt himself summoned to contend. But sanguine, or if it must be so, rash and blind as was his affection for liberty, he was not prepared to receive it from the government of the multitude, or to believe that what he considered the offspring only of wisdom and virtue could be generated by the ferment of an uneducated and unenlightened rabble. From his prose writings and his poems, passages might be adduced to show, that drawing the just line between liberty and licentiousness, he regarded the latter as the ignorant and destructive demand of the many, while to love and cultivate the former, is the privilege of the favoured and gifted few. Coinciding with the sentiment of Sir William Jones, that the race of man, to advance whose manly happiness is our duty, and ought to be our endeavour, cannot long be happy without virtue, or actively virtuous without freedom, or securely free without rational knowledge.”—*Life of Milton*, p. 589.

And be it remembered that these are the words of the poet's Whig-biographer. Then let us hear no more of the countenance and support conferred by Milton upon the radicalism and revolutionism (if we may coin the word) of the day. Let us no more behold his sacred name uplifted like a banner before the intoxicated processions of dissolute idlers and false patriots. Let us

hear no more the *Defensio Populi* brought forward in support of the vote by ballot and annual elections. If Milton erred in his opinions, (and in many instances we may be pardoned for thinking that he did err,) it was the error of judgment, not of intention. He loved truth, for as he himself finely said, "Truth is strong next the Almighty!" If he was blind in his prejudices, yet at least he was honest; if he eulogised Cromwell when he thought him deserving of honour, he did not hesitate to remonstrate vehemently and fearlessly when he considered that arch-usurper's conduct altered. Perhaps a nearer analogy than is commonly imagined, subsists between the age of Milton and our own. He lived, as his latest biographer, Mr. Mitford, eloquently observes, at a period when "men were busy pulling down and building up; a fermentation was spreading over the surface and dissolving the materials of society." Milton draws a frightful picture of the state of society at that day in the *Areopagitica*. "Behold (he says) this vast city, a city of refuge, the mansion-house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with its protection; the shop of war hath not there more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed justice in defence of beleaguered truth, than there be pens and heads there sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to present, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching reformation." And who will deny the applicability of this description to the present season? During the last eighteen months, has not a deadly blight been resting on all the works of literature and art; upon the poet and the sculptor, the historian and the philosopher. Throughout that period, have not the elements of society, and all the pure charities of life, been gradually dissolving? A change has come over the spirit of the dream, and men behold with other eyes the deeds and works of their ancestors. When were men more busy than now in pulling down and building up, in levelling the stateliest structures of ancient days with the dust, and erecting their own habitations out of the sacred ruins? When, we would inquire, if not now, was the old faith become a forgotten thing, and old institutions crumbling away? When had the demon of lustful appetite and licentious envy more ardent worshippers, or when were his chariot wheels surrounded with a more countless multitude of blind and infatuated followers? Fresh thousands are continually hastening to join in the *Io Pæan!* which is ever ringing up into the heavens before the march of that giant intellect, which is to subject the world to its domination. Milton grasped at perfection, but not at power; he longed to pass into the Canaan which his ardent fancy assured him was to be found in a well-regulated

commonwealth, but he thought not of the rivers of milk and honey which flowed along it, so that the beautiful temple which he anxiously prayed to build for the spirit of liberty had been completed. He would not have repined, even though he had been compelled to sit a blind and desolate beggar at the portal.

It was our intention to have examined rather minutely the peculiar style and character of Milton's prose works, but we have neither time nor space for such an inquiry at present. The majority of our readers are, we trust, too well acquainted with those treasures to need either information or criticism respecting them. Although principally of a polemical nature, and confessedly written with "the left hand" of the author's genius, they contain passages of splendour and majesty, which it would be difficult to parallel in the whole range of our literature. Sometimes, indeed, the controversialist speaks with a tongue of fire, and scatters forth his invectives like burning coals upon the heads of his opponents; but far more frequently the rich harmonies of the poet's lyre swell upon the ear. The tempest of his anger and indignation would be black and terrible, if along the deep gloom the delicately coloured bow of his fancy were not continually appearing. The *Areopagitica* is one of the noblest efforts in the language. We know nothing in any book of ancient or modern days, more exquisite than the following:

"Books are not absolutely dead things, but doe contain a potencie of life in them, to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are; nay, they doe preserve as in a violl the purest efficacie and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively and as vigorously productive as those fabulous dragons' teeth, and being sown up and down may chance to spring up armed men. \* \* \* \* A good book is the precious life-blood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life."

We cannot trust ourselves longer with the prose works of Milton. Perhaps at a more convenient season we may return to them. Meanwhile let us take a hasty glance at his poetical character.

We do not by any means join in the regret expressed by many that Milton failed to effect his early intention of making the history of Britain the subject of a lofty epic. The singer of the "loves of Angelica, and the exploits of Arthur," might have been a mighty and illustrious poet, but he would not have been the boast of his country. From his childhood the mind of Milton seems to have been undergoing a course of tuition the most proper to fit him for the sacred office he was to occupy. He makes an interesting allusion to this circumstance in the introduction to the *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*.



"I entered upon a course of assiduous study in my youth, beginning with the books of the Old and New Testament, and going diligently through a few of the shorter systems of divines, in imitation of whom I was in the habit of classing under certain heads whatever passages of Scripture occurred for extraction, to be made use of hereafter as occasion might require."

This was an earnest of the *Paradise Lost*. We question much if a poet so deeply imbued with the spirit of the Hebrew world will ever again arise among us. Milton may be said, without profanity, to connect the age of the prophets with the present. He seems to have sojourned during the long period in which his divine poem was being created in the Holy Land, and to have imbibed that patriarchal atmosphere. The very colours of the East live in his verse.

It is impossible to cast our eyes over a page of Milton's poetry, crowded with parallel passages from Greek, Latin, and Italian writers, without perceiving the assistance he derived from the works of others. Not a few of his most delightful images and felicitous phrases are literal translations. The *Paradise Lost* has been quaintly, but not inaptly, styled a temple constructed to his immortal fame of the cedar of Lebanon, the gold of Ophir, and the marble of Paros. His imagination was continually haunted by the beautiful and enchanting forms of the antique mythology. One of the most interesting features of the present edition of the poems of Milton is the number of original notes contributed by the editor. In these days of hack writing, we should have said rather *compilation*, it is absolutely refreshing to meet with an author who evidently renders us the fruits of patient and careful study. Mr. Mitford has collected many of his notes from books frequently scarce and very rarely consulted by the general reader. It appears, however, to be the opinion of poetical editors, that of the treasures of their note-books nothing is to be lost, and accordingly they frequently spill whole pages of miscalled parallel passages over a single line. Mr. Mitford has not entirely avoided the seductive error of his predecessors, and we cannot but consider several of his quotations as evidences of the editor's ingenuity and research, rather than illustrations of the text of the poet. We have been so sincere in our praise of Mr. Mitford's book, that we feel the less reluctance in pointing out an example of what appears to us irrelevant and unnecessary commentary.

Milton says, *Par. Lost*, lib. i. v. 742, describing the fall of the angel from heaven,—

"and how he fell  
From heaven they fabled, thrown by angry Jove  
Sheer o'er the crystal battlements."



Now we should have supposed *battlement* sufficiently plain and intelligible; but Mr. Mitford thinks otherwise, and, by way of glossary, presents us with the following verse from Beaumont's *Psyche* :—

“ Much higher than the proudest battlements of the old heavens.”

and concludes by referring us to Don Quixote for further information. Sancho Panza illustrating *Paradise Lost*!

We could add to this, but we will not. We would recommend to any future editor of Milton to direct his investigation particularly to the stores of rabbinical learning with which the author of the *Paradise Lost* was so intimately familiar. This is an unexplored field of research, for we are not aware that Mr. Todd, or any other editor, has drawn anything from it. Before we dismiss the notes, we ought to mention that for “a few” Mr. Mitford acknowledges himself indebted to the Reverend Alexander Dyce, the able editor of *Peele*, and other excellent, though neglected, dramatists.

Here then we bid farewell to Milton and his biographers. Of the poetry of the noble bard we have said little where our heart inclined us to say much. Some of the most beautiful remembrances of our youth are connected with his divine poetry, when we dwelt, as under the influence of enchantment, within the flowery walks of his undecaying *Paradise*, and the shadows of those trees “which wept odorous gums and balm” slept upon our eyes, and the amber streams rolled over the Elysian flowers at our feet! Then, indeed, we might almost say with the enthusiast Cowper, that the perusal of his *L'Allegro* or *Comus* made us “dance with joy.” Years have only deepened our love into veneration. He possesses sublimity enough to command our fear, and gentleness enough to awaken our affection. He unites the fancy of Spenser to the majesty of *Æschylus*, and the delicate finish and grace of Canova to the bold and sweeping outlines of Michael Angelo. Hazlit said eloquently of Dante, that he stood unappalled upon that dark shore which separates the ancient from the modern world, and beheld the glories of antiquity dawning through the abyss of time. The observation may be applied with equal propriety to Milton. He did indeed, so to speak, throw a bridge over that vast gulf which the river of time has worn between the past and the present. He was at once a Hebrew and a Greek, an Italian and a Briton. He gathered his treasures from every region of the earth. On every shore the tide of ages had left something worthy of preservation. Compared with Shakespeare he was not naturally learned. But whatever he touched, be it before never so worthless, started into life

beneath the potency of his Promethean pencil. The corruptible might then be said to put on incorruption, and the mortal immortality. A block of marble from Pentelicus became a prize worthy of contention by princes after it had been fashioned into beauty by the chisel of Praxiteles, and the humblest thought, subjected to the alchemy of Milton's genius, became transmuted into something precious and costly. He was an enchanter who changed all the earthen edifices of the imagination into pure gold.

We thank Mr. Mitford heartily for his delightful volumes, which have been the instruments of "lapping our souls in Elysium," for so short a period.

ART. III.—*The Sacred History of the World, &c. &c.* By Sharon Turner, &c. London. 1832.

MR. SHARON TURNER is a person of whom it is impossible to speak without the most sincere respect both for his learning and his piety. His historical writings, notwithstanding their obvious defects, are distinguished by the extent of his inquiries into paths but little known, by his patient investigation of truth, and the soundness of his moral and religious principles—qualities in which we are constrained to say that the generality of our English historians, especially those who are most read and admired, have been lamentably deficient. The present work, designed to show the perfect harmony that subsists between the word and the works of God, gives him an additional claim to the approbation of all good men; and even where he fails, as in some important points he appears to have failed, in elucidating the exact correspondence between the discoveries of modern science and the brief and obscure enunciations of the Mosaic records of the creation, we cannot but esteem the motives by which he was influenced, in preparing what he hoped would prove an antidote to the prevailing scepticism of the present age.

As God is, past all controversy, the author of the universe, it is certain, that the discoveries of a true philosophy respecting the nature of that universe can never, by any possibility, be really at variance with a true divine revelation; and, consequently, wherever they seem to be at variance, it must be either because the philosophy is erroneous, or the revelation is not rightly understood. In a defective state of science, those who are convinced of the truth of the Mosaic cosmogony will, of course, interpret that inspired record in correspondency with their mistaken notions; and thus the blunders of an ignorant astronomer have so

far been adopted as articles of faith by an infallible church that it has been accounted heresy to question them. Whilst all are partakers of this common ignorance no great injury is done by it to the cause of practical piety; but as the boundaries of knowledge are increased, and the views of physical science are corrected and enlarged, men are too apt to revenge themselves on their religion, which has been made to serve as the support of such a mass of error, and to exchange their former irrational credulity for a still more irrational spirit of universal scepticism. The heavens might declare the glory of God, and the firmament show his handy-work, as clearly to the philosopher of the fourteenth century, and the proofs of His omnipotency, drawn from the energies of his creative power, might be as conclusive then as they are now to us, whose views of the immensity of the universe and of its astonishing mechanism are carried to a height to which the wildest darings of imagination could not formerly have aspired, and based on principles of certainty to which the science of former ages could not attain. No man then was shocked at the absurdity of supposing that the sun revolved round the earth in every four-and-twenty hours, and that all the host of heaven—the stars in their courses—moved about her as their fixed and common centre. The magnitudes and distances of the celestial bodies were wholly unknown; and those who thought the sun was a great red-hot stone, about the size of the Peloponnesus, would find it much easier to believe that he moved round the earth, as he seems to do, than that the earth, which appears at perfect rest, should revolve round him. But when the telescope unfolded to the eye of man the mysteries of the firmament, and exposed the errors of the Ptolemaic system, no small injury was done to the cause of religion by the injudicious attempt that was made to bring in revelation to its support, and to check the progress of philosophical inquiry. It ought never to have been doubted, and even now should never be forgotten, that the path of an exact and scientific investigation of the phenomena of nature is the only way in which we can hope to acquire an insight into the true meaning of those sacred records which tell us of the method and order pursued by the Creator in the formation of the material universe. It would be the height of folly and inconsiderateness to assert that the discoveries of modern astronomy, geology, and chemistry, have so far enlarged our views of the operations of nature as to enable us to construct a perfect system of natural theology, and to prove, from facts already ascertained, the entire truth of the Mosaic history of the creation. But we affirm with confidence that the discoveries of modern science have been so far from throwing any discredit on that portion of the sacred

writings, that their tendency has been to place them in a clearer light, and to make it evident that many of the facts relating to the creation of the world, as they are stated by Moses, could by no possibility, in the age in which he wrote, have been known otherwise than by immediate revelation from God.

The temerity and presumption of those pseudo-philosophers, who, in investigating the operations of nature, leave out all consideration of the great Author of nature, cannot be too severely reprehended; but we would not desire even the Christian philosopher to direct his steps in the pursuit of physical truth by a continual reference to the cosmogony of Moses. We would request him, on the contrary, to go on in the course of his useful studies, with his mind wholly unfettered by the trammels of any preconceived opinions, and steadily to follow truth, whithersoever it may lead him; in the fullest confidence that every real discovery which he may make, every addition he may acquire to the stock of his former knowledge, will tend to throw new light on the primitive revelation, and, consequently, give him a firmer conviction of its divine origin.

Mr. Turner, we think, notwithstanding his attention to the philosophical part of his subject, has fallen into some palpable errors, by not sufficiently regarding this plain rule. He reads the first chapter of Genesis—for this is all with which his present work is concerned—and having fixed in his own mind the meaning of certain passages, he endeavours to make his philosophy accord with his faith; and, of course, where his interpretation of Scripture is erroneous his philosophy is false. Had he reversed this method, had he continually kept in view those facts in physical science which are firmly established, and made use of them to interpret the Mosaic record, he would have escaped from many difficulties in which his system is now entangled, and would have placed in a far stronger light than he has now done the perfect harmony that appears to subsist between the works and the word of God, as far as we are yet able to comprehend them.

Before we proceed to state a few of the points in which we find ourselves constrained to dissent from Mr. Turner's opinions, we may be permitted to say that the title of the book is, in fact, a gross misnomer. It is in no sense a "Sacred History of the World from the Creation to the Deluge." The difficulties in the narrative of the paradisaical and fallen state of our first parents are wholly unnoticed—no account whatever is given of the primitive religion, of its rites, and sacrifices, and stated periods of worship—of the separation of the families of mankind into two classes—of the gradual progress of the arts of life, and of the general corruption of morals and universal impiety, which finally brought

upon the earth the catastrophe of the Noachic deluge. We do not blame the author for omitting all these topics; he may have very good reasons for doing so. The discussion of them might, in great measure, have anticipated the second portion of his work, in which he promises to treat of "that series of events and operations, which, after the renewal of mankind, became more immediately connected with their economy, condition, politics, and destinies, under the present laws and state of their existence." "Human history," he tells us, in language not remarkable for precision and simplicity, "will neither appear a rational or connected system, nor be found in harmony with the science which characterizes the laws of the material universe, if the Sacred History which has accompanied our earthly subsistence, be omitted in our contemplation. It is this which gives purpose, order, causation, process, intelligence, and benevolence to the other." It seems from this statement (for we cannot speak positively) that Mr. Turner intends hereafter to trace the origin and progress of human society by the aid of those few and scattered lights which the sacred historian has left us in that portion of the book of Genesis which relates the events that occurred to the survivors of the deluge, and their descendants. For this reason, we suppose, he has omitted to treat of the corresponding topics which occur in the periods of antediluvian history; but, having omitted them, he ought not to have entitled his work a "Sacred History of the World, from the Creation to the Deluge."\* He ought rather to have called it the "Testimony of Natural Theology to the truth of the Mosaic account of the Creation." His readers would then have known what to expect, and would have acknowledged, that the book fulfilled the promise of its title. It is, indeed, the most amusing work that has yet appeared on the subject of natural history, and contains the fullest collection of interesting facts in all that relates to the animal and vegetable kingdoms, together with much curious and some erroneous information in the more difficult branches of astronomical, chemical, and geological science.

Mr. Turner's account of the formation of the earth, of its position in the solar system, and the gradual processes by which it became adapted to the residence of man and the other animals which live on its surface, is rather perplexing. Of the declara-

\* Mr. Turner may say that he has not *wholly* omitted these topics. True, the title of his last Letter is as follows: "The First State and Residence of the Human Beings Created—The Beginning of Language—The Fall of Man—Corruption and Vices of the General Population—Its Universal Destruction by a Deluge." All these subjects occupy just two pages and a half out of five hundred and twenty.

tion of Moses, so simply and emphatically expressed in the first verse of the Pentateuch.

“ In the beginning God (*Elohim*) created the heavens and the earth.”

he justly says, that the intellectual world possesses in it an invaluable treasure. The fact could be *known* only from revelation; and those nations of antiquity, amongst whom, notwithstanding the high cultivation of their mental powers, the traces of the primitive revelation were obscured and defaced, either made their deities spring out of the material universe—the offspring of Erebus and Night—or else supposed that all things existed from all eternity, and started into life and form from a fortuitous concourse of self-moving atoms. Absurd and wild as this atomic system is, the hypothesis has been revived, and found its advocates among men of some note in modern times. Mr. Turner’s method of confuting it will hardly, we fear, have the success he wishes in bringing back these pseudo-philosophers to a sounder mind. The material world, he argues, all visible nature, is a multifarious association of very compounded substances—and it is impossible that any compound can have been eternally a compound; because the particles of which compounds consist must have been in some other state before they were compounded together. Then follows this happy illustration:

“ The schoolboy perceives at once that his plum-cake cannot have been eternal. The plums, the flour, the butter, the eggs, and the sugar, of which it is composed, must have been in some other places and state, before they were brought together to make the substance which gratifies him. So the mighty world we live in, the rocks, the mountains, the minerals, &c.”—p. 12.

The question, we imagine, is not whether the primary elements of the universe existed from all eternity in those combinations and under those forms in which they now appear, but whether they were brought into this wonderful harmony and order by the fortuitous concourse of their own particles, or by the controlling wisdom and infinite power of the Deity; and, for ought we see, Mr. Turner’s argument leaves this question just where he found it.

Mr. Turner appears to think that the first sentence of the Book of Genesis contains a general declaration of the momentous truth that the whole material universe was called into existence by the will of the Almighty; and then that the rest of the first chapter exhibits a more particular and detailed account of the order in which that work of creation was accomplished. First of all, if we understand him rightly, he supposes that



the fabric of our earth was constructed out of the mass of matter previously created, but which had not till then been arranged into any specific formation: that in this, its first state, it was a dark mass, unformed and void, having an abyss within, and having its surface covered with moving waters, on which the Divine Spirit was operating: and that, by this operation, it may be presumed (for its effects are not stated) that those formative arrangements were produced which constitute its present structure—its great masses of rocks and strata—its geological system and construction.

To make any remarks on this groundless conjecture, or to insist on the equivocal meaning of the phrase *Ruach Elohim*, which is commonly translated the “Spirit of God,” is the less necessary, as Mr. Turner himself immediately abandons his own hypothesis, and attributes, with much greater probability, to the pervading agencies of the *Aor*—the principle of light and heat combined—those effects, which, in the first instance, he had ascribed to the Divine Spirit. As soon as the Divine command was uttered, this luminous fluid came instantaneously pouring on and pervading the terrestrial mass; and

“from the moment of its presence, the phenomena and agency of light, heat, and fire began, wherever it spread—and within the earth as well as upon it. The interior of the earth, as far as it is yet known, exhibits everywhere the agency of light and heat, either in their combined operation of fire, or in their separate states or other modifications. Submarine volcanoes are still occasionally bursting up, as indications of the fiery agencies that are yet acting beneath our surface. *Thus the Mosaic record expresses the true principles of our geological formations.* These have proceeded from the action of the watery or of the fiery element, or are the alternate effects of each. We learn from the Book of Genesis that both these were active agents in the creation, from its very commencement. Water preceded, and began its operations as the Spirit of the Creator directed them. Light descended immediately afterwards, when ordered, and with its modifications or attendants, heat and fire, exerted their [its] powerful agencies. Thus the great scientific truth so recently ascertained, after many contending systems had been upheld and thrown down, that both the watery and the fiery elements were actively concerned in the geological construction of our earth, is implied or indicated by the Mosaic narration, instead of being inconsistent with it.”—pp. 16, 17.

Again, in a note (p. 23.)

“It is an opinion, which phenomena of nature are continually occurring to strengthen in the observing mind, that light and heat have such close analogies and intimate relations with the effects and laws of the electric, magnetic, and galvanic fluids, as to induce a belief that they are all modifications of the same ethereal substance. If this be a just



conclusion, the rise and action of light included the operation of all these fluids in the geological formations."

Notwithstanding the loose and declamatory style in which the foregoing passages are written, we believe that they contain a near approximation to the truth; and, therefore, we are the more struck with the author's inconsistency, when we find him declaring in an intermediate passage (p. 21) that "no account is given in Genesis of the geological formation of the different strata, &c. which constitute the interior and crust of the globe."

He appears to us, in the next place, to have involved himself in difficulties absolutely insurmountable, by maintaining the untenable hypothesis, that the periods in which the work of the creation was accomplished were natural days, each consisting of twenty-four hours, being the space of time in which the earth makes a complete revolution on its own axis. According to Mr. Turner's view of the subject, the earth was launched forth, single and solitary, into the void immensity of unoccupied space, to spin fortuitously on its own axis, without any *earthly* reason that we can discover, before the sun, or any of the other countless myriads of worlds, which roll above us, and move, as it seems, round some common centre, was called into existence. Now though it may possibly be true that the rotation of the earth on its axis might occur as well without a solar orb as with one, we see not how the period in which it is accomplished could have been computed, as Mr. Turner says it was, "before the sun was made the centre of our astronomical system"—in other words, how the natural day could have existed, before the sun was made a receptacle of light. We know that the earth has performed this revolution by observing that that portion of it in which we live has returned again to the same meridian; and, accordingly, we suspect that our capability of measuring the period in which this rotation is effected depends more on the sun than Mr. Turner is willing to admit. Whether the earth would have had this peculiar motion or not, independently of its annual motion round the sun, is a matter not worth disputing; holding it, as we do, for a most infallible truth, that the one motion never existed without the other. Were it true, which we take leave to doubt, that the earth might lose its diurnal motion, and yet continue to circle round the sun in its yearly course, we do not think the possibility of its doing so is rendered more evident by the manner in which the moon moves about our earth. The moon, Mr. Turner affirms (p. 19), "has no rotatory motion." This is boldly said. The moon, as every child knows, presents always the same face to the earth; and this, we take it, affords a perfect demonstration that it forms a rotation on its own axis, precisely in the same

period in which its monthly revolution is accomplished. We are aware, indeed, that the moon, as it is fixed in the circular grove of a common orrery, keeps the same face invariably towards the earth, though it has no motion on its axis—but then the axis itself is made to turn round. It is evident—so evident that we are ashamed to insist on it—that if the moon had no rotatory motion, it must present, in succession, every part of its surface to the earth, during the course of its revolution round it. If Mr. Turner will take his watch, and turn it round a candle, in such a manner as to keep the face always towards it, he will find that it can only be done by turning the watch round upon itself, precisely in the same time in which it is carried round the candle. Unless he gives it this rotatory motion, he will discover that every part of the watch will be opposite to the candle in succession—when, for instance, he has taken it half round, the back will be presented to the light.

We can perfectly understand that nothing but his prevailing desire to reconcile the appearances of nature to what *he supposes* to be the plain declaration of Scripture concerning them, has driven Mr. Turner to attempt the difficult and impossible task, of proving that the creation of the world was accomplished in six periods, each consisting of twenty-four hours. With the knowledge which he has obtained of the principles of modern science, we wish him to consider whether it is possible that the stratification of the earth, the rocks, minerals, &c. of which its crust (to say nothing of its solid centre) is composed, could have been formed, under the agencies of water and fire, in the period of twenty-four, or, at the most, of forty-eight hours? If he says that he by no means limits the operation of these mighty agents, which are still powerfully at work every where on the surface of the globe, to this brief period of time—that he only considers that they *began* to exercise their active influence at the moment when the fiat of the Creator called them into existence, and that ever since they have continued to act and to produce those changes which are continually being carried on; then we would desire him to reflect, whether, in the short term of two natural days, the earth—the whole earth—could have been brought into a state in which it would be capable of being invested with its verdant clothing, and bearing on its tranquil bosom, “the tree yielding fruit, whose seed is in itself, after its kind?” At its first formation, the globe of earth, as its present form appears to indicate, was in a semi-fluid state, with the mass of waters spread over its entire surface. We would ask, therefore, whether it is consistent with the knowledge we have acquired of the manner in which the Deity still continues to exert his power, through the operation of

secondary causes, in producing new formations, and in which we may presume he always acted, to suppose that the rocks of which the primitive strata of the earth are composed, its stupendous masses of granite, gneiss, slate, porphyry, schist and basalt, were all formed in forty-eight hours, and disposed, as we now find them, in the vast ranges of our primitive mountains? All these rocks—every one of them—must have been formed before either vegetables, or zoophytes, or any of the more perfect animals, existed on the earth, for they contain no traces of organic remains; and we ask again, whether it is conceivable, from any thing which our experience teaches us of the mode of the Divine operations, that all these successive strata should have been formed, and the mighty masses of granite which, in every part of the world which geologists have yet explored, constitute the bases of the mountain ranges, should have been thrown up in vertical peaks through all the superincumbent positions, in the brief space of forty-eight hours? We think not. That the earth was constructed with an especial reference to the accommodation of the living beings which were designed to inhabit it, is what no man in his senses will deny. But it is both invidious and weak to say, that those who conceive that these designs of Infinite Wisdom were carried on by successive developments through indefinite ages, detract thereby from the energies of Omnipotence, and approximate the illimitable power of the Creator to the imbecility of human agents. It is not so. No human imagination is able to conceive the immensity of the creation. Millions and millions of suns and worlds fill the unbounded regions of space, giving to the eye of the philosopher a sensible image of infinity, and oppressing his mind with an overwhelming sense of the might and majesty of the Great Being who created them. For as it seems to be philosophically certain, that all these heavenly bodies are preserved in their respective stations by their mutual action on each other, and highly probable that the whole system of the material universe moves round some common centre, as the earth and the other planets move round the sun, it is evident, that the presence of each of these bodies is necessary to the harmony and perfection of the universe, and that they could not be where they are and maintain their relative distances and motions, unless they had been all simultaneously formed. The Christian philosopher, who thus, by the aid of modern science, interprets the emphatic declaration of the Mosaic cosmogony, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," cannot righteously be accused of bringing down the omnipotence of the Creator to the low standard of human agency; though he supposes that, when the universe had thus been called into existence and arranged in all

its wonderful harmony and order, the earth, with the countless myriads of worlds above us, was gradually adapted for the habitation of living creatures by the operation of those secondary causes which still continue to act, though, perhaps, with diminished force. The state of geological and chemical science is too little advanced to enable us, as yet, to construct a true theory of the progressive steps by which the earth was brought into its present form and appearance; and, consequently, we can but very imperfectly elucidate the Mosaic records of the creation by comparing them with the facts which those sciences have hitherto ascertained. But still we know enough to be tolerably certain that the stratification and crystallization of the primitive rocks (for they must have been formed in a horizontal position) were not accomplished in the course of one or two natural days; and happily there is, in the language of the Mosaic record, no reason why we should be constrained to think otherwise; for it may safely be affirmed, that the word "*day*," in the Hebrew Scriptures, means, in the great majority of instances, not a period of twenty-four hours, but an era or indefinite period of time; and we shall take occasion presently to show how it *probably* came to be employed in that sense, first by Moses in his account of the creation, and, subsequently, in the writings of the Jewish prophets.

Mr. Turner does not, indeed, assert that those inclined or vertical strata, of which the ridges of our secondary mountains consist, were lifted up and placed in their present elevated position during the course of the two days in which he supposes that they were formed; for it is quite certain that these primitive rocks, of which the summits occupy the highest points of our mountains, and on which the horizontal strata are found to rest, were not shifted into their present position till the horizontal strata, the rocks of secondary formation, had been placed upon them; and this is certain, not only because the inclined strata, where we can dig through the horizontal strata in their neighbourhood, are invariably found below, but because we often find that their summits are surmounted by layers of the horizontal strata, which were borne up by the primitive rocks in that violent convulsion which carried them through the horizontal beds of the secondary formation, and left them in their present vertical position. According to Mr. Turner's hypothesis, these changes in the crust of our globe, as far as the primordial rocks are concerned, were effected during that period which intervened between the first creation of its material substance and the mandate for light to descend upon it:—"in this portion of time," he says, (p. 461,) "we may place the formation of our elementary matter; the composition and arrangement of the vast central and interior contents,

whatever they may be; and the construction, *circumambieney*, and consolidation of all the primordial rocks; and, indeed, the production of all things to which light was not essentially necessary." We beg to ask Mr. Turner, whether, on his own principles, he does not consider that light, with its concomitants heat and fire, was necessary to the crystallization of these rocks? And if so, what becomes of his conjecture? With respect to the secondary formations, he disposes of them in that interval of 1656 years, which occurred between the creation of Adam and the Deluge; the tertiary he calls diluvian. We really do not understand this. Does Mr. Turner suppose that the primitive rocks (for according to this hypothesis none other were yet in existence) were clothed with herbage, and plants and trees for the sustenance of man and all the various tribes of terrestrial animals? If so, he will gain, we suspect, few converts to his opinion. But into all these difficulties he is driven by the unhappy and groundless assumption, that the work of the creation was completed in six natural days; and this he maintains, lest, otherwise, we should make the world older than Moses has made it, and thus impeach the truth of the sacred records.

Now, though we differ from Mr. Turner in the view we take of Scripture chronology, since we conceive that the chronology of the Septuagint version is greatly preferable to that of the present Hebrew text, yet we desire him to believe that we are as firmly persuaded as himself, that neither the creation of *man* nor the catastrophe of the Noachic deluge can be carried back farther than to the dates which Moses has assigned them. Beyond the first of these points every thing is indefinite; and our conjectures, accordingly, are free to expatiate through illimitable time, or, possibly, eternity. There is one circumstance, to us a very palpable one, which, nevertheless, we believe that other inquirers into the Mosaic writings have hitherto overlooked. The fact to which we allude is, that of the two primeval records of the creation which stand at the head of the book of Genesis, the first is a history of the pre-adamite creation, terminating with the formation of man; the second is an account of the post-adamite creation, commencing with the fertilization of the earth and formation of mankind, and, subsequently to that event, informing us of the creation of the various tribes of animals which now exist on the surface of the globe.

As we consider that this observation will go far to clear up the difficulties which geology has appeared to present to the reception of the opinions generally entertained respecting the Mosaic cosmogony, we shall endeavour, as we have freely expressed the grounds of our dissent from Mr. Turner's hypothesis, to state

clearly the view that we have taken of this confessedly obscure subject.

Moses is unquestionably the author of the Pentateuch; for since the Samaritan copy places it beyond a doubt that it existed, as we now have it, before the Babylonian captivity, it is certain that Ezra and his co-elders could not have forged it, on the return of the Jews to their own land—and no other time can be fixed in which it could possibly have been forged. But though we hold it for certain that the Pentateuch was written by Moses, it is, we think, quite as certain that that portion of it which goes under the title of the book of Genesis, was compiled from then existing records, which had been preserved in the patriarchal families. On this subject the internal evidence is so strong, the difference of style between the earlier and latter chapters is so decisively marked, the rude and simple character of the primitive records being gradually exchanged in the following portions of the sacred narrative for a more full and historical mode of composition, that we should feel disposed to doubt whether any person who disputes this fact can be a competent judge of the question. Nothing can be more unsatisfactory and, indeed, contradictory, than the attempts that have been made, chiefly by means of the divine titles, *Elohim* and *Jehovah*, to mark the precise limits of each of these patriarchal records; and nothing, we imagine, more certain, than that the Mosaic accounts of the creation (for these alone are our present concern) were compiled from such records. There is not the slightest intimation that these, or any other facts in the book of Genesis, were made known to Moses by immediate revelation; it is not said, for instance, “God spake unto Moses and said, In the beginning I created the heaven and the earth.” But let it not be thought that the authenticity and authority of the record is thereby impaired, any more than the authority of the other historical books of the Old Testament, because the writers of them frequently appeal to the existing monuments from which their accounts were drawn. The Divine sanction is visibly impressed on the Mosaic Law; and this being so, it is utterly inconceivable, that God would suffer his own revelation to be debased by any heterogeneous mixture with human error; and, consequently, every portion of the book of Genesis, no less than of the Law, properly so called, is stamped with the same characters of truth. Besides, the internal evidence contained in the first record of the creation affords, we think, the very highest imaginable presumption; that it originally was delivered by immediate revelation, and, probably, by the Creator himself to our first parents.

It will be admitted, we suppose, by all learned men, that no



specimens of alphabetical or phonic writing can be appealed to, as having existed prior to the time of Moses; many persons not unskilled in profane learning, would, we know, flatly deny so early a date to the invention of letters; but few, or none have ventured to carry it beyond, (for even Manetho's pillars were inscribed *Ιεραὶ διαλέκται*, and thence translated into hieroglyphic characters,) and consequently, the primeval records which Moses employed, must have been written in symbolic characters, and thence transferred by him, with the greatest imaginable exactness, into alphabetic writing. This hypothesis may, *possibly*, account for some of the difficulties and obscurities that meet us in the earlier parts of the Mosaic narrative, though it will but in few instances help us to explain them. With respect, however to the use of the word "day," in the first chapters of Genesis, we think it by no means difficult to conceive, that, in symbolical writing, such as we have supposed in the primitive records of the world, the character denoting day, a character, probably, combined of the united symbols of darkness and light, would be used to denote a period of time, for this reason, because a natural day is almost the only period, which, in the infancy of science, all mankind are able to measure; and thus, having acquired this sense in the Mosaic cosmogony, it was constantly used by the later Jewish prophets to denote an indefinite period, or the era in which certain events predicted by them should be accomplished. We have sometimes suspected, that one reason why it is especially recorded of Moses that he was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," was to assure us of his competency to understand and to translate these primeval records.

Of the leading fact, that the first of the Mosaic records gives a succinct but regular detail of the order of the creation *terminating* with the formation of man; and that the second gives a short account of the creation of man, in the first place, and then, of the creation of the animals that were formed after him,—of this leading fact, which is of prime importance in our present inquiry, there can be no doubt. The two records, notwithstanding this seeming discrepancy, are perfectly consistent with each other, because the first, as we have already said, gives a history of the Pre-adamite, the second of the Post-adamite creation.

We shall endeavour to set before our readers a slight and rapid sketch of our own view of the Sacred History of the creation of the world, leaving it to them to decide how far it is consistent with the discoveries of modern science, and in what degree it serves to remove the difficulties which stand in the way of Mr. Turner's hypothesis.



“ In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth ;”

That is, gave existence to the whole material universe—formed in an instant, the whole stupendous machine, and gave to the whole and every part thereof its allotted place and motion.

“ And the earth was without form and void.”

Our globe (as that also of the other planets belonging to our solar system) being an oblate spheroid, flattened at the poles, has gradually acquired its present form by means of its rotation on its own axis; which clearly proves that it was at first in a semifluid state; and it is evident, that, in its primordial state, it must have been “ void,” and unfitted for the sustenance either of vegetable or animal life. We need not enter into a critical inquiry into the meaning of the Hebrew words *tohu* and *bohu*; those who desire to do so may consult Dathe and the German critics; the words, as it appears to us, cannot be translated better than they are in our authorized version, about the meaning of which there is no difficulty.

At this point of the creation the whole celestial system of suns and worlds innumerable was created, and disposed through the boundless regions of infinite space, yet hitherto light was not called into existence. The first act of the Creator, therefore, towards adapting this globe of ours (and we may believe by analogy all other worlds) to be fitted for the abode of those living beings with which he designed to people it, was to give existence to light, that ethereal fluid, which under some of its various modifications of heat, galvanism, magnetism, or electricity, seems to pervade all nature, and was, doubtless, the chief agent employed, together with water, in effecting those chemical changes on the surface of our globe, which led to the accomplishment of the next command of creative power, in the formation of a circumfused atmosphere, and thus enabled the clouds and vapours “ the waters above the firmament,” to float over the earth; and then elevating the primitive rocks from their horizontal position, threw them up into inclined planes or vertical peaks, and separated the sea from the dry land.

We may guess, and in proportion as our view of the operation of nature is enlarged, may guess with near approximation to the truth, but we can never *know* in what manner the first-created Light was diffused through the universe and acted in reducing the countless myriads of worlds to order and beauty, and fitting them to be the abodes of animal life. But this we may say with confidence, that in the days of Moses, or in any subsequent period, till of very late years, it never could have entered into the mind of man to conceive that light had any existence independent of the

sun. Philosophers have, indeed, of late discovered, that light is an ethereal fluid independent of the sun; that the solar orb itself is not luminous, but that it is invested with an atmosphere of light, distant, according to Herschel's computation, 2,500 miles from its surface. To every reflecting mind the fact then, that in this Mosaic record light is expressly stated to have existed before the solar orb was enveloped in its luminous atmosphere affords a very strong presumption of the divine origination of the sacred narrative. Man would not have known it, would hardly have guessed it, and had he guessed it, the chances would have been "all the world to nothing" against his being right in this and every other position that is laid down in the primitive history of the creation. We shall know more about these things presently, but in the present state of our knowledge, matter and motion being given, what would a philosopher ask for to enable him to frame a world, we do not say to create beings upon it, but to make it capable of supporting vegetable life and animated creations? We think he would ask for what Moses has here given him, that ethereal fluid, light, whose properties are hitherto but very imperfectly discovered; yet discovered sufficiently to assure us, that it must have been employed in the formation of the atmosphere, in desicating the surface of the globe, in consolidating and crystallizing the primitive rocks, and lifting them up in mountainous ridges above the mass of super-incumbent waters, beneath which they were originally formed.

These events, the creation of light—the subsequent formation of the atmospheric fluid—and the separation of the dry land—occupy the three first periods of the Pre-adamite creation. Through what duration of time these periods extended—how long the *Aor*, the principle of light and heat, &c. continued to exert its influence on our globe, and during what intervals the earth, subjected to the effects of some sudden and violent catastrophes, was again overspread with the waters of the great deep, and left in darkness and desolation, we do not presume to conjecture; but we may be permitted to suggest that the period during which the light acted on our globe was called day, and the period of darkness and desolation night; and that both of these taken together constitute those eras of the primitive record, which are respectively mentioned as the first, the second, and the third day, and so forth. The periods must of necessity have been very long. The formation of the primitive rocks, and the subsequent processes, whereby, through the action of the atmosphere and its suspended vapours on their rugged surfaces, they were fitted to support the vegetable tribes, which, by degrees, covered their sides, must, if we may be allowed to form our judgment from

the operation of similar causes, which are now at work in the production of new lands, have been the business of ages. It was towards the close of the third era of the Pre-adamite creation that the vegetable world was called into existence; and here the words of the primeval record are very remarkable.

“ Let the earth bring forth grass, and herb yielding seed after its kind, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed is in itself, after its kind.”

Such was the command. The simpler cryptogamias, mosses, lichens, and ferns, spread themselves on the barren rocks, and formed, by their gradual decomposition, together with the gigantic reeds which grew on the shores of the primitive ocean, the first layers of vegetable moulds, in which the succulent herbs and palmiferous trees of the earlier world found a proper bed for their nutrition. The coal formations, as all geologists allow, are composed of the mineralized remains of these primordial turbaries, the first ruins of the vegetable world; and no vegetable remains have yet been discovered of an earlier existence than those which belong to the coal formation, and of which some rare specimens occur in the subjacent limestone. The coal itself contains but few remains of organic structure, which appear however in great abundance in the superincumbent shale which forms its roof; and a sufficient proof that this primitive creation of plants and vegetables was perfectly distinct from that, which, as we shall presently see, more immediately preceded the creation of man, is afforded by the fact, that these remains of the Fossil Flora contain no specimen of plants that now exist. From the mere evidence of facts that have occurred to them in the course of their scientific researches, Brogniart, and other geologists, whose opinions most certainly were not influenced by any respect for the authority of Moses, have come to the conclusion that the antiquity of the formations, in which these earliest vegetable remains are found, incontestably proves that vegetation preceded all animal life; and thus, in fact, they confirm the truth of Scripture in this respect, by a testimony that cannot be suspected.

The fourth era of the Mosaic cosmogony is marked by the striking declaration that the sun, and the other fixed stars, were then made luminaries in heaven—receptacles of that primordial light, which was then distributed among them, and dispensed from them to the satellites of their respective systems. There is not the smallest ground for supposing that the solar orbs were now first called into existence. On the contrary, it is expressly asserted that the whole host of heaven, together with the earth, were created “ in the beginning.” But the first-created light,

which had hitherto acted on the myriads of worlds of which the universe consists, in a manner wholly unknown to us, but yet, as far as this earth is concerned, with an influence sufficient to maintain the principle of vegetable life in those ruder plants which were first formed on its surface—this light was now dispersed among the heavenly bodies; the sun, with the other fixed stars, became luminaries, or receptacles and distributaries of that ethereal fluid, and exerted their beneficial influences on their attendant satellites; the natural day thenceforth began; “the day,” as the sacred record tells us, was now, for the first time, “divided from the night,” and the seasons, days, and years began their appointed course. It is in this passage, and in this only, that the word “day,” according to our apprehension, is used in this first narrative of the creation to denote a natural day. Let the original document be carefully examined, and it will be perceived that the division of the day from the night is mentioned as something new; as arising altogether out of the new office which the sun, as the dispenser of light, had now to perform in our system. It will likewise be observed, that the sacred cosmogonist, after enumerating the various causes for which the solar orb was now invested with its luminous atmosphere, concludes this portion of his narrative with the declaration that God at this time made “the stars also”—that is, made them, what he made the sun, to be luminaries in the firmament of heaven, and to be to their attendant planets “for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years.”

The earth was thus fitted for the reception and sustenance of animated beings. We may conceive that before the sun was thus clothed with light, light, which existed from the first, might be afforded to the earth in sufficient portions for the support of the simpler vegetables; but it is hardly conceivable that the more perfect vegetables could have existed and multiplied, without the precious influences of the solar rays, and the grateful vicissitude of day and night, which seem hardly less necessary to them than to the more complicated forms of animal life—and it is certain that the various tribes of animals, which were placed on the surface of the earth, could not have existed on it till provision were made for the supply of their respective wants. In what length of time the earth was enabled to support the numerous animals which it was designed to contain we presume not to decide; but before the larger terrestrial animals were called into existence, the earth had still to undergo another change. The first races of animated beings, according to the Mosaic account, which in this as in all other respects is strictly confirmed by the

discoveries of modern inquirers into the primitive history of our globe, were the produce not of the land but of the waters.

The operations of the fifth period of the Pre-adamite creation are thus described. The command was given,

“ Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven.”

Observe the order in which the production of these animals is enuntiated. First, the simpler aquatic animals, possessing, perhaps, little more than the power of locomotion, and the lowest principle of animation—“ the moving creature that hath life.” These the waters brought forth “ abundantly.” In what abundance we may judge from the prodigious remains of their fossil exuviae, which are found in every quarter of the globe.

“ The lowest and most level parts of the earth,” as Cuvier remarks, in the fourth section of his valuable *Essay on the Theory of the Earth*, “ when penetrated to a very great depth, exhibit nothing but horizontal strata, composed of various substances, and containing almost all of them innumerable marine productions. Similar strata, with the same kind of productions, compose the hills even to a great height. Sometimes the shells are so numerous as to constitute the entire body of the stratum. They are almost every where in such a perfect state of preservation that even the smallest of them retain their most delicate parts, their sharpest ridges, and their finest and tenderest processes. They are found in elevations far above the level of every part of the ocean, and in places to which the sea could not be conveyed by any existing cause. They are not only inclosed in loose sand, but are often encrusted and penetrated on all sides by the hardest stones. Every part of the earth, every hemisphere, every continent, every island of any size, exhibits the same phenomenon. We are therefore forcibly led to believe, not only that the sea has at one period or other covered all our plains, but that it must have remained there for a long time, and in a state of tranquillity; which circumstance was necessary for the formation of deposits so extensive, so thick, in parts so solid, and containing exuviae so perfectly preserved.”

Next to these marine animals of ruder formation, creatures merely endowed with locomotion and vitality, we are told that

“ God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth.”

The word here translated “ whales” is *Tanninim*, and is generally applied to animals like the crocodile, with large jaws, and something of serpent-like form. Robertson, as usual, derives the word from an Arabic root, which properly signifies “ *Sorpsit, absorpsit aquam diductis dentibus.*” It is the very word, in short, which most graphically describes the vast oviparous reptiles of the Pre-adamite world; the megalosauri and

pliosauri, &c., of which the fossil remains are found in the secondary rocks, next in order and above the petrified reeds and shells of the primeval sea.

Co-existent with these large aquatic animals, but formed subsequently in order of time, the waters brought forth "the winged fowl after its kind," and thus we find them placed among the relics of the former world. The fossil remains of birds and other volatilia, are found in no great abundance; neither, considering their habits of life, should we expect to meet with any numerous collections of them in that petrified state; but wherever they occur, they are commonly found with the skeletons of the last-named classes of sea-born creatures, or rather in the next layers of secondary strata, immediately above the gigantic oviparous reptiles of the Saurian tribe.

The sixth and last period of the Pre-adamite creation, was marked by the production of the larger and more perfect classes of terrestrial animals. The earth was now commanded to bring forth

"The living creature after its kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after its kind."

The word *Behemah*, in its plural *Behemoth*, denotes those huge herbivorous creatures, of which the various species under the names which geologists have assigned them, of megatherium, megalonix, anoplotherium, mastodon, &c. have been discovered in different parts of the globe, imbedded in its tertiary strata. The creeping thing and beast of the earth include the other classes of animals, of which the fossil remains are found in beds of the same era and formation. It is evident that these gigantic sloths, and animals resembling in their structure the hippopotamus and elephant, could not have existed on the earth till it was clothed with an abundant herbage and with extensive forests; and every thing leads to the conclusion, that all these tribes of animals were created and destroyed before the formation of man and the races of animals now existing, as their predecessors had also been, before they themselves were brought into existence.

But here, we are aware, we shall be met with an objection, supplied by the words of this very record, the true sense and scope of which we have attempted to elucidate in the foregoing brief and imperfect sketch of the history of the Pre-adamite creation. For immediately after the account of the formation of the viviparous terrestrial animals, this record proceeds to tell us, that God created man in his own image and likeness, and said,

"Let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth:"



and as no farther mention is here made of any creation of animals subsequent to man, it may be asked, on the supposition that the Pre-adamite animals were successively destroyed before man was formed, what were those living creatures over which the dominion was given to Adam, and how and when were they brought into existence?

For the solution of this difficulty we must have recourse to the second record of the creation, which Moses has preserved and handed down to us. The object of the first record is not merely to inculcate that great fundamental truth, that God is the sole Author and Creator of the universe, but to set before us a general outline of those creative processes, by which the earth (with the boundless infinitude of worlds above us) was finished, and thus our globe adapted to be the abode of man. It commences, therefore, with the creation of the primordial elements, and their reduction into form and order, and terminates with the placing of man upon the earth. The second record, on the contrary, commences with the creation of man, and expressly declares, that *after* man was formed and placed in Paradise,

"Out of the ground the LORD GOD (Jehovah Elohim) formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air."

Concerning this remarkable fact there can be no dispute, that the first record of the Mosaic cosmogony terminates with the creation of man, and that the second commences with it, and tells us, that all the various tribes of animals, except the aquatic, were subsequently formed. If, therefore, we would preserve the integrity and consistency of the sacred records, we must admit that this last act of creative power is included in the account of what the Creator wrought in the sixth period of the cosmogony, and that these, the last formed and still existing races of the animal kingdom, are the creatures over which dominion was given to mankind.

Those geologists, who, like Dr. Ure, have referred the destruction of all the primitive classes of animals, whose exuviae are found in the secondary and tertiary formations, to the effects of the Noachic deluge, in their attempts to harmonize the facts of geology with their view of the Mosaic records, are driven, as it seems to us, on insuperable difficulties. It is acknowledged on all hands, that the various races of animals, with which the earth was first peopled, have been utterly swept away from its surface; for the fossil remains which have been brought to light, imbedded in the secondary rocks, or in deposits of diluvial or alluvial formation, are evidently of species altogether distinct from those which now exist. Neither are they thrown together in a con-



fused mass, which must have been the case had they all been destroyed by the same catastrophe, and buried in the same irruption of the sea; but the remains of their respective species are found separately, and are deposited throughout every part of the globe in a uniform and invariable order:—first, the ruder marine plants—then the simpler forms of zoophytes and aquatic animals; next the oviparous reptiles, &c.; and last of all, the terrestrial mammalia, the gigantic behemoths of the former world. No philosopher, we imagine, unless his judgment were biassed by some preconceived hypothesis, or some vain notion that divine revelation had declared it to be so, will admit the possibility that the Noachic deluge, during the short period in which it overspread the earth, could have formed those successive strata which lie on the basis of the primitive rocks, and which must have been formed when the sea was in a quiescent state. Besides, this hypothesis rests also on the assumption, that the deluge of Noah extended universally over the entire surface of the globe—an assumption which Stillingfleet, in his *Origines Sacre*, has shown to be gratuitous, or, at least, not grounded on any certain warrant of Scripture. The vestiges of diluvian effects in different parts of the world are evident and unquestionable, but considering the contents of the Kirkdale cave, for instance, we think he would be a bold asserter, who should venture to maintain that the animals which were found there were driven into it, and buried in it, by the Noachic deluge, and that no other similar catastrophe could possibly account for their destruction.

But supposing it possible that the waters of the ocean might, during that deluge, have formed those regular and successive stratifications of which the upper crust of our earth consists, a still more astounding difficulty remains. It remains to be explained by what imaginable process the different plants and animals which are now discovered in a fossil state were selected and deposited in the order in which we invariably find them; and how it comes to pass that no traces of any existing species are found, nor any that bear a close resemblance to them, except in the very newest alluvial deposits. Dr. Ure, indeed, has a solution at hand for the latter part of this difficulty, in the unwarrantable assumption that a new creation of animals took place after the Deluge; but the former part of the difficulty he leaves wholly unexplained.

Mr. Turner, notwithstanding his admiration of Dr. Ure, seems to think the period of the Deluge too short for the formation of the different strata of which the present surface of the earth consists; and perhaps he found some other insuperable objections to the scheme. He has accordingly given us a conjecture of his

own. He conceives that the secondary rocks were gradually and successively formed by the action of the sea, or the operation of volcanic fire, (the tertiary he gives to the deluge); and that these formations were effected during the period of 1656 years, which, according to his chronology, intervened between the Creation and the deluge. Having thus got more time to work in, he may seem, in one respect, to have lessened the difficulty; but at the same time he has, in other respects, infinitely increased it. He assumes—indeed it is the object of his whole work to prove—that all the plants and animals that ever existed, or now exist, on the earth, were formed during his six days of the creation, and prior to the production of man. But he has not explained, neither do we conceive it possible for him to explain it, how, in all these successive catastrophes which destroyed the plants and animals whose remains are now found in a mineralized or fossil state, man, with all the now existing races of animals, was invariably spared; nor how it was possible for them to exist during convulsions so violent in their operation, and so universal in their extent. How came it that the earliest of these irruptions of the primitive ocean destroyed only zoophytes and shell fish—the next, only oviparous creatures—the last, only the more perfect terrestrial animals? Take what time you will for the duration of these successive deluges, this strange and marvellous power of discrimination, by which the waters of the sea were enabled to select their victims, and to leave all the rest of animated nature uninjured, is equally unexplained and inexplicable. Dr. Ure admits that all the animals of the first creation were destroyed; but then, on his hypothesis, he is obliged to have recourse to a second post-diluvian creation. Mr. Turner offers no such violence to Scripture; but his way of accounting for the fossil remains of animals which have been discovered in the secondary and tertiary strata of the earth, is so unsatisfactory, so utterly at variance with facts, so involved in absurdities, contradictions and impossibilities, that, highly as we respect his character and the motives which induced him to write this book, we must be permitted to say, that we more than doubt whether the cause of religion will be in any degree promoted by it. The mistakes into which he has fallen have all been occasioned by his laudable solicitude to reconcile the discoveries of modern geology with the declarations of Scripture, which, as it appears to us, he has not rightly understood. Had he remarked the difference, which it has been our endeavour to point out, between the two records of the Creation which are placed at the beginning of the book of Genesis; had he observed that the former account gives us a detailed history of the successive processes of the creation, and terminates with the formation

of man; whilst the second record commences with the creation of Adam, and then briefly states the fact of a subsequent animal creation—he would probably have avoided many of the errors into which he has now fallen, and would have been enabled to show, far more successfully than he now has done, that the geological discoveries of the present day, instead of impeaching the truth of the Mosaic cosmogony, add to it the most unexpected and unanswerable confirmations, and prove that it could only have been derived from Divine revelation.

Notwithstanding the defects of Mr. Turner's work—defects which we think it necessary to notice, because we fear that they may prove injurious to the cause he desires to advocate—we can assure our readers that they will find in it an ample fund of instruction and amusement. He has been indefatigable in his researches into the history of all that relates both to the vegetable and animal kingdom; and we know not where else we could direct the young student to so rich a fund of valuable information on these important and interesting subjects. Wherever Mr. Turner is employed in collecting from the stores of other inquirers, there are few persons who will not reap benefit from his well-directed labours. It is only when he ventures alone into the field of conjecture that we feel it unsafe to entrust ourselves to his guidance. His style also is diffuse and declamatory; and his moral reflections, however excellent in their intention, are, in general, so trite and feeble, that they are more apt to excite a smile, than to produce conviction in fastidious readers. We know nothing which his manner of writing, in this respect, so nearly resembles as the elaborate and unmeaning triads and quaternions which adorn the discourses of that accomplished baronet Sir Robert Hazlewood, in the romance of Guy Mannering. But we will enable our readers to judge for themselves, by setting before them some of his remarks on the female creation.

“ One of the most beautiful, most interesting, and most benevolent ideas of the Divine Mind, in his creation of the terrestrial economy, was the conception and formation of the female sex. No other production has contributed so much to the improvement and to the happiness of human nature. It was the divinest of our Great Author's works on our earth; for it was one of the wisest as well as the loveliest of his philanthropic inventions. When He declared, as the reason of this particular creation, ‘ It is not good that the man should be alone,’ he pronounced a truth which every age, and clime, and nation have verified. The poet's dramatic explanation,

‘ We had been brutes without you,’

is not a Parnassian hyperbole—it is the simple and everlasting truth; not, perhaps, so much to the credit of our sex as our self-love would de-

side; but it is an applicable comment upon our Creator's recorded observation. If man had been alone upon earth, *geography* and history unite to assure us, that his populations, if such could then in any other mode have originated, would have been little else than the populations of fierce and savage, violent and battling brutes. In this state the uncivilized tribes of the earth are found to be, even with the society of women, where these are undervalued, oppressed, degraded, or despised; that is, where they are deprived of that influence which they were created to diffuse and possess, and, by its magical enchantment, to humanize and meliorate. Respect and love of their wives and females may be deemed the great civilizing and advancing principle which has, with some others—but very probably more efficaciously than any—contributed to the unceasing progression of the Saxon, Gothic and German nations, who conquered Europe from the Romans, and spread over it the populations and kingdoms which now adorn it with a superiority to their ancient predecessors which has never retrograded.

“If mankind had been perpetuated without their milder companions—from the pebbles thrown by Deucalion and Pyrrha, or from the teeth sown by Cadmus in the earth—a stony and iron [qu. *bony*] race would have been its perpetual inhabitants. There is something in the active spirit, and powers, and strength of the manly portion of our common species, which loves difficulties, enterprise, exertion, competition, contests, labours, struggles, argument, battle, and personal display—which hastens to seize its wished objects with precipitation and violence—to fight instantly to obtain them—to strike down all resistance, and to overwhelm all opponents. These qualities and propensities would animate self-love and selfishness into continual strife, conflict, civil discord and battle, if no softer and kind companions were about such fierce and angry beings, to occupy some portion of their thoughts and attentions—to create and cherish milder and sweeter feelings—and to provide for them the more soothing happiness of a quiet home and a domestic life, where tenderness, sympathy, good humour, smiles, gentleness, benignity and affection would diffuse pleasures more grateful than those of irritation and contest, and awaken the sensibilities that most favour intellectual and moral cultivation, and which gradually lead us to its attractive and nobler gratifications.”—pp. 511—513.

This quotation will give our readers a sufficient specimen of Mr. Turner's style of writing and of moralizing. Some persons may think the sentiments a little mawkish; others, still more fastidious, will call it abominable twaddle; whilst some, on the other hand, will be delighted to find a gentleman of Mr. Turner's age possessed of such exquisite *sensitivity*.\* It were to be wished, however, that he had endeavoured to express his sentiments with more simplicity, for we seriously believe, that out of the whole range of English literature, it would be difficult to select a passage of equal length, so elaborately feeble and so in-

\* A word of Mr. Turner's own coining.

sufferably affected. Mr. Turner has acquired some reputation as a historical writer, and by the extent of his researches has very deservedly earned it; but a style like this is enough to overbalance all his other merits; and though it may possibly find its admirers in the half-literary coteries of the present day, we fear it will effectually prevent him from occupying a permanent place amongst those who have bathed their lips in "the pure well of English undefiled."

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ART. IV. *Frugments of Voyages and Travels. Second Series.*  
By Captain Basil Hall, R.N. F.R.S. 3 vols. Whittaker. 1832.

It is quite unnecessary that we should here repeat the general character of Captain Basil Hall's manner and execution, which we have so recently attempted to pourtray. He is by this time an established acquaintance of our readers; and in the volumes which we now present to them, they will find little change in quality from those by which he formerly introduced himself. They must bear in mind, however, for it would be most unjust if they were to forget, that the charm of novelty has passed away; and yet more, that in this, his Second Series, the writer has advanced many steps in the progress of life; that he is no longer an inmate of the cock-pit; that the fervour of extreme youth is sobered; and that the tone of his work therefore is, necessarily, somewhat more staid than that which characterized the descriptions of the ardent and inexperienced Middy. There are passages also in these volumes which are almost exclusively professional; and which, in consequence, however highly useful to those by whom they will be best understood and appreciated, may not, perhaps, be equally attractive to others whose principal search in books is for amusement.

We start with Mr. Hall as Second Lieutenant of the *Endymion*, on shore in the North of Ireland. He has been permitted to land with one caution from his Captain,—not to fall in love; and although he is so far free from coxcombry as not to blazon his *petites amourettes*, it is pretty clear that the advice was by no means superfluous. Another friend dismissed him with a precept which he was far more likely to practise—to take especial care if he *did* dispose of his heart to the Irish ladies, never to fall in love with less than two of them at once. He was introduced to a "delightful party," among the young and old of which he became completely domesticated; he shared in their "rides, walks, picnic dinners, dances, music-parties and suppers," and as he was at that season in not more than his twenty-second year, for the sake of the maritime knowledge which we are looking forward to

acquire, it is some relief to our eagerness to find him once again safe on board.

Mr. Hall does not escape, however, without encountering some touches of Irish Hospitality. His third chapter, "Tricks upon Travellers," in which he describes how an experienced Amphitryon not only lulled to rest the suspicions of his at first cautious symposiasts, but in the end so far triumphed over them, as himself to lead the way to the drawing-room, while they would willingly have lingered over another—perhaps not a parting—long cork, is a highly finished specimen of dramatic painting; and the well-bred adroitness and dexterity of his refined host is well contrasted with the more direct Bacchanalianism of Club Law which follows:

"Before I set out for Port Rush, the head-quarters of Fiorin cultivation, a merry friend of mine, hearing me ask some questions about corn-crops, hay-crops, and such matters, begged to know if I should not like to be introduced to the Farmers' Society of their good city; 'for there,' said he, 'you will meet with all the best-informed agriculturists of the country.' Of course I gladly accepted his offer, and that of his companionship to the Society's dinner on that very day. As we walked to the house, which I think lay about a mile or so beyond the limits of the town, I taxed my memory for all the queries which had been put to me on the subject of farming, resolving to apply these at the most fitting moments, and rejoicing over the famous opportunity I now had of reaping a grand harvest of information, at a small cost of trouble.

"On we trudged to a pretty little country inn, which we reached just as the dinner was rattling on the table. The party consisted of a dozen persons, or there may have been a dozen and a half—as pleasant men, in their way, as could be met with. Before the repast was over, I chanced to ask my treacherous friend, next whom I was placed, some questions on the subject of turnip husbandry. He heard me out, and laughed exceedingly; but instead of answering, called out to the chairman of the meeting,

" 'I beg to inform you, sir, that the gentleman on my right wishes to know whether we in the north of Ireland pull up our turnips, or let them remain in the ground, as in East Lothian, for the sheep to eat? Now, sir, I take this to be an agricultural question—don't you?'

" 'Certainly it is,' replied the president.

" 'Undoubtedly agricultural!' cried out the rest of the company; upon which, turning to the waiter, the chairman said, in a chuckling and delighted tone,

" 'Boy! take the glass to Mr. Hall—the strange gentleman there.'

"Accordingly, a glass, not very much above the ordinary size, was handed to me, and straightway filled with whisky-toddy. This I was required by the president to drink off instantly.

" 'On what compulsion? and wherefore?' I asked, laughing, with the glass at my lips.

" 'Oh!' exclaimed he, 'on no compulsion at all, my dear sir; for this, you must know, is Liberty Hall. Do exactly as you please, only



conforming to the laws of the Association; that is to say,' continued the president, grinning, 'you will of course see the obvious propriety of complying with the fixed rules of the Farmers' Society, one of the strictest of which very properly is, that no one present shall allude to the subject of agriculture, much less discourse upon it, as you have done, or ask any questions?'

"There was a national comicality about this queer rule which was of course quite unanswerable; so I paid the penalty and drank off the punch, without further delay; for it was admirable in its ingredients, and, what is almost as important, admirably concocted.

"I had no sooner emptied the glass, than I was ordered to fill and swallow another bumper, as a fine for having used the left hand instead of the right; and when I remonstrated against the injustice of fining a man for breaking laws of which he had never before heard the existence, the president said, with mock gravity,

"Do you really suppose, sir, that such an excuse as not knowing the existence of a law against hog-stealing would help you in a court of justice, if you were to run off with a pig?"

"The reasoning was again unanswerable, so down went the drink.

"Good whisky-punch, well made, is certainly, of all the tipples ever invented by mortal man, the most insinuating and the most loving, because, more than any other, it disposes the tippler to be pleased with himself. It brightens his hopes, assuages his sorrows, crumbles down his difficulties, softens the hostility of his enemies, and, in fact, inclines him, for the time being, to think generously of all mankind, at the tip-top of which it naturally and good-naturedly places his own dear self, with a glass in one hand and a mug in the other, without a wish ungratified, and as unsuspecting of evil as if not a single drop of gall, or a sprig of wormwood, existed on the face of the earth!

"My merry agricultural friends, who knew all the depths and shallows of the most delightful of all navigations, that of a punch-bowl, were well aware that if they could, by any means, get the unwary stranger to pass a certain point of moderation, no additional impulse on their part would be required to bring about the grand consummation they aimed at, and which they were all the more bent upon, from seeing me a little on my guard.

"It need scarcely be told that I failed, and that they succeeded in making me enter their trap. I have, indeed, only a very confused recollection of the whole scene; but I do remember seeing the hands of the clock dancing a jig about the hour of twelve, and have some faint remembrance of being made to drink at least three times to the glorious and immortal memory of King William III., merely because I could not find articulation or memory enough to repeat, without tripping, an immense long tail to this royal and loyal Orange toast."—vol. i. pp. 78—82. -

An appointment as Lieutenant under Sir James Hood, at that time Commander-in-Chief on the East Indian Station, summoned Mr. Hall to an entirely new world; and the first puff of an



easterly wind wafted him from Spithead, with the following glowing paradox in preference of expatriation over return.

“ Oh the joy! the relief unspeakable! of feeling one's self fairly under weigh, and of seeing the white cliffs of Old England sink fast in the north-eastern horizon right to windward! Let the concoctors of romances and other imaginary tales say what they please of the joys of returning home; give me the happiness of a good departure, and a boundless world of untried enjoyments ahead. If a man be out of debt and out of love, or only moderately involved in either of these delicate predicaments; if he have youth and health and tolerable prospects, a good ship under his foot, a good officer above him, and good messmates to serve with, why need he wear and tear his feelings about those he leaves behind? Or rather, why need he grieve to part from those who are better pleased to see him vigorously doing his duty than idling in other people's way at home? Or wherefore should he sigh to leave those enjoyments in which he cannot honourably participate till he has earned his title to them by hardy service?

“ On the other hand, who is there so insensible as not to feel the deepest apprehension—very often, as I know by sad experience, almost devoid of a single drop of pleasure—on returning from a long and distant voyage? How can he tell in what condition he will now find the friends from whom he parted so long ago, and of whom he may, perhaps, not have heard a word for many a long season of anxiety? Is it not too probable that his busy fancy will conjure up many more images of death and sickness, of losses and sorrows, than it can paint pictures of health, good fortune, and happiness? And will it ever happen, if the interval of absence have been long, that some of these gloomy forebodings will not be realized? May it not prove but too often the case, that those who, from being the dearest to us, we had ingeniously and fondly exempted from the fatal doom, are its first victims? Indeed, I have on these occasions been grieved and irritated at myself for canvassing beforehand, in my own mind, and in spite of every effort to change the current of my thoughts, which of all the friends in whom I was interested I could consent to lose with the least regret! And when the pile of accumulated letters is first placed in our hands after a voyage, with what sickening eagerness do we not turn from the superscription to discover the colour of the seal!”—vol. i. pp. 123—125.

We shall be forgiven for passing over a Chapter on the Trade Winds, (highly valuable in itself, but somewhat too *recherché* for our present light examination) and sundry other matters connected with the progress of the voyage, and we hasten to the very sensible observations on the Sunday discipline on board a ship of war. A Captain (says Mr. Hall) nearly always has it in his power either to make Sunday a day of rest or of extra trouble to his crew; and if he prefers the latter, he opens, as may be supposed, a weekly renewed source of needless irritation. Some work,

it is evident, *must* be performed, but comparative repose for the most part may be obtained by judicious management; and the sailor, without being so far fatigued by devotional exercises as "to vote the whole concern a bore," and to send his "psalm-singing Captain to the devil," may feel the value of the performance of Religious duties not a little increased by a tacit association of them with an agreeable suspension of labour. In the *beau-ideal* of a sea Sunday morning, the decks have been so far scrubbed and "holy-stoned" on Saturday, as to require little more than washing; during breakfast the following order is "sung out," according to the climate and the weather. Between the Tropics it runs, "D'ye hear, there! fore and aft! clean for muster at five bells—duck frocks and white trowsers." In colder latitudes it is changed to "blue jacket and trowsers!" and the toilette in rainy or blowing weather is reduced yet lower, to "clean shirts and a shave!" The latter operation is deemed requisite on ship-board, twice in each week. An extra quarter above the ordinary half hour is allowed for Sunday breakfast and "trimming;" and when the forenoon watch is called, the "between decks" are carefully cleaned. At half-past ten the drum beats to divisions, the muster takes place on deck, the reports are made, and the Captain goes round the ship. The galley or kitchen, with its coppers and ovens, and the pease-soup in preparation (some of which is always let off for inspection by a twist of the cock of the boiler with the end of the cook's wooden leg,) are carefully examined. The hospital is visited, where each invalid separately receives a few kind words of comfort and encouragement, and the surgeon is warned for the general ear, "always to send aft at dinner time for any thing and every thing he may require for the sick." Then follows a survey of the lower deck, of the births of the midshipmen and of the marines, of the cock-pit and the remaining *Inferi*, till after a descent, occupying a full half-hour, the Captain emerges again upon quarter-deck, and turning to the First Lieutenant, orders him "to rig the Church." We must presuppose, in the following scene, that the weather is fine.

"The carpenters and the watch on deck soon carry aft their benches and mess-stools; but as these are not sufficient to afford accommodation for all hands, as many capstan-bars as may be required are likewise brought up and placed athwart the quarter-deck, with their ends resting on match-tubs and fire-buckets, or on the carronade slides. These seats occupy the whole of the space from the break of the quarter-deck and the belaying bits round the mainmast, as far as the companion-hatchway. Chairs from the cabin and gun-room are also placed abaft all, for the captain and officers, and on the lee side for the war-

rant officers and mids.; for, it need scarcely be mentioned that due subordination is made to keep its place even in our church.

“ The pulpit stands amidships, either on the after-gratings, or on the deck immediately before the hatchway. In some ships, this part of the nautical church establishment consists of a moveable reading-desk, made expressly for the purpose, but brought up from the carpenter’s store-room only when wanted; sometimes one of the binnacles is used for this purpose; and I remember a ship in which the prayer-book was regularly laid on a sword-rack, or stand, holding six dozen naked cutlasses. The desk is covered over with a signal-flag, as well as the hassock for the chaplain to kneel upon, which is usually a grape or canister shot-box, surmounted by a cheese of great-gun wads, to make it soft.” —vol. ii. pp. 45, 46.

Rarely (says Captain Hall) is a more attentive, or more orderly congregation met with than that which may be found on board a man-of-war. The influence of a discreet Captain over the minds of his younger officers and midshipmen, is rated very highly; not so that which he possesses over the heterogeneous mass from which his crew is formed. It is not a little painful to remember that the melancholy picture below is sketched by a keen observer, ardently devoted to his profession, and always accustomed to regard even its hardships in a favourable light.

“ It grieves me heartily to own, that while I speak with so much confidence of the good which may be effected on the minds of the midshipmen, I feel scarcely any thing but despair on turning to the case of the sailors. They are such a strange set of beings, generally so entirely uneducated, and although, as I have repeatedly mentioned before, by no means naturally irreligious, often so totally destitute of any thing deserving the name of principle, or even of any ground-work of habitual reflection, upon which alone such a superstructure can be raised, that I really cannot venture even to conjecture how people of such very loose habits and dissipated minds, are to be turned permanently to right thinking on this matter. Unfortunately, too, at the end of every three or four years, when at length the discipline of a ship has been perfected, and the empire of order so fully established that the influence of authority might, if ever, be expected to produce something out of these rough materials, the crew are not only paid off, but turned absolutely adrift into the worst holes and corners, the very sinks of society, where every thing good they have been taught, and every thing good they may have hoped or wished to learn, is speedily taken from them, and all sorts of iniquity poured into their place! In one moment are rudely swept away all their habitual veneration for authority, their cheerful unreflecting dependence on others, together with every nascent feeling of self-respect, which during several years had been growing up together, and rather inviting than repelling the final and pervading influence of religion. Thus the unhappy sailor is suddenly left at the close of his long toil in a state of destitution fully worse than at first. In a few days,

perhaps hours, after landing, he is pillaged of his money and every rag of clothes except the jacket on his back; and after being forced into drunkenness and every kind of debauchery and vice, he finds himself worn out with disease and intemperance, and becomes literally an outcast from society, amidst the most heartless and profligate of his species, helpless, useless, and hopeless!"—vol. ii. pp. 57—59.

A specimen of Captain Hall's Rhetoric concludes his second volume. We know not how to class it. From an allusion to "the Lesson of the day," in its exordium, we were prepared to call it a Sermon; certain references to the *Spectator* inclined us to think it a Moral Essay; but the author himself, who certainly knows best what he intended, names it "a Nautical Discourse," and "the first of a Series of Professional Lectures." The subject is the Duty of Cheerfulness; and Captain Hall will pardon us if we express our preference of his incidental teaching over that which is direct. The delightful buoyancy of spirit and manly accommodation to circumstances, the firm resolution to be always contented, and to proffer his right hand even if Ill Fortune should present her ungainly left, characterizing every personal adventure in which Captain Hall is engaged, and forming the *burden*, if we may so call it, of his two volumes, is far more likely to provoke imitation than any laboured bundle of Ethical precepts which he may draw from his portfolio.

We turn back a few pages to extract a most graphic account of a North-wester off the Cape of Good Hope. It is written in the true spirit of the best parts of the First Series, and the accumulation of little incidents, each true to nature, and each preserved in admirable keeping and proportion to the others, places the whole scene most vividly before the reader's view.

"Nothing is more delightful than the commencement of such a fair wind. The sea is then smooth, and the ship seems literally to fly along; the masts and yards bend forwards, as if they would drop over the bows, while the studding-sail booms crack and twist, and unless great care be taken sometimes break across; but still, so long as the surface of the sea is plane, it is astonishing what a vast expanse of canvass may be spread to the rising gale. By and by, however, it becomes prudent to take in the royals, flying-jib, and top-gallant studding-sails. The boatswain takes a look at the girdles and other fastenings of the boats and booms; the carpenter instinctively examines the port-lashings, and draws up the pump-boxes to look at the leathers; while the gunner sees that all the breechings and tackles of the guns are well secured before the ship begins to roll. The different minor heads of departments, also, to use their own phrase, smell the gale coming on, and each in his respective walk get things ready to meet it. The captain's and gun-room stewards beg the carpenter's mate to drive down a few more cleats and staples, and, having got a cod line or two from the boatswain's yeo-

man, or a hank of marline stuff, they commence double lashing all the tables and chairs. The marines' muskets are more securely packed in the arm-chest. The rolling tackles are got ready for the lower yards, and the master, accompanied by the gunner's mate, inspects the lanyards of the lower rigging. All these, and twenty other precautions, are taken in a manner so slow and deliberate that they would hardly catch the observation of a passenger. It might almost seem as if the different parties were afraid to let out the secret of their own lurking apprehension, but yet were resolved not to be caught unprepared.

"Of these forerunners of a gale none is more striking than the repeated looks of anxiety which the captain casts to windward, as if his glance could penetrate the black sky lowering in the north-west, in order to discover what was behind, and how long with safety he might carry sail. Ever and anon he shifts his look from the wind's eye and rests it on the writhing spars aloft, viewing with much uneasiness the stretching canvass all but torn from the yards. Perhaps he takes hold of a backstay, or a weather-brace, now as tight as a harp-string, and mutters to himself, 'Hold on, good rope!' He then steps below, and for the fortieth time reads off the barometer, and with an anxious sigh acknowledges to himself that the mercury is falling rapidly. Before remounting the ladder he probably takes another look at 'Horsburgh's General Remarks on the Winds and Weather,' and half makes up his mind to shorten sail before something goes.

"On returning to the deck he finds that during the few minutes he has been below the breeze has freshened considerably, or, it may be, that coming suddenly upon it again he views it differently. At all events, he feels the necessity of getting the sails in while he yet can, or before 'God Almighty takes them in for him,' as the sailors say when matters have been so long deferred, that not only canvass and yards, but even masts, are at times suddenly wrenched out of the ship, and sent in one confused mass far off to leeward, whirling in the gale!"—vol. ii. pp. 181—184.

While the Captain, who has been long baffled by light South-eastern airs and calms, is reluctant to lose any portion of the "spanking snuffler" which he thinks his masts can possibly bear, his crew are somewhat differently affected.

"The men, who are generally well aware of the necessity of shortening sail long before the captain has made up his mind to call the hands for that purpose, have probably been collected in groups for some time in different parts of the upper deck, talking low to one another, and looking aloft with a start, every now and then, as the masts or yards give an extra crack.

"'Well! this is packing on her,' says one, laying an emphasis on the word is.

"'Yes!' replies another; 'and if our skipper don't mind, it will be packing off her presently,' with an emphasis on the word off. 'Right well do I know these Cape gales,' adds an ancient mariner of the South Seas; 'they snuffle up in a minute, and, I'll answer for it, the captain

will not carry sail so long off Cape Aguilhas when he has gone round that breezy point as often as old Bill has.'

"At this moment the tardy voice of the commander, long unwilling to lose any part of the fair wind, is at length heard giving the reluctant order 'Turn the hands up, shorten sail!' The ready clatter of feet, and the show of many heads at all the hatchways, and perhaps the sound of a suppressed laugh amongst the men who have been gossiping and wagering about the gale, give a sufficient indication that this evolution has been expected for some time.

" 'All hands shorten sail!' calls out the boatswain, after a louder and sharper note than usual from his pipe, winded not half the ordinary length of time, though twice as shrilly, for his object is to mark on the ears of the people the necessity of unusual expedition and exertion. A clever and experienced person filling this important situation will soon teach the men to distinguish between the various notes of his call, though, to unpractised ears, the sounds might appear unvaried.

" 'Shorten sail! that's easier said than done,' growls forth some hard-up old cock, as he steps on the forecastle, and glances his weather-wise eye towards the clouds in the black and bleak north-west, and then measures the many thousand yards of bonnie Dundee canvass still unfurled aloft, and stretched out to catch the wind, tugging and struggling to get free from the masts and yards.

" 'No! not a bit easier said than done,' unexpectedly observes the captain, but quite good-humouredly, having accidentally heard the seaman's remark, on going forward to the spot where the main-tack is almost tearing away the chestree; 'Not a bit easier, provided you, my old fellow, and the young hands about you, will only work as smartly and cheerfully as I know you can do when you have a mind. Come, my lads, are you all ready forward?'—vol. ii. pp. 185—187.

In the III<sup>d</sup> volume we arrive at Bombay, where Captain Hall, as might be expected, is thrown at once "into a high fever of wonder and enjoyment." Truth and fiction, the Oriental Images of Scripture, and the Fairy Visions of the Arabian Nights, crowd simultaneously on his remembrance, and all seem to have been realized more or less in his fervid Imagination; or as it is far better expressed in his own simple, striking, and energetic words:

"In sailing over the Indian seas, or travelling in those countries by land, I not only never met any thing that came amiss, but hardly ever met any thing which did not so much exceed in interest what I had looked for, that the grand perplexity became, how to record what was felt, or in any adequate terms to describe even the simplest facts, which struck the eye at every turn in that 'wide realm of wild reality.'"—vol. iii. pp. 5, 6.

"I have no language competent to give expression to the feelings produced by the first contemplation of so strange a spectacle. I was startled, amused, deeply interested, and sometimes not a little shocked. The novelty of the scene was scarcely diminished by a further inspec-



tion; which may appear a contradiction in terms, but is not so in reality. The multitude of ideas caused by the first view of such an astonishing crowd of new and curious objects, obscures and confuses the observation, in a certain sense, and prevents us from distinguishing one part from another. In like manner, I remember being almost stupified with astonishment, when Sir John Herschel first showed me one of the great nebulae or clusters of stars in his telescope at Slough. When, however, the philosopher unfolded the results of his own observations, and ventured to separate and distinguish the different orders of nebulae and double stars, or pointed the instrument to the planet which his illustrious father discovered, and made me understand, or tried to make me understand, the revolutions of its satellites, I felt the confusion by which at first I was distracted gradually subsiding, while the fresh interest of the spectacle, strictly speaking, was greatly increased. And so I found it in India, especially at that most curious of places, Bombay, where the more I saw of the natives, the more there seemed still to discover that was new. It would be absurd to pretend that all this pedantic kind of reasoning process took place at the moment, for, in truth, I was too much enchanted to speculate much on the causes of the enjoyment. I shall never forget, however, the pleasure with which I heard a native, with a bowl in his hand, apply to a dealer in corn for some of the grain called Sesamé. The word, in strictness, is not the Indian name for this seed, though it is used generally in the peninsula of Hindostan, and forms one of the ingredients of curry-powder. Til is the native word for the plant from which the oil of Sesamé is expressed. I need not say how immediately the sound recalled the 'Open, Sesamé!' of the Arabian Nights; and the whole of the surrounding scene being in strict character with that of the tale, I felt as if I had been touched with some magic wand, and transported into the highest heaven of Eastern invention."—vol. iii. pp. 12—14.

The following passage is marked by equally good taste and feeling:

"But there is one set of images and delightful illustrations, meeting the eye at every turn in India, which I have never seen any person so insensible as not to attend to with unaffected interest. I allude to those numerous every-day customs of the East so often mentioned incidentally in the Scriptures, and with which our minds have become familiar from earliest infancy. We so naturally associate these customs with the sacred writings, that we are easily drawn to link the two indissolubly together. Before visiting Eastern countries, we almost fancy that because the events related in the Bible, and the characters who acted in them, have passed away and become matter of history, so also must the customs have disappeared which served as familiar illustrations between man and man, or between our Saviour and the human beings whom it was the object of his mission to impress with his doctrine. We are apt to be startled, therefore, when we find ourselves actually surrounded by scenes almost identical with those described in the Bible. Be all this as it may, I could never see a Hindoo female sitting by the steps of a well in



India, with her arm thrown wearily over the unfilled waterpot, without thinking of the beautiful story of the woman of Samaria, the association being perhaps helped by the recollection of a well-known Italian picture, in which the figures and the scenery are represented quite in the eastern style, such as I was now beholding it for the first time.

“ ‘Two women shall be grinding at the mill, the one shall be taken, the other left,’ conveys scarcely any meaning to European readers. But in India, where we see constantly two female millers, sitting cross-legged on the ground, turning by one handle the upper of two small stones, we are at once struck with the force of the illustration used to explain the uncertainty which should prevail at the destruction of the City. It is difficult, on looking at two persons so engaged, to conceive a situation in which it would be less easy to remove the one without interfering with the other; and this point was admirably enforced by reference to a custom with which every listener in these countries must have been quite familiar. The industry of commentators on the Bible has, I observe, long ago discovered the true explanation of this, and many other passages apparently obscure, but pregnant with meaning when duly investigated. Nevertheless, I aver that a whole quarto of commentaries on the above verse could not have impressed my mind with a tenth part of the conviction which flashed upon me when I first saw two women actually ‘grinding at the mill;’ all unconscious, poor folks, of the cause of my admiration, and as yet ignorant, alas! of the sublime lessons, to enforce and explain which their humble task was referred to.

“ On the morning after my arrival at Bombay, I got up with the first blush of the dawn, and hastily drawing on my clothes, proceeded alone greedily in search of adventures. I had not gone far before I saw a native sleeping on a mat spread in the little verandah extending along the front of his house, which was made of basket-work plastered over with mud. He was wrapped up in a long web of white linen, or cotton cloth, called, I think, his cummerbund, or waist-cloth. As soon as the first rays of the sun peeped into his rude sleeping chamber, he ‘arose, took up his bed, and went into his house.’ I saw immediately an explanation of this expression which, with slight variations, occurs frequently in the Bible, in connexion with several of the most striking and impressive of Christ’s miracles, particularly with that of the man sick of the palsy. My honest friend the Hindoo got on his feet, cast the long folds of his wrapper over his shoulder, stooped down, and having rolled up his mat, which was all the bed he required, he walked into the house with it, and then proceeded to the nearest tank to perform his morning ablutions.

“ I remember mentioning this, amongst many other illustrations of the incidents recorded in Scripture, to a worthy old Scotch lady, upon whom I expected it to produce the same pleasing and satisfactory effect which it had wrought on me. I made, however, a great mistake, for so far from raising myself in her estimation, on the score of correct observation, I sunk, I fear irrecoverably, in her good graces, by presuming, as she alleged, to interfere with the wonder of the miracle, the essence

of which, according to her, I discovered to consist, not in the recovery of 'the man, who was made whole,' but in his being able to shoulder a four-post bed, and carry it off without inconvenience!"—vol. iii. pp. 23—28.

We have not room for the intensely painful details of a Famine, the effects of which Captain Hall witnessed in 1812, 1813, and which are introduced by the following startling paragraph. "I considered myself as *very fortunate* in having arrived in India just as a severe Famine was beginning to make itself felt over a great part of the North-western portion of Hindostan." But such is the result of constitutional Optimism; and Captain Hall, who manifests the deepest and tenderest sympathy for the miseries of the natives, *did* no doubt consider himself "very fortunate" in having seen them. Not a complaint nor gesture of impatience arose from the multitudes actually dying of hunger who thronged to Bombay; where, by the bounty of the English and of the wealthy natives, huge public boilers were erected in the open air, from which rice was distributed to the starving applicants. Sitting round the fires on which it was cooked, each patiently awaited his turn; and although more than an hour frequently elapsed before his mess could be apportioned to the famishing individual, and the food lay within two or three feet of his grasp, no hand was ever raised to seize it prematurely. In like manner, immense piles of rice, heaped up in open spaces of the City, were exposed for many weeks together unguarded, and undiminished even by pilfering. So strong also, even under these horrors, remained the superstitious prejudice respecting Caste, that "I myself," says Captain Hall, "repeatedly saw natives actually expiring of hunger, who refused food because a doubt existed as to the hands through which it had passed."

In one instance, Nature indeed prevailed; but the result was terrific. Eleven natives of the strictest Caste of Hindûs, in an attempt to gain Bombay, prompted by irresistible cravings, slaughtered a Cow and devoured its flesh raw. They were detected by the native Chief, through whose Government they were passing, and were executed on the spot. The British authorities remonstrated; and care was taken to prevent the repetition of an act so cruel and so arbitrary within any territories over which they possessed even secondary means of control.

Lieutenant Hall's bright visions of promotion were clouded soon after his arrival on the East Indian Station, by the painful discovery, that, notwithstanding numerous promises and assurances to the contrary, his name had *not* been inscribed in that indispensable schedule of Patronage, the *Admiralty List*, transmitted to the Commander. Sir Samuel Hood imparted the disappointment with

genuine tenderness and delicacy; and the young officer, although at first as much overwhelmed by the unexpected announcement as if "the Admiral had fired one of the flag-ship's 32 pounders double-shotted down his throat," speedily recovered his wonted elasticity, under the excitement produced by hunting a white-ant's nest. Sir Samuel Hood had telegraphed that Mr. Hall was to be sent on shore with a crow-bar, two pick-axes, and two spades; he had pressed his young friend's hand with the one remaining to himself (his right arm had been shot away in action) with more than usual warmth, before communicating the bitter intelligence which was to sweep away his confident hopes; and after a pause, again touching him gently on the shoulder, he added, in a cheerful tone, "Never mind the mishap, Master Hall, every thing will come right in time; and if you only resolve to take it in the proper and manly temper, it may even prove all the better that this happened. Nothing is without a remedy in this world; and I'll do what I can to make good this maxim in your case: in the meantime, however, come along, and help me to rout out these rascally white ants. Off coat, however, if you please, for we shall have a tough job of it." This advice was less sententious, but quite as much to the purpose as that of the enchanted Durandarte, "*Paciencia y barajar*;" and Lieutenant Hall, profiting by it to the utmost, seized the spade and crow-bar, and gallantly stormed the Citadel of the Queen Ant.

An Alligator-hunt, and a pic-nic party which ate, drank and slept, for several days and nights in the Cave of Elephantá, form Captain Hall's other chief adventures while in India. It was a lucky thought which prompted him to send for the fire-engine of his frigate, and to ply it for a couple of hours on the well-washed face of Shiva: but what is to be said to the "scrubbing with *hard brushes*," which the God afterwards underwent! *Dii boni!*—a hard brush in contact with the Theseus of the Parthenon! But Captain Hall records the expedient with triumphant self-complacency; and, we doubt not, with similar glee would scower the Isiac Table or scrape an Otho. Be this as it may, we like him so well in *himself*, that we should be better pleased with the concluding moiety of his III<sup>d</sup> volume, if it possessed more individuality; and we trust that, whenever we meet again, he will diligently bear in mind, that he is never so agreeable and so instructive as when he stands forth most prominently as the hero of his own very pleasing and intelligent narrative.

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ART. V.—*An Account of the most Important Public Records of Great Britain, and the Publications of the Record Commissioners: together with other Miscellaneous, Historical, and Antiquarian Information. Compiled from various printed Books and Manuscripts. By C. P. Cooper, Esq. 2 vols. London: Baldwin and Cradock. 1832.*

IF it were not for the pitiless pelting of declamation, which we should inevitably bring down upon our heads by venturing on the avowal, we are by no means sure that we should not rank the Khalif Omar among the benefactors of Mankind. Despair, it is said, is one of the first sentiments which occupies the heart of an ambitious tyro in Letters when he surveys the boundless contents of the Bodleian or the Vatican: but if the span of a single life be incommensurate with the toil demanded for close acquaintance with even those comparatively puny collections, what would be all Time, from Creation till Doomsday, to any one whose zeal prompted him to lick up all that Physic of the Soul which was once deposited in the Library of Alexandria? “Vain man would be wise, though he be born like a wild-ass’s colt!”

A question also may be fairly raised as to the real value of our loss. Of the lamented fuel which Abulpharagius would persuade us fed the stoves of 4000 baths during a period of six months, how much was there worth preserving for other and better purposes? Have we to bewail the suppression of any important Truth, the retardation of any useful discovery, the blighting of any precious fruit of Genius, by the fanaticism of the Arabian Conqueror? or is it not more probable that the tears of History, Poetry, and Philosophy, have been shed idly and without cause? If indeed a judgment may be correctly formed from the occasional glimpses which the uninitiated sometimes obtain into modern repositories of *emeritus* paper and parchment, very little is ever forgotten which is at all worthy of being kept in remembrance. Curiosity may expatiate without end, and Imagination may revel without controul on Ghosts and Phantoms of the *deperdita*;—many a pointed sentence and ambitious paragraph may sigh over the irreparable wreck which Learning has sustained from the ravages, whether of Age or of Barbarism;—yet, in spite of glowing periods and glittering apostrophes, of the imputation of lack of taste and of more than Vandal insensibility, we are inclined to believe, in all sobriety, that, for the most part, whenever a contest is maintained between Time on the one hand, and Thomas Hearne and Co. on the other, the former will not

only command success, but he will be pretty sure also to deserve it.

Whatever may be the general value of this opinion, it assuredly receives very strong confirmation from the volumes before us, which have called out its present expression. They are a compilation from a great variety of sources, put together by an Antiquary, apparently well-skilled, certainly most ardent in his favourite pursuit; and they contain an account, derived from printed documents and manuscript collections, of the most important Records preserved in Great Britain. Several of these, no doubt, are beyond all price; and we are as profoundly impressed with a due feeling of their altogether inestimable value as the veriest Magliabecchi of the day; but it is equally plain, we think—and our conviction arises mainly from Mr. Cooper's evidence, notwithstanding the surprise which such a declaration may excite in him—that by far the greater portion may be safely allowed to slumber, *blattarum et tinearum epulæ*, in the dirt, dust and damp which are usually reputed their natural adjuncts. We would not, with Hugh Peters, sign the warrant for their delivery to the secular arm as "monuments of tyranny;" nay farther, we should rejoice if any pains-taking gentlemen would examine, arrange, and catalogue them; if a Committee, *not* composed of those searchers, would determine whether any, and which of them, possessed sufficient general interest to demand publication. Such a process would not only rescue from the hazard of destruction whatever might be worthy of preservation, but yet more it would effectually dispel a prevalent delusion, that there is much which ought to be preserved.

In offering to our readers some notice of the contents of Mr. Cooper's volumes, it will be unnecessary to refer to its original owners that which he has borrowed from others. Whatever he cites from "MS. Collections," which we suppose to be his own peculiar property, we shall carefully appropriate to its rightful master.

Bishop Nicholson has stated, that the Public Records of England excel in age, beauty, correctness, and authority, all other European Archives. With the exception of the Golden Bull, which bears the date of 1356, no Constitution is preserved in the *Code des Recès de l'Empire* more ancient than the middle of the XVth Century. The Emperors indeed and the Kings of France bore about with them the National Records as part of their travelling and military equipage; and the custom was not laid aside by the latter Princes, till, in a rencontre between our Richard I. and Philippe Auguste at Freteval, between Châteaudun and

Vendôme, the rear-guard of the French army was defeated, and the archives of the kingdom were captured, together with the rest of the Royal baggage. “*Etrange coutume,*” as Henault is well justified in exclaiming, “*de nos Rois de porter alors à la guerre les titres les plus précieux de leur Couronne!*” Mezeray contents himself by remarking, that the Grand Signor does the same; and Mr. Cooper incorrectly traces the custom to the Roman Cæsars, “who,” he says, “were attended in their wars and in their journeys by the *Scrinia Viatoria*, transported their records with their Courts, and the consequence was that they were frequently lost and dispersed.”—vol. i. p. 2. For this statement, which we think altogether mistaken, Budæus (whom Mr. Cooper strangely calls *Buddeus*) is cited as an authority in his Notes on the Pandects, p. 162. Budæus certainly there distinguishes between *Scrinia Viatoria* and *Scrinia Stataria*. But in what manner? not by any means as if they were travelling Record Offices:—“*Altera sunt Scrinia Viatoria, quæ in Comitatu Principali circumferuntur, in quibus libelli supplices Principi a postulantibus porrecti conduntur quoad subscribantur; id est, quoad Principi vacet libellis et postulantibus operam dare, libellisque responsitare.*”—p. 163. The *Scrinia Stataria* were the permanent State Paper Offices, and we very much doubt whether the Imperial Archives were ever removed from them. We also believe that the *Scrinia Viatoria*—if any such phrase be recognized, as we believe it is not, by any Roman writer—were, as Budæus has stated, nothing more than the cabinets in which the Emperors and their Generals deposited their private papers, and the Petitions and other public documents which they might receive during their progresses and campaigns. Thus we read in Pliny, (vii. 26,) that Julius Cæsar, *captis apud Pharsaliam Pompeii Magni Scrinii epistolarum*,—with far nobler feeling than that exhibited by the low-bred, crop-eared Robbers, after a similar booty at Naseby,—burned all their contents unread. So also Alexander Severus is said, by his Biographer Lampridius, to have employed his afternoons in the perusal and signature of papers, *relegantibus cuncta Librariis et iis qui Scrinium gerebant*.—(p. 31.) No one can pretend that *Scrinium* here means anything more than the Blue-leather despatch-box which is forwarded from Downing Street to Windsor; and the papers to which Alexander listened and affixed his name were the current ordinances of the day, not the ancient Archives of the State. We do not remember any instance in Roman History in which the Emperors composed themselves to an afternoon nap by an opiate similar to that which was used by King Ahasuerus: “On that night could not the King sleep, who commanded to bring the Book of the records of the Chronicles; and they were read before the King.”



But to return from this digression. With the exception of certain interruptions in the troublous reigns of Stephen and of John, we possess, as Mr. Cooper informs us, authentic Instruments from the time of the Conquest, and Parliamentary Records and proceedings from a date but little subsequent to it. Of the little use which popular writers of History have made of these documents,—and no writers *ought* to have had so constant recourse to them,—Mr. Cooper adduces a striking proof. Out of fifteen Historians who mention the Domesday Book, four assign the date to 1083, one to 1084, seven to 1086, and two to 1087. We may add, that if any of these indolent conjecturers, or adopters of second-hand authority, would have taken the trouble of referring to a memorial of the completion of the Survey, at the end of the second volume of the original MS. in the Chapter House at Westminster, they would have seen distinctly that it was *finished* in 1086. The assertion is confirmed by much internal evidence in the body itself of the Record.

Public attention was very little drawn to our National Records till the appearance of the Selection of State Papers edited by Rymer, in the time of Queen Anne, at the advice of Harley and Lord Halifax, and under the sanction of Royal Authority. In 1731, after the fire in the Cottonian Library, an elaborate Report was drawn up by a Committee of the House of Commons on the state of the various repositories of the Public Records; but it is to the Commission appointed by George III. in 1800, and subsequently renewed, that we are indebted for the fullest and most important information concerning them.

The Collection of MSS. named *Cottonian*, from its founder, was formed in the time of James I. by Sir Robert Cotton, a gentleman of ancient family, of Conington in Huntingdonshire. Addicted to the tranquil pursuits of Antiquities and Literature, that excellent and amiable man was nevertheless unable to escape suspicion of political intrigue; and on one occasion, in 1615, he was peremptorily excluded, by an Order of the Privy Council, from his own Library, which was carefully locked up as containing papers of too great importance to be submitted to general inspection. This most cruel and iniquitous exercise of arbitrary power was repeated, in 1629, when a MS. Tract, calculated to bring the Sovereign into disrepute, was traced to an original copy in Sir R. Cotton's possession. The offensive paper had been written several years before, in a somewhat different form, by Robert Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. Sir Robert Cotton was ignorant that it was on his shelves; and the copy which had crept abroad was obtained by the surreptitious transcription of his Librarian. This second debarment from his treasures broke



the old man's heart, and shortly before his death, which occurred in 1631, he signified to the Privy Council "that their so long detaining his books from him, without rendering any reason for the same, had been the cause of his mortal malady." The sequestration was continued during a part of the life of his son and successor; and in that of his grandson, Sir John Cotton, the Catalogue of the Collection was first compiled and printed. The Books, it seems, were deposited in fourteen Presses, surmounted with Busts of the twelve Cæsars and of Cleopatra and Faustina; and these Press-marks, having been retained, form the references to the present day. In 1700 Sir John Cotton signified his willingness, in pursuance of the intentions of his Father and Grandfather, that the Library then preserved in a House called Cotton House, in the neighbourhood of the Houses of Parliament at Westminster, should be kept and preserved for public use and advantage; and an Act of Parliament accordingly passed, in the Preamble of which the Collection is said to be "of great use and service for the knowledge and preservation of our Constitution in Church and State, and generally esteemed the best of its kind now anywhere extant." On the death of Sir John, the House and Library were vested in Trustees. The House was in ill condition; and, probably with the intention of erecting a new mansion on the old site, the Books were removed, in 1712, to Essex House in Essex Street in the Strand. Had the projected building been a Gaol, a Barrack, or an Office connected with the payment of Revenue, it would have been rapidly completed; but English Governments have ever been snail-paced in the construction of National Galleries, Libraries and Museums. We are not surprised, therefore, to learn, that in 1730 the Collection again migrated to Little Dean's Yard, Westminster, where it was deposited in an old House purchased from Lord Ashburnham. Here, in the following year, it suffered greatly, and was nearly altogether destroyed, by an accidental fire; yet even that warning was insufficient to obtain a permanent provision for the safety of these treasures, and they were conveyed in their half-roasted state to a temporary residence in the Dormitory of the Westminster King's Scholars. On the establishment of the British Museum they were once again removed to another old House; and it was not until our own time that they obtained a fit repository in a part of those magnificent buildings now in progress—still too tardy progress—for the reception of our National Collections.

The Cottonian Library, consisting originally of 938 volumes, was reduced by the Fire to 861, of which, when brought to the Museum, 105 were no more than damaged bundles: 51 of these have been in great measure restored, "*the remaining 61,*" says

the Preface to the excellent Catalogue drawn up by Mr. Planta, (as cited by Mr. Cooper,) were found irretrievable. We are at a loss how to explain this remarkable deviation from ordinary Arithmetic.

The *Harleian* Collection of MSS. was commenced towards the latter end of the XVIIth Century by Mr. Speaker Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford and Lord High Treasurer; and three years before his death amounted to nearly 6000 books, 14,000 original Charters, and 500 Rolls. No cost nor trouble was spared by him in his researches both at home and abroad; and the singularly exact knowledge which he possessed of the *locale* and description of such documents as he wished to procure, as well as the ardour with which he pursued their attainment, may be sufficiently learned from the following Letter of Instructions to one of his Agents.

“ Mr. Andrew Hay,

“ You being upon your departure towards France and Italy, by my noble lord's order, I give you this commission; not now expecting that you can execute every part of it in this journey, but yet hoping that you will dispatch those articles which are of the greatest importance, and put the others into a proper posture, against the time of your next return thither.

“ In Paris, Father Bernard Montfaucon has some Coptic, Syriac, and other Manuscripts worth the buying. Among them is an old leaf of the Greek Septuagint, written in uncial or capital letters.—Buy these, and the leaden book he gave to Cardinal Bouillon, if he can procure it for you, or direct you to it.

“ In the archives of the Cistercian monastery of Clervaulx (or Clara-valle), I am told there are some original Letters, or Epistles, written by the hand of St. Hierome upon *phylira*, or bark.—One or more of these will be acceptable, if not too outrageously valued.

“ The Duke of Savoy has many Greek MSS., as also the Egyptian Board, or Table of Isis, adorned with hieroglyphics; being that which have been explained by Pignorius, Kircherus, &c.—Let me have some account of these.

“ At Venice, buy a sett of the Greek Liturgical Books printed there; I mean a sett all of the first edition, if they may be had: if not, let us have the other. Buy also *Thommassini Bibliothecæ Venetæ*, in quarto. Get a catalogue of Mr. Smith's MSS. there, and inquire how matters go about Giustiniani's Greek MSS. In the bookseller's shops, &c. you may frequently pick up Greek MSS. which the Greeks bring from the Morea, and other parts of the Levant.

“ Remember to get the fragments of Greek MSS. you left with the bookseller, who bought Maffeo's library.

“ The family of Moscardi, at Verona, have many valuable antiquities; and among the rest, four Instruments of the Emperor Theodosius, junior, (now imperfect) written upon *phylira*.—These must be bought, and es-

peelal care taken of them. The first begins,—*dem relectis*. The second *—ius vir in Ast*. The third *ius vir in*.—The fourth—*ni Siciliensis*.

“ At Florence, the Dominicans, or Franciscans, have a large collection of Greek MSS.—You may see them, and get a catalogue of them, if you can. Buy Ernstius, or some other catalogue of the Grand Duke’s MSS.

“ At Milan, in the Ambrosian Library, is a very ancient Catullus; part of Josephus in Latin, written upon bark. A Samaritan Pentateuch in octavo; part of the Syriac Bible, in the ancient, or *Estrangele* characters; divers Greek MSS. in capital letters, being parts of the Bible; with other books of great antiquity, both Greek and Latin.—You may look upon them and send me some account.

“ At Monza (about ten miles from Milan) is an imperfect *Antiphonarium Gregorii I. Papæ*. It is all written upon purple coloured parchment, with capital letters of Gold—Buy this if you can.

“ The family of Septata, at Milan, have a Latin writing upon bark. Buy this, if it will be parted with.

“ In the archives of the Church of Ravenna, are divers instruments written upon bark.—You may see them.

“ At Rome, the Greek Monks of St. Basil have very many old Greek MSS. written in capitals, particularly a book of the iv Gospels, and some pieces of St. Gregory Nazianzen upon St. Paul’s Epistles.—Buy as many as you can, for I hear they are poor, and therefore they may sell the cheaper. They have likewise a Greek Charter of Roger, King of Sicily, in five pieces, together with some other Instruments in Greek, written upon bark or vellum.—Buy these also, if you can.

“ The Fathers of the Oratory at Rome (*Monasterium Vallicellanum*) have many very ancient MSS. both Greek and Latin.—See them at least, even supposing that they will not sell.

“ In the Cathedral Library at Pisa are many ancient MSS.—Let me have some account of these also.

“ The monks of Bovio (*in Monasterio Bobiensi*, near, if not in Pavia) have many very ancient MSS. and among the rest a Book of the Gospels in Latin, wherein St. Luke is written *Lucanus*. They have many old deeds in their archives.—Buy what you can.

“ At Cava (about a day’s journey from Naples) is a Benedictine monastery. In the archives, or treasury, is a Greek Deed of Roger, king of Sicily, with his golden seal appendant.—Buy this, if you can. In the library are some old MSS.—See them at least, if you cannot buy.

“ At Naples, in the library of the Augustin friars of St. John de Carbonara, is a Greek MS. of the Gospels (or of Homilies upon the Gospels) all written in capitals with letters of gold, upon purple parchment.—This must be bought. There is also a Dioscorides in Greek capitals; being a large book with figures of the plants, &c.—This must also be bought. There is also a good number of other ancient MSS. both Greek and Latin, among the latter is an Hieronimus *de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* in Saxon Letters; and the Gospels in Latin, where St. Luke is called *Lucanus*.—Buy of these what you can.

“ If the Greek Manuscripts of the Monastery of St. Savior, near

Messina in Sicily, or any of them, do remain there yet, or in that neighbourhood, as it is probable they may, notwithstanding the late wars, they will doubtless come exceeding cheap.—You will inquire, however, how this matter stands.

“ Pray, sir, all along in your journey, endeavour to secure what Greek MSS. and Latin Classical MSS. you can, provided they come at reasonable prices; and let me be favoured with an account of your proceedings as often as may be convenient.”—vol. i. pp. 53. 55.

This Collection, increased by the son of the first Lord Oxford, amounted at his death in 1741 to upwards of 10,000 volumes and above 40,000 separate Records. A Catalogue Raisonnée, extending so far as No. 2407, and drawn up in the founder's lifetime, occupied the compiler Mr. Humphrey Wanley eighteen years. It was afterwards imperfectly continued so far as No. 5709, and this latter portion was revised and augmented chiefly by the late Archdeacon Nares, when Under Librarian of the MS. department in the British Museum. Mr. Hartwell Horne added a most useful Index of Persons, Places and Matters.

The *Lansdowne* MSS. were purchased by a vote of Parliament in 1807 from the representatives of the then recently deceased Marquess of Lansdowne for the sum of £4,925. Exclusively of Rolls and Charters this Collection contains 1245 volumes. Of these 122, known as the Burghley Papers, consist of State Papers and Miscellaneous Correspondence during the reign of Elizabeth; among which is Lord Burghley's private memorandum book. They were once owned by Strype, who made copious use of them. Fifty volumes comprise Papers and Correspondence of Sir Julius Cæsar, Judge of the Admiralty to Elizabeth, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Master of the Rolls to James I. and Charles I. The Papers of White Kennett, Bishop of Peterborough, extend to 107 volumes, chiefly relating to English Ecclesiastical History. The Burghley Papers have been catalogued by Mr. Douce; the Cæsar, Kennett and Miscellaneous volumes by Mr. Ellis.

The History of the Statutes of the Realm, and their several Editions, will not permit abridgment. Domesday Book, not an exact fac-simile of the original, for the latter so perpetually varies in shape and size that to attempt to cast types for the whole was found impracticable; but executed in types imitating the fairest letter selected from different portions of the MS., occupied ten years in its passage through the Press; and the types perished in the fire which destroyed Mr. Nichols's Printing Office in 1808. In the account of the *Abbreviatio Placitorum*; the Rolls of the *Curia Regis*; the Exchequer Books called *Testa de Neville*; the Hundred Rolls and Rolls of *Quo Warranto*; the *Nonæ Rolls*, which ascertained for Edward III. the value of

the ninth sheaf, fleece and lamb, in each Parish of the Kingdom, granted to him as a temporary aid in his French wars; and of various other Miscellaneous Rolls, the general reader will find little to interest him; and for the most part they appear to fall under the class which scarcely need resuscitation. The curators of some of them probably entertain a similar opinion, which, however, we need not say, is strongly opposed to that of Mr. Cooper.

“ The Pipe Rolls, formerly kept in wainscot presses in the old Exchequer, at Westminster, were, about the year 1800, removed to the vaults under the eastern wing of Somerset House. Of this repository, the author of an unpublished tract has given the following description—a description which, deplorable as it is, the compiler regrets to state is in no respect exaggerated.

“ ‘ The situation in which the Records of this Repository and of the Pipe are preserved is one, of all others, the least suited for their preservation, and the best calculated for their decay and destruction; being kept in damp vaults under the eastern wing of Somerset House. These vaults were originally deemed by Government too damp, dark, and improper for their reception; in consequence whereof, air and fire-flues were introduced under the floor and round the walls, for the purpose of keeping the Records dry, and preventing the damp from the ground. Instead of remedying the evil, I can say, from long experience, that the situation has become still more objectionable, the Records being alternately damp and dry; damp when the flues are unlighted, and dry again when air is admitted and the fires lighted. Further than this, the rooms are so dark, (especially since the erection of the King’s College,) it is impossible to read a Record, or even its label; the cold is also so great, that in winter or summer no person could remain therein half an hour, without the risk of losing his life.’

“ His Majesty’s Government, by the desire of the present Commissioners on the Public Records, has lately given orders for the removal of these invaluable Records to a place better adapted to their preservation, and where they may be consulted without inconvenience. When this measure shall be accomplished, steps will be taken for the examination of these Rolls by competent persons, and it is probable the most important portion will be transcribed, and printed, and our national history protected from the irreparable injury it would sustain, in case of their destruction by time or by accident.”—vol. i. p. 317.

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, commonly known as *The King’s Books*, is the true annual value of all Rectories and Vicarages under Episcopal jurisdiction at the time of the Survey, i. e. 26th Henry VIII. A. D. 1534. It is the Register by which the First Fruits and Tenths are still regulated. The original Record is deposited in the First Fruits Office, an obscure nook in the Temple, from which it ought to be removed without delay. It has been edited by Mr. Caley, under the direction of the Public Record Commissioners.

The publication occupied five volumes, and if Lord Colchester's original design were completed, a sixth, more useful than any of its predecessors, would be added, containing a General Introduction, Map and Index.

The difficulties which an Antiquary must sometimes expect to encounter in his chase, are vividly portrayed in an extract which we shall give below from the Dedication of that "great paper-worm" Prynne to his *Brevia Parliamentaria Rediviva*. It is addressed to Charles II. and gives an account of the writer's proceedings in sorting certain Writs and Returns.

"No sooner received I your Royal Patent (passed without fees) for the custody of your ancient Records in your Tower of London, even in the midst of my parliamentary and disbanding services, then monopolizing all my time, but I designed and endeavoured the rescue of the greatest part of them from that desolation, corruption and confusion, in which (thorough the negligence, nescience, or sloathfullnesse of their former keepers) they had for many years by past layen buried together in one confused chaos, under corroding and putrifying cobwebs, dust, and filth, in the darkest corner in Cæsar's Chappel in the white Tower, as mere useless reliques, not worthy to be calendared, or brought down thence into the Office amongst other Records of use. In order thereunto, I imployed some souldiers and women to remove and cleanse them from their filthynesse; who, soon growing weary of this noysome work, left them almost as foul, dusty, and nasty as they found them. Whereupon, immediately after the Parliaments adjournment, I and my clerk (in August and September last) spent many whole dayes in cleansing and sorting them into distinct confused heaps, in order to their future reducement into method, the old clerks of the office being unwilling to touch them for fear of fouling their fingers, spoiling their cloathes, and endangering their eye-sight and healths, by their cankerous dust and evil sent. In raking up this dung-heap (according to my expectation) I found many rare, ancient, precious pearls and golden Records . . . . . all which require Briarius his hundred hands, Argus his hundred eyes, and Nestor's centuries of years, to marshall them in distinct files, and make exact alphabetical tables of the several things, names, and places comprised in them, wherein most treasuries of Records are very defective, which oft causeth your subjects to make long fruitlesse searches, and to depart with a *Non est inventus* of what they sought for."—vol. ii. pp. 35, 36.

Whether all this great toil, "which for some months space ingrossed most of the hours allotted to his repastes, natural rest and refreshment every night," was adequately repaid by its fruits, may fairly be questioned. Much curious matter might doubtless be expressed from his Work; but high-priced as it is, few probably are now acquainted with its contents. In his Preface he has given four considerations to prove the utility of his labours; his "extraordinary lucubrations," as he terms them, which he trusts



will be "beneficial to the Public, or delightfull, usefull recreation to any lovers of revived Antiquities." We subjoin the eight arguments which he adduces in the Body of his Work, to show that it "demerits veneration."

"1. In point of history, by discovering, recording to the present age and posterity, who were the most eminent, popular, potent, discreet, and able Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen, in every Shire, fittest to serve their country in Parliament in former ages; who were the wisest members of the Commons House in most of our antient Parliaments; the chief promoters of any good laws, Petitions made, or answered, in them for the people's good; this being the first and only catalogue of our antient Knights of Shires yet collected, or published, to the world. 2. In relation to heraldry, by informing all who were the most honourable, noble, wealthy, antient Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, and Families, in every County of the Realm; and what honourable persons, Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen have inherited, not only their ancestor's lands, estates, and honors, but their wisdom, virtues, countrie's affections, and Publick Parliamentary trusts, and who have degenerated from them. 3. It may and should excite the surviving heirs, and posterities of these ancient Knights of Shires, to imitate if not emulate their ancestors virtues, and to furnish themselves with all such ornaments, abilities of learning, art, experience, as may enable them to serve their King and Country in the highest Court and Counsell of Parliament, as Knights, or Burgesses, upon all occasions, and endear them to the counties wherein they live. 4. It may sufficiently minde the greatest, richest, wisest, and ancientist Lords, Knights, Citizens, and Members of Parliament, that they are all mortal, and shall ere long return to their dust, if not buried in oblivion, as well as all these their predecessors, who are long since rotted in their tombes, and quite forgotten like dead men out of minde. 5. It may instruct all ambitious, covetous persons worldly-wise, honourable, wealthy, potent, soever, that not only themselves but their very names, families, and posterities, are all subject to mortality, because not only the persons, but houses, issues, yea the very names of sundry of the forcited Knights of Shires, though famous in their generations, are long since totally extinguished and forgotten, when as others of them yet survive, and retain their antient honor, splendor, love, and popularity in their Countreyes, or in some other Countries to which they have been transplanted. . . . 7. It should also excite our whole English nation to blesse God for preserving our Parliaments, and a perpetual succession of wise, discreet, honourable, potent persons and patriots of their Country from age to age, to serve not only as Peers, but Knights, Citizens, Burgesses, in all successive Parliaments, to defend, preserve, the just rights and prerogatives of our Kings and Kingdoms, enact good laws, redresse all publique grievances, protect the antient rights, franchises, liberties, properties of the subject against all injurious violations, and bring the greatest delinquents to condign punishments, when above the reach of any other inferior judicatories. 8. It fully verifieth that observation of Solomon, *Eccles. i. 4.*



One generation (of Parliament members as well as other persons) passeth away and another generation cometh; which should instruct all Parliament members," &c. &c.—*Brevia Parliamentaria Rediviva*, 138—141.

Respecting the publication of the Parliamentary Writs there appears to have been a great deal of jealousy and petty squabbling. Antiquaries, indeed, so far as our observation reaches, are a race to which proverbial irritability attaches with far greater justice than to Poets; and like Spiders they lurk in the dark, and spin their webs for the demolition of such of their own species as chance to become entangled in them. But we escape as quickly as possible from the venom of these controversies, and hasten on to a short notice of the *Fœdera*.

Fourteen volumes of that truly great Publication, which, if executed with judgment, would throw more light upon Modern History than any other Work which has issued from the Press since the invention of Printing, appeared in the lifetime of Rymer the original Editor. The fifteenth and sixteenth, which were fully prepared before his death, were published after it by his assistant Robert Sanderson, who added a seventeenth volume of Indices, and subsequently three others of fresh Papers. The whole twenty volumes have been termed by Mr. Nicolas not unaptly, although with some strength of expression, "The Bible of Antiquaries;" and no one dare venture into the labyrinth of Mediæval History without largely borrowing their aid and guidance. We need not pause upon the very few and imperfect attempts which preceded Rymer's Work. A second edition of that entire Work, with numerous emendations, was published by Tonson; and the emendations also were printed separately for the use of the Purchasers of the former edition. Numerous as they were, for they occupied 57 folio pages of double columns, they are said not to have corrected one-fourth part of the existing errors; many of the corrections are unimportant; most of them concern typographical mistakes; and there is internal evidence that either the asserted collation with the originals is false, or that the collation was most carelessly executed. A third Edition, more elegant, convenient, and valuable than either of the former, reduced to ten volumes, notwithstanding it contained certain additions, was printed at the Hague in 1738. So prized had been Rymer's Work, that before the appearance of the second Edition, a set of the *seventeen* volumes has been known to bring 100 guineas; the second Edition itself was soon out of print; and when the Record Commissioners determined upon publishing a new and enlarged Collection, copies of the Dutch Edition were rare and expensive. The original Work, which is in fact a Diplomatic History of England, commences with an Instrument in A.D.

1101, the first year of the reign of Henry I. and pursuing its course through 563 years, terminate with a Letter dated A. D. 1654, the sixth of Charles II. In this period, 67 years, under Henry I., Stephen, Henry II. and Richard I. are altogether blank. Materials were found which enabled the new Edition to begin from the Conquest, and it was resolved that it should be carried down to the Revolution, or perhaps even to the Accession of the House of Hanover. Various improvements in both Chronological and Typographical arrangement were projected; no pains were to be spared in giving a form to the publication which should be worthy of its contents and of the sanction and patronage under which it was to appear; and after much difficulty in finding persons competent to the undertaking, the services of Dr. Adam Clarke were accepted. But like all our public works, whether they be planned in paper or in stone, this also is likely to remain incomplete. The chosen superintendent perhaps falls into some unexpected error, his unemployed brethren are jealous and vindictive, the Commissioners are captious, the Critics are splenetic, Joseph Hume *totleizes* about farthings, and Government grows falsely economical; till the mighty fabric, which, with all its faults, might remain to after Ages a splendid monument of National liberality and magnificence, is permitted to fall in pieces, as a reproach upon the fickleness and vacillation of all concerned either in its design or its execution.

“ Five parts of the new edition of the *Fœdera* have been published, and 172 pages of the sixth part, (vol. iii. part ii.) had been printed, when the further prosecution of the work was suspended by the order of the present Commissioners on the Public Records. The last printed page carries down the series of instruments to the 6th year of the reign of Richard II. (A. D. 1383.)”—vol. ii. p. 137.

“ All idea of continuing the new edition of the *Fœdera* upon the present scale has long been abandoned: and the collection of inedited materials is so vast that a considerable time must elapse before the Commissioners can come to any satisfactory determination respecting a Supplement, or a Continuation. It is probable, that their attention will for the present be confined to correcting the errors and supplying the defects of such parts of the work as are already in the hands of the public.”—vol. ii. p. 138.

If the charge of inaccuracy, which has been so fiercely bruited abroad against this last Edition of the *Fœdera* can be substantiated, much blame will necessarily attach to its compilers. But to the clamour about omissions, a plain answer may be given. Unless the principle of selection be adopted, the undertaking is hopeless and interminable. Selection may be exercised with more or less judgment; but *some* selection there must be, or the

Work cannot proceed; and because nine folio pages of omissions can be demonstrated in a single year of King John, it is by no means a necessary consequence that any one article in those pages ought to have been inserted. There is quite as much pedantry in the desire of exhibiting knowledge of the existence of a document which another man has put aside, after ripe consideration, because he deemed it unimportant, as there is in adopting the phraseology of obsolete instruments, in order to show that we have read them. *Ut si Commentariis quibus Pontificum, et vetustissima Fœdera, et exotos scrutatus auctores, id ipsam petat ex his, ut quæ inde contraxerit non intelligantur. Hinc enim aliqui famam eruditionis affectant, ut quedam soli scire videantur.*

In the above remarks we are far from intending to offer any opinion upon the real merits of the execution of the new Edition of the *Fœdera*. That is a question upon which the Commissioners are or ought to be most fitted to decide. If they have provided incompetent persons for its execution, they must more than share the blame with them; but it is not on that account that the Public should be defrauded of a Work upon which expectation has hung so long and so eagerly. Others may still be found able and willing to perform the task, and to them it should be committed, after due inquiries into their competency. If, on the other hand, the Commissioners are satisfied with their labourers, they are no less bound to support them through evil report and good report; to disregard the exaggeration of petty defects and unavoidable *incuriæ*; and to bring to completion a Work in which Europe at large is scarcely less interested than England itself.

All these observations apply with tenfold force to the projected Edition of the British *Corpus Historicum*. The Chapter relating to that Work (XXIII.) is the most interesting in these two volumes, and we shall therefore direct proportionate attention to it. Mr. Cooper commences with an "Outline of a plan for collecting and publishing the materials for the History of Britain from the earliest times to the end of the XVth Century." This outline, we suppose, to be his own, since he adds—"From Manuscript Collection." Excepting the *Fœdera*, the Domesday Book, the Parliament Rolls and a few other recent publications by the Record Commission, no Work illustrative of our early History has yet appeared in England under National auspices. The unconnected exertions of a few private individuals, and the occasional speculations of the Booksellers from time to time, between the latter part of the XVIth and the middle of the XVIIth Centuries, have given birth to about twenty volumes in folio, and thirty others, mostly in 8vo., of our ancient Historical literature.

The necessary defects in these isolated publications are frequent repetitions, and the absence of all those numberless aids and conveniences to the reader which arise out of unity of plan. In most of these volumes little care has been paid either to the correctness of the MS. originally selected for transcription, or to the subsequent collation. No attempt has been made to arrange or rectify Chronology; and good Notes, complete Indexes and accurate Glossaries are almost entirely wanting.

The adoption of a plan similar to that carried into effect by those choicest benefactors to Letters, the Benedictines, in the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, appears to present an obvious remedy for the confused and unsatisfactory condition of this most important branch of Literature. That compilation, no doubt, has points which require and might easily receive improvement. Perhaps Bouquet might have increased its value, if he had printed entire Works continuously, as Muratori has done in his *Scriptores Italici*, rather than confined himself to the selection of portions applicable to particular periods and circumstances; but then Bouquet, for all purposes of use, infinitely surpasses Muratori in his *apparatus*; in his most invaluable preliminary abstracts, with perpetual references to the originals which follow; and in his copious Indexes; the want of all which appurtenances presents a formidable obstacle to the student of the Italian Middle Ages. We once heard, indeed, from an authority which, on Historical matters, must command respect above any other belonging to our times, that Muratori was the source of those who read honestly, Bouquet of those who wished to have reputation for reading. But with all deference to that opinion, which we so profoundly and so sincerely respect, we cannot persuade ourselves to become enamoured of trouble merely for its own sake,—of difficulty simply because it is difficult. To be in full possession of the whole treasures of Muratori, to have dug down into his fathomless mines, to have ransacked their ore and brought it to day, and to have fused and moulded it into rich and ever-enduring forms of strength and beauty, are the triumphs of a master-hand and spirit. But why may we not wish that the shaft had been sunk and drained before by others? that the drudgery had been performed by coarser agents, and that the material had been presented at once to the artist, without all this previous expenditure of toil, energy, and perseverance? If Phidias had been compelled in the first instance to quarry his own marble, Posterity might have lost a Jupiter.

We are not sorry, therefore, that Bouquet is, with certain exceptions, the general model after which the English *Corpus* is to be fashioned. It is calculated that twelve folio volumes, of about

1000 pages each, will contain all the matter which has been already printed, and that about half that number more may be requisite for a supplementary mass of highly valuable information which is still restricted to MS. The sources to be consulted are, 1. Such notices of Britain as can be found in Greek and Roman writers, Coins and Inscriptions. 2. General Histories. 3. Particular Histories, among which public affairs are often largely treated. 4. Biography, to which perhaps scarcely sufficient rank is assigned. Putting aside the legends with which the Monks so fantastically inlay the Lives of their Thaumaturgists, we doubt much whether History is ever taught more authentically, certainly it is never portrayed more vividly, than by the pen of the Biographer. 5. Miracles, so far as they illustrate contemporary habits and manners. 6. Letters—a most important but almost boundless division. 7. Charters, a dry head—or rather a *caput mortuum*—which a staunch Antiquary especially values. 8. Laws. 9. Coins. 10. Seals. The period to be treated extends from the earliest notices of the Island to the death of Henry VII., distributed into subdivisions of one or more reigns; each volume is to be opened by a Preface, descriptive of its contents and their authors; the text is to be illustrated by marginal dates, and brief critical notes and various readings at the foot of the page. Passages in Greek, Irish, Welsh, Saxon, the Oriental, or the Northern Dialects, are to be accompanied with a Latin version. Indexes of places and persons, a general Index, a Glossary of Barbarous terms, Maps at convenient periods, and, where necessary, fac-similes, are to be added; and prefixed to the first volume will be a general explanatory Introduction. The Catalogue of Materials in MS. occupies nine 8vo. pages, of those in print five and a half.

An Address to the King, founded on this proposition, was voted by the House of Commons in 1822, and the Record Commissioners were in consequence intrusted with the superintendence of the Work. Nine years have elapsed since the Treasury Warrant was addressed to them, and the produce of that long period up to the 26th December, 1831, has been 664 pages of the first volume. Yet we are gravely told “that not less than one year will be requisite for the production of each volume.” We believe, indeed, that from 1822, till May, 1831, no step was taken, and that the little progress which has been now made is the result of a *second* letter, addressed to the present Commissioners by Lord Melbourne at the last mentioned date.

Our notices, for the most part, may be thought to contradict our opening statement of the predominance of materials without value in the generality of MS. Collections. In justice to ourselves, therefore, we should plead that, for the Reader's sake, we have

selected those particulars only from which we thought him likely to derive entertainment; and that for a confirmation of our opinion we may safely refer to the far larger part of these volumes which we have kept out of sight. If he wishes for a specimen of that which has been thought worthy of preservation in the Bodleian, and concerning the publication of which the Commissioners, as in duty bound, made inquiry, let him take the following extract from a Transcript of the Pipe Rolls. Similar matter fills six folio volumes; and it is much to the honour of the gentleman who was requested to inspect them that he reported as follows: "However valuable they may be to the private Antiquary, whose views correspond with those of the Collector, they are totally unfit for publication, and the money it would cost for transcribing them, if for that purpose, would be comparatively thrown away." The passage below relates to the reign of Stephen.

"Chent.

"Hugo de Doure r' qp'.

Noua placita 7 Noue conueñ ad maritandū filiā R.

Hugo de Doure r' qp' de ix<sup>li</sup>. 7 vj. s. 7 viij. d. p \* de veteri feoff. et i. m. d. nouo feoffamento.

Waltrus de Maiene r' qp' de xix. l. 7 vj. s. 7 vij. d. de veteri feff. 7 de Nouo. xx. s.

Wills de Auerench r' qp' d. xiiij. li. 7 vj. s. 7 viij. d. q init de veteri feff. et de nouo xxxiiij. s. 7 iiij. d.

Wills fit. Hebt r' qp' de xlvj. s. 7 viij. d. de veteri feff. et ij. s. 7 viij. d. de Nouo feff.

Walchelin<sup>o</sup> Maminot r' qp' de xvij. li p mit de veteri feff.

Daniel de Creuecuer r' qp de xvij. li. p. mil de veteri feff.

Walchelinus Maminot deb i. m. de Nouo feff.

Wills de Ros deb iiij. li. 7 xij. s. 7 iiij. p mit \*.

Id vic' r' qp' de xj. li. de Auxil de Hou."—p. 344.

To make amends for this arid morsel, we will extract a *bocca dolce* in conclusion. The following most curious document has been recently transcribed by Mr. Cooper.

"*Interrogatories prepared by King James I. for the Examination of Guido Fawkes, November 6th, 1605, (entirely in the Handwriting of King James.) From a Collection of Documents relative to the Gunpowder Plot, in his Majesty's State Paper Office, No. 17.*

"This examine wolde nou be maid to ansoure to formall interrogatours:—

"1. As quhat he is, for I can never yett heare of any man that knowis him.

"2. Quhaire he vas borne.

"3. Qubate vaire his parents names.



- " 4. Quhat age he is of.  
 " 5. Qubaire he hath lived.  
 " 6. Hou he hath lived, & by quhat trade of lyfe  
 " 7. Hou he reassaved those woundes in his breste.  
 " 8. If he vas ever in service vith any other, before Percie & quhat thay vaire, & hou long.  
 " 9. Hou he came in Percies service, by quhat meanes, & at quhat tyme.  
 " 10. Quhat tyme vas this house hyred by his maister.  
 " 11. & hou soone after the posessing of it, did he beginne to his devillishe preparations.  
 " 12. Quben & quhaire lernid he to speake Frenshe.  
 " 13. Quhat gentle womans lettir it vas, that vas founde upon him.  
 " 14. & quhairfor doth sho give him an other name in it, then he gives to him self.  
 " 15. If he vas ever a Papiste & if so, quho brocht him up in it.  
 " 16. If other wayes, hou vas he convertid, quhaire, quhen, and by quhom.

" This course of his lyfe I ame the more desyrouse to know, because I have dyvers motives, leading me to suspecte that he hath remained long beyonde the seas, & ather is a preiste, or hath long servid som preiate or fugitive abroad, for I can yett (as I saide in the beginning heirof) meite with no man that knowis him; the lettir founde upon him, gives him another name, & those that best knowis his maister, can never remember to have seene him in his companie, quhair upon it shoulde seeme that he hath been recommentit by some personnis to his maisters service, only for this use, quhairin only he hath servid him; & thairfore he volde also be asked in quhat company & shipp he went out of Englande, & the porte he shipped at, and the lyke questions wolde be asked anent the forme of his returne; as for these tromperie waires founde upon him, the signifacation & use of everie one of thaim wolde be knowin, & quhat I have observid in thaim, the bearare vill show you; non laste ye remember of the crewallie villanouse pasquil that rayled upon me for the name of Brittain, if I remember richt, it apake some thing of harvest; & prophecied my destruction about that tyme, ye may thinke of this, for it is like to be the laboure of suche a desperate fellow as this is: if he vill not other wayes confesse, the gentler tortours are to be first usid unto him, & sic per gradus ad ima tenditur, & so God speede youre goode worke.

JAMES R.

(Indorsed by Lord Salisbury)

" 6 Novemb:  
 'The K<sup>e</sup>. Articles.'

" *Examination of Guido Fawkes, on Interrogatories prepared by King James I. November 6th, 1605. From a Collection of Documents relative to the Gunpowder Plot, in his Majesty's State Paper Office, No. 19.*

- " To the 1. He sayth his name is John Johnsonne.  
 " 2. He was borne in Yorkeshyre in Netherdale.



" 3. His Father's name was Tho: Johnson, his Mother's Edith, Daughter of one Jacksonne.

" 4. His age 36 yeares.

" 5. He hath lived in Yorkeshyre, first at scoole ther, and then to Cambridge, and after in sondrye other places.

" 6. His maintenaunce was by a farme of £30 p an<sup>r</sup>:

" 7. His skarrs came by the healinge of a pluracie.

" 8. He nev<sup>r</sup> served any before he served M<sup>r</sup>. Tho: Percy.

" 9. He procured M<sup>r</sup>. Peries\* service only by his owne meanes, being a Yorkshire man, about Ester was twelmonth.

" 10. His M<sup>r</sup>. hyred the house abowt Midsom<sup>r</sup> was twelmonth.

" 11. Abowt the Christmas followinge, he began to bring in the gunpowder.

" 12. He did learne to speake French, first here in England, and increased yt, at his last being beyond the seas.

" 13. The letter that was founde aboute him, was from a gentlewoman maryed to an English man, called Bostock, in Flanders.

" 14. The reason why she calleth him by another name, was bycause he called himself Fauks.

" 15. He sayth he was ev<sup>r</sup> brought upp a Catholique, by his parentes.

" 16. He was ev<sup>r</sup> a Catholique, and nev<sup>r</sup> converted.

" That he went ov<sup>r</sup> from Dover amongst strangers, and ther landed againe at his retourne.

(Signed) JOHN JOHNSON,

(Signed) NOTTINGHAM.

(Signed) DEVONSHIRE. H. NORTHAMPTON. SALISBURY.

(Indorsed) ' 6. Novem. 1605,

' The Examination of Johnson to y<sup>e</sup> K<sup>t</sup>. Articles :—

' In the Afternoon. ' "

The discovery of one such Paper as this may be supposed to repay the wearisomeness of whole years expended among Parliamentary Writs and Pipe Rolls—but such a Paper is in truth a sort of *Lac Gallinaceum*. Happy is the man to whom one such occurs in a whole lifetime; for the most part it is to be found only *ἐπὶ τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ ἀσπάπτει*.

\* Sic.

ART. VI.—*A Dissertation on the Calendar and Zodiac of Ancient Egypt; with Remarks on the first introduction and use of the Zodiac among the Greeks.* By W. Mure, Esq. Edinburgh. Bell and Bradfute. 1832. 8vo. pp. 265.

2. *Brief Remarks on the Chronology of the Egyptian Dynasties: shewing the fallacy of the system laid down by Messrs. Champollion, in two Letters on the Museum of Turin.* By W. Mure, Esq. London. Rivingtons. 1829. 8vo. pp. 48.

ALL questions on ancient chronology have been rendered obscure as well by the want of authentic documents to establish the leading dates, as by the extreme technicality of the apparatus which has been employed by professional writers, when attempting to explain the principles of their science. In the early ages of Egyptian learning especially, this subject was involved in studied darkness by the priests, who, either to magnify the antiquity of their nation, or to secure for themselves the fame of profound research, adopted a phraseology, which could not be understood except by those, whom they were pleased to furnish with the key.

When, for example, they carried back the origin of their race 36,525 years, it was only the initiated, who could analyze this great number into its component parts; namely, the Sothiacal period of 1461 Egyptian years, and the cycle of 25 years, which last was invented for the purpose of adjusting the solar and lunar motions. The one of these sums multiplied into the other gives the product now specified; an amount which, when applied to the duration of any people mentioned in history, could only excite contempt and derision. The Chaldean period of 432,000 years, is founded on similar principles. It included the reign of their first kings, and was supposed to be the birth of the *cali yuga*, or last of the four ages of the world, which, according to the Brahminical calculation, began with the deluge, B. C. 3102. It is evidently produced, as Dr. Hales remarks, by the multiplication of the two factors 18, and 24,000 into each other; of which 18 was the Chaldean *saros*, or Plinian period of the lunar inequalities, which is performed in eighteen years and eleven days, or 223 lunations; and was much esteemed for its accuracy, in computing the return of eclipses and other phenomena of the moon's motion. The other factor was the *annus magnus*, or the grand revolution of the sphere of the fixed stars in the course of 24,000 years, occasioned by the precession of the equinoxes, at the Hindoo rate of 54 seconds of the ecliptic annually; which differs surprisingly little from 50½ seconds, the annual rate of the precession, as determined by the nicest observations and most accurate calculations of modern as-

tronomy, in its present high state of improvement. We may add, that the year of the *cali yuga*, B. C. 3102, was a remarkable astronomical epoch, when, according to La Place, the mean motion of Jupiter was slowest. Another conspicuous date in the Hindoo astronomy is the year A. D. 1491, when according to the same profound mathematician, the mean motion of Saturn was the most rapid.

The knowledge of the Indian sages at a period so remote, and on a point, which required a series of observations so accurate and precise as the precession of the equinoxes, is not a little remarkable. Three hundred and sixty degrees are equal to 21,600 minutes or to 1,296,000 seconds, which, divided by 54 seconds, the supposed annual precession, gives 24,000 years as the quotient. As indeed the actual movement of the zodiac has been ascertained to be only  $50\frac{1}{2}$  seconds annually, the real quotient is larger than that now stated, amounting to 25,755—the true extent of the *annus magnus*, or great year of the firmament. But we repeat that it required no small degree of astronomical science as well as the accumulation of a vast store of facts, to enable the star-gazers of the east to detect a movement in the heavenly bodies so little likely to be anticipated, and to arrive at a result so near the truth in estimating its annual rate. Our main object, however, is to draw the attention of the reader to the principle on which many of the great epochs of antiquity were founded—the multiplication of certain cycles into one another. Hence were produced imaginary periods, the larger part of which was usually assigned to the rule of the gods, or to dynasties of immortals, whose government had no resemblance to the ordinary current of human events. The ignorant might be thereby misled, and there is no doubt that they were intentionally kept in darkness; but the more learned were taught to penetrate the mystery and to perceive in those immense epochs, which seem to overwhelm the imagination, nothing more than certain arithmetical combinations technically arranged.

Every one knows that Cicero reprobated the foolish and arrogant pretensions of the Chaldeans to the possession of a series of recorded observations of the stars during 470,000 years. Diodorus is more particular, and raises it to 379,000 years before the expedition of Alexander into Asia. The correct number, according to the author whom we have already quoted, is somewhat more, being 473,040 the additional forty years having, it is probable, been omitted by the historian, as insignificant in so great an amount. But this cycle of 473,040 was, like the Hindoo and Egyptian epochs, formed by the multiplication of two factors; the first, 234, which is the square of the Chaldean *saros* 18, and

the second, 1460, being the Sothiacal period of *tropical* years, as distinguished from 1461 Egyptian years. In this case, the square of 18, instead of the simple number, appears to have been employed, in order to furnish a larger period, approximating more nearly to the true lunar motions than the *saros* itself, which in fact consisted of 18 years and eleven days.

The Sothiacal period, which we have already repeatedly named, was likewise in some degree artificial, though it perhaps originated in the imperfect state of astronomical science. Some time after the year of 365 days had been adopted, a discrepancy was observed between the return of the seasons and the annual revolutions of the calendar. It was at length discovered, that in 1460 years— $365 \times 4$ —the tropical and civil years would again coincide; and as the latter originally began with the heliacal rising of Sothis or the dogstar, the cycle of adjustment was known by that appellation. In the course of 1460 years, the first day of the first month, *Thoth*, must have retrograded through all the seasons, until it came round again to the same place, at the rate of one day in four years; and it was probably to this that the Egyptian priests alluded in their mysterious way when they told Herodotus that from the reign of their first King Menes to Sethon, priest of Vulcan, the sun had four times altered his course; that it had risen twice where it now sets, and had twice set where it now rises, and this without producing any change in Egypt; that the productions of the earth had been the same, and that there had not been more disease or mortality than usual.

This statement, which it is manifest the historian himself did not understand, and which has been denounced by modern authors as a dream, a fable, and a falsehood, may be easily explained on the ground of the distinction between the vague and the tropical year. In the course of the cycle of 1460 years the sun might be said to rise once and set once in every degree of the ecliptic, because all the days of the vague or moveable year had gone a complete round throughout the seasons; that is, the first day of *Thoth*, which at the beginning of the period might be in June, would at the middle of it, or after the lapse of 730 years, be in December, and at the end of it, or after the lapse of other 730 years, would again be in June. But, as the interval from Menes to Sethon included 1700 years, or 240 more than a complete revolution of the cycle, the sun in the course of that prolonged period must have risen twice and set twice in some degrees of the ecliptic. The meaning, however, is more obvious than the accuracy of the expression, which is only true in a certain sense. The priests, we presume, intended to convey to the Greek traveller nothing more than this simple fact,

that the sun in the summer months had twice risen in the winter signs of the zodiac, and twice risen in the winter months in the summer signs; a result which in the course of time would be repeated everywhere but for the expedients introduced into the Julian and Gregorian calendars.

While speaking of artificial epochs and the technical apparatus of ancient astronomy, we may mention the Julian period, invented by Scaliger at a recent date, as a convenient instrument for fixing events in history, whether sacred or profane. The usual references to the eras of creation and redemption are sufficiently specific for ordinary purposes, and within certain geographical limits; but as different versions of the Sacred Writings exhibit a variety in their chronological systems, and as the Eastern Church has adopted one method and the Western Church another, it was thought necessary to construct such a scheme of dates as might enable the authors of all countries to meet on common ground, without sacrificing any opinions, or pledging their belief to any particular views, Protestant or Catholic. To accomplish this object, the learned chronologer, to whom we have alluded, resolved to multiply into one another the three numbers 28, 19, and 15, being the cycles of the sun, and of the moon, and of the indiction respectively. The two former are known to every reader; the last was a cycle used only by the Romans for appointing the times of certain public taxes, as expressed in the *Code de tributo indicto*. It was adopted by Constantine in place of the heathen Olympiads, and was subsequently used in the Acts of the General Councils, by the Emperors, and Popes. The product of the three numbers just mentioned is  $28 \times 19 \times 15 = 7980$ ; an epoch, the supposed commencement of which extends back some hundreds of years before the creation of the world. This period assumes that in its first year the cycle of the sun was 1, the cycle of the moon was 1, and the cycle of indiction was 1; but the three cycles can never so correspond again till the end of it. Every intermediate year will be distinguished by different numbers of these cycles until the last year, 7980, when the division by the prime numbers 28, 19, and 15, respectively, will leave no remainders; the numbers themselves then expressing the last years of each cycle. It began B. C. 4714, and will terminate in the year 3266 of the Christian era.

As there are in all books of chronology frequent allusions to the periods and epochs which we have now explained, we consider the above remarks necessary to a full understanding of the intricate subjects on which Mr. Mure has undertaken to instruct the public. Although his treatises respect separate branches of Egyptian learning, their object and bearing are essentially the

same, being devoted to an investigation of the recondite principles which appear to have been employed by the philosophers of Thebes and Memphis for the measurement of time.

The "Remarks on the Chronology of the Egyptian Dynasties" were suggested by some conclusions of the Champollions in regard to the reign of Sesostris; a hero, whose existence, whose exploits, and whose era have been long contested among historians and antiquaries. The accounts transmitted by the ancients themselves concerning the age of this prince are very vague and contradictory. Herodotus, who derived his information from the Egyptian priests, places him two generations before the Trojan war. Manetho, who was himself an Egyptian priest, carries back his reign several generations anterior to the date assigned by Herodotus; and Diodorus makes him many generations more ancient than either. Josephus recognized in this conqueror the Sesac who took Jerusalem in the days of Rehoboam; not being able to find any authentic record of a conquest of Judea or Palestine by the Egyptians before that period. Modern writers on the strength of recent discoveries have identified the Sesostris of the Greeks with a King Ramesses, whose name occurs on the Egyptian monuments, connected with emblems denoting that he was a great warrior and conqueror. Many of the facts elicited by the same researches so far corroborate the testimony of Manetho, in chronological matters at least, that his account may certainly be considered as a near approximation to the truth, in as far as the age of the king in question is concerned. But even admitting the full value of Manetho's authority, certain numerical discrepancies in the various extracts of his history, as preserved in the works of Josephus, Africanus, and Eusebius, still afford scope for controversy. Dr. Young, by a calculation of what appeared to him, on a collation of conflicting numbers, the most reasonable average length of the reigns, from the accession of the eighteenth dynasty to the end of the twenty-sixth which terminated in the Persian conquest, has fixed the date of the accession of Sesostris at 1424 B. C. But on summing up the whole numbers comprised in the collective reigns of all the Egyptian sovereigns, from the commencement of the nineteenth dynasty, of which Sesostris was the chief, to the end of the twenty-sixth, as those reigns are given with certain varieties by different chronologers, each on the authority of Manetho, he thinks that, even making the most ample allowances in favour of antiquity, where the numbers are doubtful from incorrectness of transcribers or corruption of texts, not one of these lists can be made to bring the accession of Sesostris higher than from about 1400 to 1410 B. C.; and this estimate is remarkably confirmed by another document preserved by



Syncellus, called the Old Chronicle, which has every appearance of being of as pure Egyptian original as the lists of Manetho. This chronicle, which also gives the duration of each dynasty, and the numbers of its reigns, but without giving the length of each reign, brings the accession of Sesostris no higher than 1400 B. C. On the joint authority, then, of Manetho, and the Old Egyptian Chronicle, thus so remarkably corroborating each other, we are hardly justified on the fairest computation, in dating that event in round numbers earlier than 1410 or later than 1400 B. C.

M. Champollion, however, fixes the accession of Sesostris in the year 1473 before the Christian era; founding his calculations on the Egyptian cycle, already mentioned, of 1460 years, which coincided with 1461 vague years, each consisting of 365 days. According to Censorinus and Theon of Alexandria, whose work, hitherto unprinted, is preserved in the Royal Library at Paris, one of these periods or cycles terminated in B. C. 1322, and another in the year of our Lord 138. Now, as is supposed, Manetho asserts that, in the 700th year of the former cycle, or  $1322 + 760 = 2082$  B. C. the shepherd kings first obtained possession of Egypt, whose dynasty, after it had lasted 260 years, was succeeded by the 18th Egyptian or native dynasty, which occupied the throne 348 years, according to Eusebius, whose authority in this case is preferred by the French chronologer to that of Africanus. These two sums,  $260 + 348 = 608$ , being deducted from 2082, give 1474, as the date at which the 19th dynasty commenced, or, in other words, at which Sesostris, the first king of that dynasty, mounted the throne of the Pharaohs.

But Mr. Mure very justly calls in question the accuracy of the passage in which this narrative is contained, and undertakes to prove that it is quite inconsistent with Manetho's own statements elsewhere, and altogether irreconcilable to the number of years which he assigns to the remaining dynasties. He sets down the results of the various calculations which by various writers have been derived from the work of Manetho, admitting that they differ more considerably than might be expected in extracts taken from the same author, which may arise either from obscurities in his text, or from varieties in the arrangement of the Egyptian records themselves as quoted by him. In fact, it is not improbable that he gave more lists than one, according as he found them in the repositories of the different temples, and that the apparent discrepancies in such writers as Eusebius, Africanus, Syncellus, the author of the Old Chronicle, and Scaliger, may be referred to the several readings which appeared in the manuscript of the Egyptian priest. There is however a general air of re-



semblance in all of them, and what is deficient in one epoch is for the most part supplied in another. To the lists drawn from Manetho, through the channels now specified, there is added the reckoning of the Old Chronicle, which corroborates in no small degree the general result. As the 26th dynasty terminated at the Persian Conquest, B. C. 525, this number is subjoined to every catalogue, in order to mark the precise interval between the accession of Sesostris and the beginning of the Christian era.

<i>Eusebius, Latin text of Jerome.</i>		<i>Eusebius, Greek text of Syncellus.</i>		<i>Eusebius, Armenian text.</i>	
Length of	years	Length of	years	Length of	years
19th dynasty ..	194	19th dynasty ..	202	19th dynasty ..	194
20 .....	178	20 .....	178	20 .....	172
21 .....	130	21 .....	130	21 .....	130
22 .....	49	22 .....	49	22 .....	49
23 .....	44	23 .....	44	23 .....	44
24 .....	46	24 .....	44	24 .....	44
25 .....	44	25 .....	44	25 .....	44
26 .....	167	26 .....	168	26 .....	167
	852		859		844
	525		525		525
	<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>
B. C. 1377		1384		1369	

<i>Africanus, Syncellus.</i>		<i>Africanus Scaliger.</i>		<i>Old Chronicle.</i>	
Length of	years	Length of	years	Length of	years
19th dynasty ..	210	19th dynasty ..	209	19th dynasty ..	192
20 .....	135	20 .....	125	20 .....	228
21 .....	130	21 .....	110	21 .....	121
22 .....	120	22 .....	116	22 .....	48
23 .....	89	23 .....	89	23 .....	19
24 .....	6	24 .....	44	24 .....	44
25 .....	40	25 .....	40	25 .....	44
26 .....	155	26 .....	150	26 .....	177
	881		883		875
	525		525		525
	<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>
B. C. 1406		1408		1400	

It is manifest from this statement that Manetho, when compared with himself in the different authors who have copied from him, does not carry back the reign of Sesostris more than fourteen centuries before the birth of Jesus Christ. Hence it becomes more than doubtful whether this celebrated writer, as quoted by Syncellus, did really place the invasion of the oriental shepherds in the 700th year of a canicular or Sothiac cycle terminating B.C. 1322. The passage translated by Mr. Mure is as follows: "In this fifth year of Concharis, 25th King of Egypt of the 16th dynasty, were fulfilled of the cycle called cynic, according to Manetho, from Mestrem, first sovereign and founder of the

Egyptian empire, 700 years, of 25 reigns; that is, from the common year of the world 2776, at which time took place the dispersion, in the 34th year of the reign of Arphaxad and 5th year of Phalek." It may be presumed, therefore, that the 700 years here mentioned, as they cannot apply to a cycle terminating in B.C. 1322, had a reference to some era adopted by the Christian chronologers relative to the series of Egyptian monarchs. If Manetho, in the quotation made by Syncellus, is actually represented as saying that 700 years were fulfilled of the cynic cycle, he must also be held to say that they began at the time of Misraim or Menes, founder of the Egyptian empire, and comprised twenty-five reigns; a conclusion quite inconsistent with his own calculations, as he has elsewhere given a list of many hundred reigns and several thousand years commencing at the same epoch. In a word, there is great reason to suspect that the cycle mentioned by Syncellus is not the one recorded by Censorinus and Theon of Alexandria; a fact which Marsham observed 200 years ago, but which is unknown or neglected by the chronologers of modern Europe. The following extract will throw considerable light on this obscure discussion.

"The cynic or Sothiac cycle was regulated astronomically from the year in which the heliacal rising of Sothis, that is, Sirius or the dog-star, coincided with the first day of the Egyptian month Thal; which coincidence recurred after a lapse of 1461 years of 365 days, and it is well known took place, as Censorinus has recorded, in 1322 B.C.; and this period of 1461 sacred years was called the Great Year, as a period of 365 days was called the Lesser Year. But as a measure of historical computation the use of this great year was as free as that of the lesser or common year; and as an Egyptian could calculate the duration of a common year from any given day in it to the corresponding day in the next, as well as from the first day of that year to the first day of the next, so he could equally do with regard to the great or Sothiacal year. So that when the Egyptian historians, in assigning a fabulous and arbitrary antiquity to their empire, made it last so many cycles or great years, down to the final loss of their national independence, it is clear that they were no more held to date each of their cycles precisely from its astronomical commencement, than an English historian who tells us a king has reigned twenty-five years, is held to say that each year of his reign began on the first of January. The computation, therefore, of the historical cycle or great year, was as free as that of the astronomical cycle was fixed and unchangeable; just as our astronomical year must date from first of January to first of January, yet if we take from first of March to first of March we shall equally have an historical year."

Proceeding on the ground thus assumed, the author concludes that the twenty-five cycles of the old chronicles which commenced at the foundation of the monarchy, terminated in the year B.C.

350, when the last remains of Egyptian independence were destroyed by the Persians. But his reasoning on this point is far from satisfactory. He has not adduced any proof that the Sothiac period of 1460 years, separated from the heliacal rising of Sirius, was ever used as an instrument of calculation; or, in other words, that it was ever employed as a merely historical cycle independently of its astronomical references. A common year might begin in January, March, or September with equal propriety, and serve with similar advantage all the purposes of measuring time, and more especially the lapse of  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days. But a Sothiac period could only begin at that particular epoch when the heliacal rising of the dog-star corresponded with the first day of the month Thoth—that is, once in 1461 Egyptian years. We do not positively assert that no instance can be found where the cycle now described is used as a general measure of chronological duration, and without regard to its original and specific use. But we repeat that Mr. Mure has failed to adduce any such example of it, in confirmation of the theory which he labours to support; whence we are compelled to infer that the passage quoted by Syncellus from Manetho, whatever difficulties may attend it, must bear an allusion to the canicular or Sothiac period in its ordinary astronomical acceptation. We admit the discrepancy pointed out by Sir John Markham between the cycle of Censorinus and that of Syncellus; but we believe that it has arisen rather from corruptions or inaccuracies in the texts of these authors than from any difference in their principles. Nay, the author himself acknowledges that the 700 years in the extract from the Egyptian priest, cannot, according to the chronology which he is supposed to teach, be made to coincide with 700 years of a cycle terminating in 350 B.C. any better than with those of a cycle terminating in 1322 B.C. Nor is it improbable, as he himself states, “that Manetho, like the Old Chronicle, may have commenced a canicular or cynic cycle with the reign of Menes, first king of the first mortal dynasty, whom the Christian chronologers chose to consider as Misraim; and that Syncellus, in abridging Manetho’s lists into an Egyptian chronology of his own, tallying with that of the sacred writings, may, in the midst of such a confused jumble, have overlooked the circumstance that the cycle of Manetho, whatever connection it may have had with his Menes, could have none with that of Misraim, with whom Syncellus had identified him.

That the passage in Syncellus, however, bore a reference to the canicular cycle and not to any historical period of the same extent, is rendered still more probable by the fact that Clemens and other Christian writers were wont to use it as an instrument for marking

dates. For example, this Father informs us that the Exodus of the children of Israel took place 345 years before the lapse of the Sothiac cycle. Here, as Mr. Mure acknowledges, he evidently alludes to the astronomical cycle, which, as a general measure of time, was employed by Greeks, Egyptians, Christians, and Pagans; and this inference is proved by the close correspondence of the date to the chronology of Manetho as well as of the Old Chronicle. For it would seem, says our author, by adding 345 to 1322, the year B.C. when the cycle lapsed, that the records followed by Clemens placed the accession of Amosis and the commencement of the 18th dynasty in the year 1667 B.C. This, as he remarks, would not answer the computation of M. Champollion, as by giving 348 years, according to Eusebius, to the 18th dynasty, Sesostris would be made to mount the throne in 1319 B.C.; whereas if we follow the computation of Africanus and assign 263 years to that dynasty, it would place his accession in 1404 B.C., thus harmonising in a most singular manner with the results obtained above, by a comparison of the lists of Manetho with the Old Chronicle.

But whatever opinion the reader may adopt as to the soundness of the reasoning by which Mr. Mure endeavours to establish his own hypothesis, every one will admit that he is completely successful in exposing the fallacy of the argument adopted by the French chronologers.

“ Even admitting the correctness of Manetho’s supposed date respecting the period of the cynic cycle, in which the Shepherds arrived, M. Champollion, in adapting it to his system, has, as too commonly happens in matters of this kind, quoted only just as much of his author as suited his purpose, and suppressed or mutilated the remainder. The text of Josephus seems to be preferred by this critic, as being most likely, from its greater antiquity and more perfect state, to have preserved the fragments of Manetho in their original purity, and above all from its giving Manetho’s words for the most part verbatim.”

The passage here alluded to is so well known that we shall not transcribe it. The substance is, that, in the reign of the Egyptian king Timaus, a strange race invaded the country and subdued it without a battle; that, at length, they made one of themselves king, whose name was Salatis; that this monarch was succeeded by five others, whose reigns together with his own amounted to 260 years; that these six were the *first rulers* among them, and carried on a continual war against the Egyptians; and, finally, that these Shepherd Kings and their descendants held Egypt about 511 years.

We have here, then, an assurance in Manetho’s own words that it was not until they had been some time in the country that

these Shepherds formed themselves into a regular government. "At length," says he, "they made a king whose name was Salatis; and the sovereigns whom he mentions by name, Beon, Apachnos, Apophis, Janias, Assis, were the *first* rulers among them; and, finally, that this race of royal Shepherds, who, in the language of the country, were called hycsos, held possession of the country 511 years." M. Champollion confines their dynasty to the six princes specified by the Egyptian chronologer, and whose appellations are copied by Josephus in the passage just quoted. As their joint reigns amount to 260, and as the 18th dynasty, by whom they were supplanted, possessed, according to Eusebius, the supreme power 348 years, the following table may be formed:

		Years of Cycle.	B. C.
Invasion of Shepherd Kings . . .	—	700	2082
Duration of their power . . . . .	260	960	1822
———— 18th Dynasty . . . . .	348	1308	1474
———— Part of 19th ditto . . .	152	1460	1322

Hence the 152d year of the 19th dynasty would fall in the year B. C. 1322, so that the reign of Sesostris, first king of that dynasty, must, according to M. Champollion, have begun 1473 or 1474 B. C.

We are perfectly satisfied with the reasoning of Mr. Mure, so far as it may be restricted to the refutation of the hypothesis constructed by the French critics in regard to the era of the great Egyptian monarch. But our conviction is not so complete when we attempt to follow the line of argument by which he advances towards his own conclusions. Admitting the accuracy of Josephus in the passage quoted from Manetho, the length of the 17th dynasty, or domination of the Pastors, must be taken at 511 years; to which if we add 263 years, the period occupied by the 18th dynasty, according to Africanus, the sum will be 774. Now if we deduct this number from 2082 B. C., which was the 700th year of the Sothiac cycle and the date of the Shepherds' invasion, we shall fix the accession of Sesostris to the year B. C. 1308; the very year which Dr. Hales has evolved from his laborious calculations. Dr. Prichard gives a preference to the year 1351, while Dr. Young, after a very minute investigation, saw reason to decide on 1424 B. C. for the same event: and, in truth, it is now manifest that the ablest chronologer can only approximate to the determination of an epoch of which the elements are so vague and contradictory. It is not unworthy of remark, at the same time, that M. Champollion was more to be blamed for the manner in which he established his results than for embracing the results themselves; because as the difference between his num-

bers and those of Dr. Young did not exceed fifty years, we cannot denounce his aberration as being either very bold or careless. Dr. Hales, one of our most esteemed writers, in this department, fixes the commencement of the 19th dynasty more than an hundred years later than either, namely, in the year 1808 before the Christian era, and on the grounds which we have just explained.

It is a curious circumstance mentioned by the same learned author, that the Egyptian *Sothiacal* period, and the Chaldean *Nabonassarian*, both consisting of 1460 years of 365 days, though they differed in the precise time of their introduction, synchronized exactly in the beginnings of their correspondent years. For the era of Nabonassar, beginning with his reign at Babylon, February 26, B. C. 747, was the 120th year of the period which commenced thirty days earlier, March 28, B. C. 876, when the new moon fell on the day of the vernal equinox. But the same year B. C. 747, was the 576th year of the *Sothiacal* period, commencing July 20, B. C. 1322 or 1323; during which interval the *Thoth* or beginning of the year had retrograded 144 days (at the rate of a day in every four years), which counted backward from July 20, fell on February 26, B. C. 747 also. This fact, as is remarked by Dr. Jackson in his *Chronological Antiquities*, indisputably proves a common origin of the Chaldean and Egyptian astronomy.

We have already noticed also that there is a striking analogy in the construction of those vast astronomical cycles, on which the Chaldeans, Hindoos, and Egyptians founded their pretensions to an antiquity far beyond the creation of the world, and which were evidently computed backwards, at later periods, from existing *data* or elements. The *Sothiac* cycle, we have every reason to believe, was applied in a similar manner to events which long preceded the epoch at which it was invented; a position which has been well illustrated by M. Biot in his "*Recherches sur plusieurs points de l'Astronomie Egyptienne.*"

"It may, therefore," says Mr. Mure, "be safely asserted that it were as unreasonable to assume that because in a system of chronology the date of some event of remote antiquity is assigned to such or such a year of this cycle, the knowledge of the cycle itself must necessarily have existed in Egypt at the same period, as it would be to assert that the Julian year was used by the Greeks on the first establishment of the Olympiads, because that event in our chronology is assigned to a certain year of the Julian period. It is surprising, however, to what an extent this error has prevailed among authors who ought to have known better: thus Freret, and after him Bailly, have assumed the knowledge



of this mode of reckoning among the Egyptians in the year 2782 B. C. merely on account of an apparent allusion by Manetho to a vague date of his native history, given, as they supposed, in years of the cycle terminating in 1322, and which ought therefore to have commenced in B. C. 2782. And Bailly has gone the still greater length of inferring that the year of 365½ days was known to the Egyptians at that remote period. But the Sothic cycle being, like the Julian period, and the Chaldean year of Nabonassar, merely proleptic, the dates of remote events of Egyptian history recorded in years of that cycle, putting the general fabulousness of the early annals of the nation out of the question, can be in themselves no better than any others, as not being necessarily, nor probably, connected with any observation made at the time itself. Had the cycle been known at the period of the expulsion of the Shepherds and the accession of Amosis; and had this important epoch of the national history been so noted at the time in the sacerdotal records, and established as it were on an astronomical basis, according to the actual observation of Sirius; there could hardly have been any dispute among those who afterwards compiled the same records, with regard to so positive and standard a point of chronology; and consequently the wide discrepancy we find between the statements of Ptolemy the Mendesian, of the Old Chronicle, and of Josephus, Africanus, and Eusebius, each professing to be derived from Manetho, could not have existed.

Leaving the dynasties of the ancient Egyptians, the author, in his second publication, proceeds to inquire into the history of their Calendar and Zodiac. On this head we find that an examination of the names and hieroglyphical emblems of the twelve months, as referred to the twelve corresponding seasons on the banks of the Nile, has led him to infer, first, that "these emblems were originally adapted to a year, whose month or first day was fixed about the autumnal equinox; and, secondly, that, on the basis of such a year, there exists between the names and characters of the months and the signs of the zodiac, considered as mythological symbols, so close a resemblance and analogy as not only affords additional proof of the correctness of this basis, but also tends to elucidate in a new and unexpected manner, that great mystery, the origin and primitive use of the zodiac itself." Accustomed to view the ecliptic as divided by the Greeks and Romans into sections, bearing the names and figures of certain animals, we are apt to imagine that those who framed it must have been influenced by some regard to the import of the emblems, which we are taught to trace in the groups of stars that croud the annual path of the sun. Perhaps the ingenious astronomers of Athens might convey some recondite meaning by their selection of the Ram and the Bull, of the Crab and the Fishes,



besides denoting the place of the solar orb at a particular season of the year; while the fancied resemblance of the several constellations to living creatures or inanimate objects, was only meant to aid the imagination in realizing, as far as might be, the connection of the physical principles which were thereby shadowed forth. But no sooner do we divest ourselves of these associations, formed in our minds by our very first efforts in the pursuit of the delightful science to which they bear a reference, and ascend to the fountain where the Greeks and Romans derived their knowledge of their heavenly bodies, than we find reason to suspect that the original distribution of the ecliptic proceeded upon grounds altogether different. We open our eyes to the error, which consists in believing that the twelve sections or portions of the celestial zone, called the zodiac, were named at first from any supposed similitude between living creatures and the bright stars which illumine its surface. We become satisfied that the Egyptians or Chaldeans, who instituted in the infancy of their civilization an imperfect year of twelve months, would, naturally, as they advanced in science, divide the heavens also into the twelve portions which the sun was supposed to occupy during each of those twelve months respectively. For the same reason both the names of their months and of the corresponding divisions of the sphere could be connected with their mythology, and with the titles or attributes of their several deities, to whom certain seasons of the year were specially dedicated. Such an institution, moreover, seems to have been common, under certain varieties, to almost all the ancient nations, who made any progress in astronomical science, and may have suggested itself to each separately without any immediate connection with their neighbours, from its obvious correspondence to the twelve months and three hundred and sixty days into which the oriental tribes are understood to have originally divided their year. Among the Egyptians, there is no doubt, each sign of the zodiac was a mere hieroglyphic of the season of the year to which it referred, or of the deity to whom the particular season was specially sacred.

“This has been well pointed out by Warburton and others, and is indeed very generally admitted, though the efforts made since the days of Macrobius up [down] to the present century, to analyze more closely the institution itself, by a reference to the climate or mythology of the banks of the Nile, having been directed upon false principles, have not been successful. The hieroglyphical zodiac, therefore, represented the seasons mythologically or figuratively, and had no connection with imaginary forms or creatures in the heaven itself. Thus Cancer or the Scarabee represented the solstitial month of summer, that is, the sun when highest in the heaven, and his heat and influence most felt; Libra,

the month of the autumnal equinox; Aries, that of the vernal equinox; and so of the rest. Afterwards, when the signs were attached by the Greeks to particular groups of stars, embodied into fantastical forms, the ancient terms became unmeaning, and the origin and history of the whole system was confounded and obscured."

This in fact is no other than the doctrine of Kircher, who, speaking of the Egyptian Sphere, informs us, that the images represented under hieroglyphical symbols do not exactly correspond to their places in the heaven, but for the most part differ considerably; nor need we, says he, be surprised at this, since the object of the Egyptians in constructing their hemispheres was not so much to delineate asterisms as the stations of their deities in the vast firmament. Nor did they, like the Greeks, continues he, suppose that the figures of their objects of worship were made out by certain groups of stars, but they denominated such or such a group the station of a certain divinity, who was supposed to preside over a certain portion of the heaven. Hence it is manifest, that whatever effect might be produced on the position of the celestial sphere by the precession of the equinoxes or any similar cause, the correspondence between every season and its portion of the ecliptic would remain unaltered; and for this reason, that the astronomical emblem was appropriated to the season and not to any particular region of the heavens.

It may have been anticipated by the reader that the names of the Egyptian months, as they carry an allusion to the god under whose influence they are severally placed, must be derived from the mythological nomenclature. They have been classed under three separate heads: first, those which are called simply by the names or titles of deities, as Thoth, Athyr, Epiphi, Messori; secondly, those which are not strictly synonymous with the names of their patron divinities, but dedicated to them by the common possessive *pa* or *pha* prefixed to their names or titles, as Paophi, Phamenoth, Pharmouthi, Pachon, Paoni; thirdly, those of obscure or doubtful import, being perhaps of a figurative nature, as Choiak, Tobi, Mechir. As the Egyptians divided their year into those portions or seasons, the months appear in a corresponding number of classes, containing four each. The first four, Thoth, Paophi, Athyr, Choiak, are represented first by an inverted half-moon, the common sign of month; secondly, by the characteristic sign of the season, a group of lotus flowers and buds, symbols of vegetation familiar to those conversant in hieroglyphics: and thirdly, by their numbers 1, 2, 3, 4. The emblems of these four, therefore, denote, according to our author, the season commencing with the first subsiding of the inundation, when the Egyptian plain burst forth, as it was gradually uncovered by the waters, into

the most brilliant verdure. Thoth, accordingly, when the calendar was framed, must have been placed about the autumnal equinox, when these appearances are witnessed on the banks of the Nile.

“The name speaks for itself, being that of the deity represented with the head of an Ibis, whom the Greeks identified with their Hermes, and who, as the patron of art, science, and literature, in the Egyptian pantheon, naturally takes precedence in the civil calendar, which was fabled as his own invention; his feast, we also learn from Plutarch, was celebrated during this month. That Libra of the Egyptian zodiac bore some reference to the equal balance of day and night at the equinox there is no reason to doubt; but that besides this there was also a mysterious connection between the emblem and the god of the month to whom it belonged, we have very curious proof. Among the most remarkable symbols or attributes by which this deity is usually attended in the figurative mythology, are the Egyptian ape or cynocephalus, and the scales or balance. These attributes of Thoth, are chiefly observable in the funeral papyri. In the principal scene of these extraordinary pictures, representing the last judgment, Thoth in his capacity of secretary or chief minister of Osiris, in his character of Seraphis or judge of the infernal regions, invariably appears attended by his subordinate divinities, presiding over the scales, in which are weighed the souls of departed mortals, and presenting his report of the merits or demerits to his chief. On the centre of the beam sits a cynocephalus and helps to adjust the balance; and in the upper compartment of the same figurative representation, the line of mythological emblems, which forms as it were a frieze or cornice of the porch of Amenthes, where the judgment is held, is terminated at each end by a sitting figure of a cynocephalus holding a balance in his forepaws, in allusion to the awful ceremony below. Horapollo, in the first and most valuable part of his work, which is now admitted to contain the best extant commentary on the hieroglyphic literature of Egypt, informs us not only that the cynocephalus (as we learn also from other authors) was sacred to Thoth, but that a *sitting cynocephalus* was the emblem of the equinox. As an attendant then on the patron deity of the ancient equinoctial month, he is quite in his place. But besides this animal as sacred to Thoth, was also a favourite personification of the deity himself, who is frequently represented under the figure of a cynocephalus, as Ammon under that of a ram, Horus of a sparrow-hawk, &c. So that here we have in fact Thoth himself emblematical of the same season. The scales which he holds in his hand, and which are not only an attribute of Thoth, but a symbol of the equinox to this day, require little farther comment.”

We have not space to follow the author in his description of the other divinities, Paophi, Athyr, Choiak, and Messori, or to trace the correspondence between their names and the seasons of the year over which they were supposed to preside. In pursuing this tract of investigation, the reader must hold himself ready to encounter the apparent incongruity of finding in the deities of the

autumnal months, the attributes of Spring, surrounded with the usual emblems of reviving nature. This peculiarity arises from the singular circumstances of Egypt, which derives its fertility from the annual overflow of its rivers, and not from the genial influences of the atmosphere, created by the returning sun in the vernal weeks of the year. But it is of more consequence to remark that, owing to the retrocession of the vague year through all the months of the tropical year, the various feasts in honour of the gods came, at an after-period, to be observed at seasons which bore no relation to the characters of the divinities themselves, nor to the events, physical or mythological, which were therein commemorated. For example, the religious institutions which had a reference to the departure and return of the sun in the winter and summer months, ceased to have any meaning in the eyes of an ignorant man, who, at the very time the solar orb was fast emerging from the low south, saw the priests bewailing his retirement, and while he was descending to the tropic of Capricorn, found them uttering the most animated expressions of joy, as if he were approaching the equator. To explain this seeming contradiction became one of the duties of the sacerdotal class, who alone understood the cause of so remarkable a discrepancy. Achilles Tatius, in treating of the Zodiac, observes, that the Egyptians, perceiving the descent of the sun from Cancer to Capricorn, and the night prolonged, were wont to mourn, as if fearing lest he should leave them altogether, and this, says he, is the time of what they call the *Isia*; again, when he began to reascend, they put on gay clothes and decked themselves with garlands.

These *Isia*, it is universally admitted, are the same with what Plutarch describes as the Death of Osiris, and which took place towards the close of the year. This inference is confirmed by an observation of Geminus, who, in illustrating the peculiarities of the Egyptian calendar, maintains that it was a vulgar error among the Greeks to suppose that the *Isia fell in the winter solstices*, as fixed by Eudoxus: adding, however, "a hundred and twenty years ago that was the case; but as the Egyptian feasts, in consequence of the deficiency of their calendar, go back a day in the seasons every four years, there has arisen in one hundred and twenty years a difference of a full month; so that those who suppose them still to be celebrated at the winter solstice, show very great ignorance."

Now we find by calculation that, in the year B.C. 195, the seventeenth of Athyr, the first day of the solemnity described by Plutarch, coincided with the 26th December old style, which was also the winter solstice as fixed by Eudoxus. Deduct from that

number the years mentioned by Geminus,  $195 - 120 = 75$ , and we have B.C. 76, which, on the hypothesis that the two feasts are the same, ought to prove the period at which the latter author wrote. We find, accordingly, that this is, in fact, the era assigned him by the best chronologers, partly on the authority of the above coincidence, and partly from its being amply established by internal evidence of his own works. And here it will be remarked, that this same vulgar error of the Greeks, noticed by Geminus, leads to an inference of some importance; for as this feast, as both he and Eratosthenes observe, wandered through the year—falling successively in Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter—it is not likely that their countrymen of different ages should thus so curiously agree in connecting the mysterious signification of its rites with the sun's motion at the winter tropic, unless the period of its celebration, to which those rites bore respect, had really coincided with that season at its original institution.

“As it may be safely assumed that many of the favourite superstitions of the Egyptians are as ancient as the first formation of their calendar, it will appear evident that, if we would attempt to explain at all the mysterious import of those obscure and enigmatical ceremonies, which were attached to particular days of their months, on the supposition, which will hardly be disputed, that they bore reference in their origin to particular seasons of the year, or phenomena of the heavenly bodies, we can only hope for success by going back to the original position of the months in the early ages of their civilization, when those feasts were first established. There can, indeed, be little doubt but that the regular shifting of the feasts, which formed the essential peculiarity of the reformed calendar, gave rise to a portion at least of the mysterious significations ascribed by the Egyptian priests to many of their religious rites, which, to an ordinary observer, appeared fanciful or unmeaning. Take for example the death of Osiris, which was celebrated towards the end of the month Athyr, and was accompanied by certain solemnities significant of the distance of the sun from the zenith and the low state of the Nile; this month we shall find, at its primeval institution, to have been that immediately preceding the winter solstice, when such rites were peculiarly appropriate. But seven hundred years afterwards, the same ceremonies, though strictly adhered to, were apparently altogether unmeaning, and therefore the knowledge of their true import became what is called a mystery; namely, a hidden or esoteric doctrine attached to the solemnity, and only familiar to the priests themselves, or those to whom they were pleased to communicate it under a strict pledge of secrecy.”

The antiquities of Egypt have, of late years, attracted much attention in all the literary nations of Europe, especially among the Germans, Italians, French, and English; though, it must be acknowledged, that the success has not equalled either the

amount of exertion or the ardour of expectation. The discovery of the Phonetic alphabet promised very flattering results in respect to the age of the Egyptian monarchy, as well as the order and succession of its various dynasties. But the application of this key, so felicitously brought to light, has not hitherto revealed the treasures which the hieroglyphics were imagined to guard in the obscurity of symbolical notation. The labours of the brothers Champollion have not given entire satisfaction. It is suspected that they have supplied by conjecture numerous facts which will not bear a minute examination, even on the principles which they profess to have employed in conducting their researches. Whoever has attempted to decypher an Egyptian inscription must have been led to doubt the efficacy of the instrument which is so highly lauded. M. Champollion Figeac says, that the Phonetic alphabet is the true key of the whole hieroglyphical system, and that all hieroglyphical inscriptions are composed of signs which, for the most part, are purely alphabetical. But that neither of these assertions is beyond the reach of controversy any one may satisfy himself by trying to read a hieroglyphical inscription by means of the phonetic alphabet. The Egyptians, like the Chinese, wrote proper names alphabetically, nor was there any other mode in which these could possibly be represented; and the same manner of writing is partially extended to the accompanying legends. But the body of every inscription is composed of signs which have not an alphabetical value, and to which, therefore, the phonetical alphabet has no application whatever. Hence that alphabet is not the key to the whole nor even to a considerable portion of the hieroglyphical system; it is a key to nothing but the proper names, and cannot even be extended to the simplest legends, except where we are enabled, from the explanation of Horapollon and others, to interpret the figurative signs and tropical symbols intermixed with them in every tablet. There is no legend of more frequent occurrence than that of *everliving*, which is constantly applied to several divinities of the Egyptian pantheon. But how is it represented? By the heart and the aorta proceeding out of it, which is the well-known symbol of life, and by the figure of the serpent, called *Uræus*, which represents indefinite time: these placed in juxtaposition are equivalent to *sempiternus*, *semper vivens*, *everlasting*, *everliving*. But would any one call this alphabetical writing? Sometimes, indeed, though rarely, the legend is alphabetical, and then we obtain an Egyptian word, which, with the help of Lacroze, we may probably be able to interpret; but, beyond this, the phonetic alphabet has no more application than the alphabetical signs employed by the Chinese for spelling proper names have to the vast



multitude of symbols which constitute the written language of the celestial empire. And this is true to a much greater extent in the hieratic and enchorial than even in the hieroglyphic, to which the use of phonetic signs seems to have been principally restricted. The consequence is, that Champollion has utterly failed, in this branch of the Egyptian graphic system, to make a single addition of any importance to the enchorial alphabet as left by Dr. Young, and that he has not been able to determine the value of a single group of enchorial characters taken from the text of a papyrus. Dr. Young constantly predicted that this would be the case; and his prediction has been verified to the very letter. So long as he had to deal with proper names—and he took good care never to meddle with any thing but proper names and legends—Champollion got on very well; but he never was able, by means of it, to read two lines consecutively in the body of an inscription. Other modes must be resorted to for penetrating the mystery of these compositions; for to proper names and legends the phonetic alphabet must always be confined, because, in their complex system of writing, these were the only portions of hieroglyphical texts which the Egyptians wrote alphabetically. The reader can easily verify the truth of these remarks by turning to the plates in Zoega's splendid and accurate work, and trying the phonetic alphabet on any of the inscriptions which the learned Dane has copied from the obelisks.

We have seen an ingenious attempt by Professor Renwick of New York, to ascertain the earliest date of Egyptian colonization by a reference to certain principles involved in the astronomical system of Thebes and Memphis. He pursues his object by four different and independent methods, which are stated as follows: viz.

I. The principle on which, as is stated by ancient authors, the commencement of the agricultural and astronomical year of the Egyptians was determined; a principle that was only true at a remote period, and has since ceased to be applicable.

II. From the length assigned to the Sothic cycle, at the end of which the beginning of the civil and astronomical year returned to the same day; this length being correct only between certain epochs, and not true at those which were more remote nor consistent at any time with the true extent of the tropical year.

III. From the group of zodiacal stars assigned as the place of the Sun at the beginning of the agricultural year of the Egyptians, excluding all dates previous to his being in this group at the time of the rising of the Nile.

IV. From a version of a remarkable passage in Herodotus, respecting the unusual rising and setting of the sun.



We shall confine our attention to the first of these methods, the only one of the four that merits any notice. The principle alluded to by the author is that which connects the rising of the Nile with the heliacal rising of Sirius or the dog-star; and he thinks that we are warranted in ascribing to a system in which these two phenomena, however dissimilar in cause, were considered identical in point of time, an origin no farther distant than the period when they were actually contemporaneous. The rising of the Nile, occasioned by the tropical rains, follows in its law the tropical year, and recurs, on the average, on a fixed day of our present calendar. The heliacal rising of a star, on the other hand, is affected by the precession of the equinoxes, and, in consequence, recurs later every year than it did the preceding. But it is not governed by the sidereal year exactly; for, as the declination of the stars alters as well as their right ascension, the interval between the successive rising of the same star will not have a constant length corresponding to the mean duration of the sidereal year, but will vary, being sometimes longer and sometimes shorter. In respect to Sirius, this interval, as we learn from the calculations of Larcher and Biot, was, for nearly 3000 years before the Christian era, exactly 365 days six hours; being greater than the tropical and less than the sidereal year. The difference, then, between the real length of the year marked by the star, and that determined by the rising of the Nile, will be the same as that known to exist between the Julian and Gregorian calendars, or three days in four hundred years. Now, the rising of the Nile below the cataracts, although usually referred to the solstice, actually occurs at the isle of Philæ on the 25th of June. This, therefore, is the earliest day to which we are warranted in referring the observation of the heliacal rising of Sirius, upon which the coincidence of the two phenomena is founded; but the heliacal rising of Sirius in the year of our Lord 139 is fixed by Censorinus as having happened on the 20th of July; and the truth of this statement is amply confirmed by other astronomical calculations. Between this date and the 25th of June there intervenes twenty-four days, which is a difference that will take place between the Julian and Gregorian calendars in 3200 years. The observation cannot, therefore, be carried back farther than 3060 years before the Christian era; and if made by simple inspection of the river instead of being referred to a Nilometer, may have occurred 200 or 300 years later.\*

This conclusion appears perfectly accurate when we restrict it to any given or assignable date prior to the Christian era; but it is obvious, that, as it may apply to any part of a very lengthened

\* See Journal of the Royal Institution, No. III. p. 458.

period, it is impossible to determine by means of it the precise time when the Egyptians began to adjust their vague and tropical years. We admit that the principle on which this adjustment was made applied only to a remote epoch, and afterwards ceased to be astronomically true; still as it was applicable to a large portion of that period—nearly thirty centuries—the system referred to may have been introduced at an earlier or a later stage of it. On the whole, however, the coincidence of the four methods appears to afford very plausible ground for the opinion of the author, that Egypt was occupied by a people comparatively civilized about 2800 years before the birth of our Saviour. There can be no doubt that the foundations of social order were laid on the banks of the Nile before the most refined nations of Europe were inhabited, or had emerged from the state of barbarism; and hence there is nothing extravagant in the assertion that Egypt was an old country when it was first visited by the sages of Greece, and supplied to the islands of the Archipelago the elements of science and literature. But it is in vain that we now endeavour to ascertain the date at which the kingdom of the Pharaohs first assumed a regular form; when her wise men first calculated the return of the dogstar to the horizon with the rising sun; and learned to speculate on the causes which produced the annual inundation of the Nile. Antiquity has invested such inquiries with a cloud which we fruitlessly attempt to penetrate; and this difficulty is increased beyond all calculation by the circumstance that the authors from whose works we are anxious to derive information, are not consistent either with themselves or with one another. Joseph Scaliger lamented the discordance and imperfection of all chronological systems in the following pathetic terms, *In multis judicium, in quibusdam diligentiam requiro; neque enim dum verum adepti sunt. Argumento fuerint omnium quotquot de his rebus tractarunt dissentiones; ut inter tot millia chronologorum vix inter duos de eadem re conveniat! Ab eorum lectione incertior atque indoctior sum quam dudum.*

In these circumstances we are indebted to every one who attempts to throw a few rays of light on a subject so dark and perplexed; for which reason we recommend the essays of Mr. Mure to the favourable attention of the chronological reader, who will find his labour rewarded by a careful and repeated study of their contents.

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**ART. VII.—Two Chapters, forming an Introduction to an Essay on Manufactures in the Encyclopædia Metropolitana.** By Charles Babbage, Esq. M.A. F.R.S. London and Edinburgh, Lucasian Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge. Chapter I. published in Part XXII.—Chapter II. in Part XXXIII. of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana.

**RICH** as are the pages of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana in varied treasures both of Science and Literature, there are perhaps few among its many invaluable Papers which will prove more generally attractive than this Introduction by Mr. Babbage. By a wise foresight on the part of the Proprietors of that great Work, this portion of it is likely also to obtain a circulation, we will not say commensurate with its merits, but among many persons who, from different causes, may be deterred from purchasing the entire Encyclopædia. The volume which it prefaces is intended to relate solely to Manufactures; and the body of it, containing an extended account of the application of Machinery to their fabric, is undertaken by gentlemen, the Messieurs Farey, whose names carry with them an ample voucher for the excellence of its execution. This single volume, when completed, (as indeed all the other volumes of the same Work,) may be purchased separately, and will form in itself a whole. So that at a comparatively trifling price, the Reader may obtain a synopsis of the numberless marvellous processes which have raised England to her extraordinary commercial elevation above all other Countries of all times—a synopsis written by those among our contemporaries who have shown, not only how well they can reason on mechanical theories, but who have splendidly distinguished themselves also by reducing those theories to practice.

We have thought it right to mention that Mr. Babbage's Introduction may be thus easily procured, because, in these days of *cheap* knowledge, no intrinsic value, however great, would be permitted to weigh against apparent exclusiveness. An author of our times must write for *all*, or he will not be read by *any*;—κοινὸς Ἑρμῆς καὶ ἐς μέσον κατατίθει φέρων τὸν πλοῦτον—for Literature has become a real instead of a figurative Republic. One advantage, most assuredly, we have obtained over our forefathers by this wider diffusion of information among classes formerly doomed to ignorance: we mean in the more intelligible language by which Science is conveyed abroad. Philosophy no longer registers her decrees in esoteric symbols; she employs a plain Demotic character, for the interpretation of which we need not seek the Key of a Hierogrammatist. And no one, whom we recollect, has

more happily discarded that technical peculiarity which but a few years since rendered works of Science “caviare to the general,” than Mr. Babbage in this preliminary Essay. He writes *popularly* in the best sense of the word; not by stooping to the throng, but, while he stands upright and maintains his fitting dignity, by placing himself within their reach.

In reviewing his Preface, we can do little more than condense into a narrow compass some of the extraordinary facts which he mentions, and allow him to display the merits of his style in others by extracting his own words.

The three chief advantages derived from Machinery and Manufactures may be represented by “the addition which they make to human power—the economy of human time—and the conversion of substances, apparently the most common and the most worthless, into valuable products;” and of these benefits some short, but striking illustrations, are offered by Mr. Babbage. The addition to human power may be perceived in an experiment which M. Redelet has noticed in his Work *Sur l’Art de Bâtir*.

“A block of squared stone was taken for the subject of experiment, weighing 1080 lbs.

	<i>Lbs.</i>
1. Weight of stone . . . . .	1080
2. In order to drag this stone along the floor of the quarry roughly obiselled, it required a force equal to . . . .	758
3. The same stone dragged over a floor of planks required .	652
4. The same stone placed on a platform of wood, and dragged over a floor of planks, required . . . . .	606
5. After soaping the two surfaces of wood which slid over each other it required . . . . .	182
6. The same stone was now placed upon rollers of three inches diameter, when it required to put it in motion along the floor of the quarry . . . . .	34
7. To drag it by these rollers over a wooden floor required .	28
8. When the stone was mounted on a wooden platform, and the same rollers placed between that and a plank floor, it required . . . . .	22

“From this experiment it results, that the force necessary to move a stone along the smoothed floor of its quarry is nearly two-thirds of its weight; to move it along a wooden floor, three-fifths; by wood upon wood, five-ninths; if the wooden surfaces are soaped, one sixth; if rollers are used on the floor of the quarry, it requires one thirty-second part of the weight; if they roll over wood, one-fortieth; and if they roll between wood, one-fiftieth of its weight.—part xxii. p. 2.

The economy of time is exhibited in a recent improvement, made within twelve years, in the mounting of a glazier’s diamond.

According to the old system; even after a diligently served apprenticeship, many a journeyman was unable to acquire the nice art of finding the precise angle at which the diamond would cut, and afterwards of continuing to guide it at the proper inclination. All the time expended, and the glass destroyed in learning that knack, may now be saved by a very simple contrivance adjusted to the tool itself. Thirdly, the value of seemingly worthless materials is demonstrated in the metempsychosis undergone by defunct saucepans, kettles, and coal-skuttles.

“These have not yet completed their useful course; the less corroded parts are cut into strips, punched with small holes, and varnished with a coarse black varnish, for the use of the trunk-maker, who protects the edges and angles of his boxes with them; the remainder are conveyed to the manufacturing chemists in the out-skirts of the town, who employ them, in conjunction with pyroligneous acid, in making a black die for the use of calico printers.”—part xxii. p. 4.

The cotton of Java is carried in junks to the coast of China, but the seed not being previously separated, only one quarter of the net weight is cotton; the cotton afterwards, as packed by the Chinese, occupies three times the space of an equal quantity shipped by Europeans for their own markets. Thus, from want of mechanical methods, the cost of the freight of a given quantity of cotton is twelve times greater to a Chinese than it is to a European.

Boot-tag-laces, as is well known, consist of very thin, tinned plate-iron, and they used to be cut out of long strips of that material into pieces of such a breadth that, when bent round, they just inclosed the laces: Two pieces of steel have recently been fixed to the side of the shears, by which each piece of tin, as soon as it is cut, is bent into a semi-cylindrical form. The additional power required for this operation is almost insensible, and it is executed by the same motion of the arm which produces the cut. This work is usually performed by women and children, and with the improved tool more than three times the quantity is produced in a given time.

The improvements made of late years in the different processes of typography are among the most remarkable triumphs of mechanism.

“In the old method of inking type, by large hemispherical balls stuffed and covered with leather, the printer, after taking a small portion of ink from the ink-block, was continually rolling them in various directions against each other, in order that a thin layer of ink might be uniformly spread over their surface. This he again transferred to the type by a kind of rolling action. In such a process, even admitting considerable skill in the operator, it could not fail to happen that a large

quantity of ink should get near the edges of the balls, which, not being transferred to the type, became hard and useless, and was taken off in the form of a thick black crust. Another inconvenience also arose,—the quantity of ink spread on the block not being regulated by measure, and the number and direction of the transits of the inking balls over each other depending on the will of the operator and being irregular, it was impossible to place on the type a uniform layer of ink, of exactly the quantity sufficient for the impression. The introduction of cylindrical rollers of an elastic substance, formed by the mixture of glue and treacle, superseded the inking balls, and produced considerable saving in the consumption of ink :—but the most perfect economy was to be produced only by mechanism.

“ When printing presses moved by the power of steam were introduced, the action of these rollers was found well calculated to be performed by the machine, and a reservoir of ink was formed from which one roller regularly abstracted a small quantity at each impression. From three to five other rollers spread this portion uniformly over the slab (by most ingenious contrivances varied in almost each kind of press,) and another travelling roller, having fed itself on the slab, passed and re-passed over the type just previously to its giving the impression on the paper. The following is an account of the results of an accurate experiment made at one of the largest printing establishments in the metropolis. Two hundred reams of paper were printed off, the old method of inking with balls being employed; two hundred reams of the same paper, and for the same book, were then printed off in the presses which inked their own type.

“ The consumption of ink by the machine was to that by the balls as four to nine, or rather less than one-half.

“ In order to show that this plan of inking puts the proper quantity of ink upon the type, we must prove first that it is not too little :—this would soon have been discovered from the complaints of the public and the booksellers; and, secondly,—that it is not too much. This latter point is satisfactorily established by a reference to the frequency of change of what is called ‘ the set-off sheet ’ in the old method. A few hours after one side of a sheet of paper has been printed upon, the ink is sufficiently dry to allow it to receive the impression on the other, and as considerable pressure is made use of, the tympan on which the side first printed is laid, is guarded from soiling it by a sheet of paper called the set-off sheet. This paper receives in succession every sheet of the work to be printed, and acquires from them more or less of the ink, according to their dryness or the quantity upon them. It was usual in the former process, after about one hundred impressions, to change the set-off sheet, which in that time became too much soiled for further use. In the new method of printing by machinery no set-off sheet is used, but a blanket is employed as its substitute: this does not require changing above once in five thousand impressions, and instances have occurred of its remaining sufficiently clean for twenty thousand. Here, then, is proof that the quantity of superfluous ink put upon the paper in machine-printing is so small, that if multiplied by five thousand, and in some instances even by



twenty thousand, it is only sufficient to render useless a single piece of clean cloth."—part xxii. pp. 15, 16.

The system of copying has been largely benefited by improved machinery. A copper-plate engraving, which perhaps had occupied the time of an artist for two years or longer, seldom furnished more than 500 perfect impressions; and a Bank-note engraved on copper permitted, at the utmost, 3000 impressions without sensible deterioration. Two impressions of a Bank-note from a steel plate were submitted to a first-rate artist, who was requested to decide on their priority. He replied that he could not pronounce with any degree of confidence. Nevertheless one of them was among the first thousand which had been struck off, the other was between the seventy thousandth and eighty thousandth impression.

*“ Engraving copper plates by pressure.*—This is one of the most beautiful instances of the art of copying carried to an almost unlimited extent; and the delicacy with which it can be executed, and the precision with which the finest traces of the graving tool can be transferred from steel to copper, or even from hard steel to soft steel, is most unexpected. We are indebted to Mr. Perkins for most of the contrivances which have brought this art at once almost to perfection. An engraving is first made upon soft steel, which is hardened by a peculiar process without in the least injuring its delicacy. A cylinder of soft steel, pressed with great force against the hardened steel engraving, is now made to roll slowly backward and forward over it. The soft steel cylinder receives the design, but it is in relief. This is in its turn hardened without injury; and if it be slowly rolled to and fro with strong pressure on successive plates of copper, it will imprint on a thousand of them a perfect fac-simile of the original steel engraving from which it resulted. Thus is the number of copies producible from the same design multiplied a thousand-fold.

“ But even this is very far short of the limits to which this process may be extended. The hardened steel roller may be employed to make a few of its first impressions upon plates of *soft steel*, and these being hardened may in their turn become the parents of other rollers, each generating copper plates like the original. The possible extent to which fac-similes of an original engraving may thus be multiplied, almost confounds the imagination, and appears to be, for all practical purposes, unlimited. There are two principles which peculiarly fit this art for rendering the forgery of bank-notes, to prevent which Mr. Perkins proposed it, a matter of great difficulty. The first is the perfect identity of every impression with every other, so that any variation in the minutest line would at once cause detection. The other principle is, that the plates from which all the impressions are deduced may be formed by the united labours of artists most eminent in their several departments, all working at the same time; and that, as only one original of each design is necessary, the expense, however great, will be

trifling, compared with the immense multitude of copies produced from it."—part xxii. p. 25.

“Some very singular specimens of an art of copying, not yet made public, were brought from Paris a few years since. A watch-maker in that city, of the name of Gonord, had contrived a method by which he could take from the same copper plate impressions of different sizes, either larger or smaller than the original design. Four impressions of an eagle were examined in the presence of the writer of this paper, by a late artist equally distinguished for his skill and for the many mechanical contrivances with which he enriched his art. The largest was four times the superficial size of the smallest, and no lines were detected in one which had not corresponding lines in the others. There appeared to be a difference in the quantity of ink, but none in the traces of the engraving. The processes by which this singular operation was executed have not been published, but two conjectures were formed at the time which merit notice. It was supposed that the artist was in possession of some method of transferring the ink from the lines of a copper plate to the surface of some viscous fluid, and also of retransferring the impression from the fluid to paper. If this could be accomplished, the print would be of exactly the same size as the copper from which it was derived; but if the viscous fluid were contained in a vessel having the form of an inverted cone with a small aperture at the bottom, the liquid might be lowered or raised in the vessel by gradual abstraction or addition through the apex of the cone; in this case, the surface to which the printing ink adhered would diminish or enlarge, and in this altered state the impression might be retransferred to paper. It must be admitted, that this conjectural explanation is not without considerable difficulties, for although the converse operation of taking an impression from a liquid surface has a parallel in the art of marbling paper, the possibility of transferring the ink from the copper to the fluid requires to be proved.

“Another and more plausible explanation is founded on the elastic nature of the compound of glue and treacle, a substance already in use in transferring engravings to earthenware. It is conjectured, that an impression from the copper plate is taken upon a large sheet of this composition; that this sheet is then stretched in both directions, and that the ink thus expanded is transferred to paper. If the copy is required to be smaller than the original, the elastic substance must first be stretched, and then receive the impression from the copper plate: on removing the tension it will contract, and thus reduce the size of the design. It is possible that one transfer may not in all cases suffice, as the extensibility of the composition of glue and treacle, although considerable, is still limited.

“Perhaps sheets of Indian rubber of uniform texture and thickness may be found to answer better than this composition. As it would require considerable time to produce impressions in this manner, and there might arise some difficulty in making them all of precisely the same size, the process might be rendered more certain and expeditious, by performing that part of the operation which depends on the enlarge-

ment or diminution of the design only once; and, instead of printing from the soft substance, transferring the design from it to stone: thus a considerable portion of the work would be reduced to an art already well known, that of Lithography."—part xxii. pp. 30, 31.

The IId Chapter, "On the Economical Principles of Manufactures," exceeds in interest and importance even that through which we have just past. More correct views of "the advantages of the division of Labour" are presented to us than Political Economists for the most part are in the habit of affording, and they are conveyed with such admirable simplicity and precision of language as may well shame the herd of ordinary *Pandemoploutographists*. It has been usually said that the division of labour among numerous hands, saves time in learning, for it is plain that a single process is more easily acquired than a variety; it saves material, for the waste made by the learner is necessarily diminished; it saves the time lost in every new change of occupation; it increases skill in the particular process by greater frequency of repetition; and it facilitates the improvement of tools by addressing the thoughts of each workman exclusively to the one process before him. Such are the advantages which have been assigned by Adam Smith and others to the Division of Labour; and to these Mr. Babbage has added another, which, like all Truth when once enunciated, carries with it so forcible conviction as to excite surprise that it has been so long hitherto overlooked.

"That the master manufacturer, by dividing the work to be executed into different processes, each requiring different degrees of skill and of force, can purchase exactly that precise quantity which is necessary for each process;\* whereas, if the whole work were executed by one workman, it is evident that that workman must possess sufficient skill to perform the most difficult, and sufficient strength to execute the most laborious, of the operations into which the art is divided."—part xxxi. pp. 36, 37.

This principle is illustrated by Mr. Babbage from the art of pin-making, which he selects, not because he thinks it is quite the best for his purpose, but because it has been already employed by Adam Smith, and therefore is associated with the inquiry. The statements, however, are too ample for extraction, and we must content ourselves by noticing the result which is deduced from the following Tabular view of the chief processes.

\* "The writer of this essay derived his first knowledge of this principle from a personal examination of a variety of manufactories and workshops devoted to different purposes; but he has since found that it has been distinctly stated in the work of Gioja, *Nuovo Prospetto delle Scienze Economiche*, 6 tom. 4to. Milano, 1815, tom. i. capo iv."

Name of the process.	Operative.	Time employed in making one pound of pins.	Cost of making one pound of pins.	Operative usually earns per day.	Price of making each part of a single pin in millions of a penny.
		HOURS.	PENCE.	s. d.	
1. Drawing Wire . . . .	Man	.3636	1.2500	3 3	225
2. Cutting and pointing . . . . .	Man	.3000	1.7750	5 3	319
	Woman	.3000	.2840	1 0	51
	Girl	.3000	.1420	0 6	26
3. Twisting the heading and cutting	Boy	.0400	.0147	0 4½	3
	Man	.0400	.2103	5 4½	38
4. Rivetting the heads	Woman	4.0000	5.0000	1 3	901
5. Whitening.	Man	.1071	.6666	6 0	121
	Woman	.1071	.3333	3 0	60
6. Papering.	Woman	2.1814	3.1973	1 6	576
		7.6892	12.8732		2320

Number of persons employed:—Men, 4; Women, 4; Children, 2. Total 10.

“ From an examination of the first of these tables, it appears that the wages earned by the operatives vary from 4½*d.* per day up to 6*s.*, and consequently the skill which is required for their respective employments will be measured by those sums. Now it is evident that if one person is required to make the whole pound of pins, he must have skill enough to earn about 5*s.* 3*d.* a day whilst he is pointing or cutting off the heads, and 6*s.* when he is whitening the pins; which three operations together would occupy little more than the seventeenth part of his time. It is also apparent, that during more than one half of his time he must be earning only 1*s.* 3*d.* per day in putting on the heads, although his skill, if properly employed, would, in the same time, produce nearly five times as much.

“ It appears from the analysis we have given of the art of pin-making, that it occupies rather more than seven hours and a half of time for ten different individuals working in succession on the same material to convert it into a pound of pins, and that the expensé of their labour, each being paid in the joint ratio of his skill and the time he is employed, amounts to nearly 1*s.* 1*d.* Now if we were to employ the man who whitens the pins, and who earns 6*s.* a day, even supposing that he could make the pound of pins in an equally short time, yet we must pay him for his time 46.14 pence, or nearly 3*s.* 10*d.* *The pins would therefore cost in making three times and three quarters as much as they now do by the application of the division of labour.*

“ The higher the skill required of the workman in any one process of a Manufacture, and the smaller the time during which it is employed, so much the greater will be the advantage of separating that process from the rest and devoting one person's attention entirely to it. Had we selected the art of needle-making as our illustration, the economy arising from the division of labour would have been still larger, for the process of tempering the needles requires great skill, attention, and experience, and although from three to four thousand are tempered at

once, the workman is paid a very high rate of wages. In another process of the same art, dry-pointing, which is also executed with great rapidity, the wages earned by the workman reach from 7*s.* to 12*s.*, 15*s.*, and even in some instances, to 20*s.* a day, whilst other processes in the same art are carried on by children paid at the rate of 6*d.* per day." —part xxxiii. pp. 41, 42.

After asserting the similar advantages which *mental* labour also may derive from a like division, and exemplifying them in the instances adopted for the construction of the French Mathematical Tables, Mr. Babbage proceeds to the following very clear incidental explanation of an invention which at first every where excited the most unbounded astonishment and admiration; and which indeed is still received by persons unaccustomed to the speculations upon which it depends, either with scepticism, or with downright incredulity. We mean his own semi-intellectual Calculating Machine; the Frankenstein, as it were, of Mechanics.

"As the performance of arithmetical calculations by machinery may appear to our non-mathematical readers to be rather too large a postulate, and as it is connected with the subject of the *division of labour*, we shall endeavour in the course of a few lines to give them some slight perception of the manner in which it can be performed, and thus to remove a small portion of the veil which covers that apparent mystery.

"That nearly all tables of numbers which follow any law, however complicated, may be formed to a greater or less extent solely by the proper arrangements of the successive addition and subtraction of numbers befitting each table, is a principle which we could only prove in the general to those well acquainted with mathematics, but the mind will readily admit that it is not impossible by attending to the following example.

"Let us consider the subjoined table.

Terms of the Table.	Table.	1st Difference.	2d Difference.
1 . . . . .	1		
2 . . . . .	4	3	
3 . . . . .	9	5	2
4 . . . . .	16	7	2
5 . . . . .	25	9	2
6 . . . . .	36	11	2
7 . . . . .	49	13	2

This is the beginning of a table in very extensive use, which has been printed and reprinted very frequently in many countries, and is called a table of square numbers. Any number in the table is found by multiplying the number which expresses the distance of that term from the commencement of the table by itself; thus, 25 is the fifth term from the beginning of the table, and 5 multiplied by itself, or by 5, is equal to 25. Let us now subtract each term of this table from the next succeeding, and place the results in another column, which may be called 1st difference column. If we again subtract each term of this first

difference from the succeeding term, we find the result is always the number two. That such must always be the case, will appear to any person who takes the trouble to carry on the table a few terms further. Now when once this is admitted as a known fact, it is quite clear that, provided the first term (1) of the table, the first term (3) of the first difference, and the first term (2) of the second or constant difference, are originally given, we can continue by simple addition the table of square numbers to any extent. For the series of odd numbers may be formed by repeatedly adding the constant difference 2 to (3) the first of them, and we then necessarily have the series, 3, 5, 7, &c.; and again by successively adding each of these to the first number (1) of the table we produce the square numbers.

“Having thus, we hope, thrown a little light upon the theoretical part, we will endeavour to show that the mechanical execution of such an engine is not so far removed from ordinary machinery as might be conceived. Let the reader imagine three clocks placed on a table side by side, and having a thousand instead of twelve hours marked on the face of each, and every time a string is pulled, let them repeat the hours to which their hands point. Let him further suppose that two of the clocks, for the sake of distinction called A and B, have some mechanism by which the clock A advances the hour hand of the clock B one hour for each stroke it makes on its own bell; and let the clock B by a similar contrivance advance the hour hand of the clock C one hour for each stroke it makes upon its own bell. With such an arrangement, and having set the hour hand of the clock A to 2 o'clock, that of B to 3 o'clock, and that of C to 1 o'clock, let the reader imagine the strings of the repeating parts of the clocks pulled continually in the following order of succession. Pull the string of Clock C; pull the string of clock B; pull the string of clock A.



	Clock C Marks one.	1st Difference, Clock B Marks three.	2d Difference. Clock A Marks two.
Pull the string of C.	Strikes one.		
Pull the string of B.	{ The hour hand is ad- vanced three, and the clock now marks four.	Strikes three.	
Pull the string of A.	.....	{ The hour hand is ad- vanced two, and the clock now marks five.	Strikes two.
Pull the string of C.	Strikes four.		
Pull the string of B.	{ The hour hand is ad- vanced five, and the clock now marks nine.	Strikes five.	
Pull the string of A.	.....	{ The hour hand is ad- vanced two, and the clock now marks seven.	Strikes two.
Pull the string of C.	Strikes nine.		
Pull the string of B.	{ The hour hand is ad- vanced seven, and the clock now marks sixteen.	Strikes seven.	
Pull the string of A.	.....	{ The hour hand is ad- vanced two, and the clock now marks nine.	Strikes two.
Pull the string of C.	Strikes sixteen.		
Pull the string of B.	{ The hour hand is ad- vanced nine, and the clock now marks twenty-five.	Strikes nine.	
Pull the string of A.	.....	{ The hour hand is ad- vanced two, and the clock now marks eleven.	Strikes two.
Pull the string of C.	Strikes twenty-five.		
Pull the string of B.	{ The hour hand is ad- vanced eleven, and the clock now marks thirty-six.	Strikes eleven.	
Pull the string of A.	.....	{ The hour hand is ad- vanced two, and the clock now marks thirteen.	Strikes two.
Pull the string of C.	Strikes thirty-six.		
Pull the string of B.	{ Advances the hour hand thirteen, and the clock now marks forty-nine.	Strikes thirteen.	
Pull the string of A.			
&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.

If now only those hours struck or pointed at by the clock C be attended to and written down, it will be found that it produces the series of the squares of the natural numbers. Such a series could of course only be produced completely by this mechanism so far as the three first figures, but this is sufficient to give some idea of the construction, and was the point to which the first model of the calculating engine extended.”—part xxxiii. pp. 46—48.

In considering the “Size of Factories,” the next head upon which Mr. Babbage enters, he enumerates the following principle, that “when (from the peculiar nature of the produce of each manufacture) the number of processes into which it is most advantageous to divide it is ascertained, as well as the number of individuals to be employed, then all other manufactures which do not employ a direct multiplication of that number, will produce the article at a greater cost.” The influence of the employment of large capitals in manufactures next passes under review; and it is shown plainly that manufactured goods become cheaper to the consumer in proportion to the capital employed, because the expense of verifying the quality of the article purchased decreases in similar proportion. In some instances, verification is most costly. In flour, for example, contrary to a received principle, Government has found it cheaper to manufacture than to buy; because of the facilities of adulteration. In the calico trade, also, while calico was woven in the cottages of the operatives, a class of middle-men purchased, in the first instance, whose employment was to ascertain that each piece was perfect and of full measure. Fraud might be practised at far less general risque of exposure by the single cottager, than it can be by the great and opulent manufacturer; and the loss of the latter by general impeachment of reputation, if discovered in one act of dishonesty, must be almost infinitely disproportioned to his gain, if he escapes undetected. *Character*, therefore, in this case, supplies *verification*, and consequently saves its expense. Of the truth of this reasoning the following is an instance not a little gratifying to just and honourable National Pride.

“The powerful influence of established character in producing confidence operated in a very marked manner at the time of the exclusion of British manufacture from the Continent during the last war. One of our largest establishments had been in the habit of doing extensive business with a house in the centre of Germany, but on the closing of the Continental ports against our manufactures, heavy penalties were inflicted on all those who contravened the Berlin and Milan Decrees. The English Manufacturer continued to receive orders, with directions how to consign them, and appointments for the time and mode of payment, in letters, the hand-writing of which was known to him, but which were never signed, except by the Christian name of one of the

firm, and even in some instances they were without any signature at all. These orders were executed, and in no instance was there the least irregularity in the payments."—part xxxiii. p. 54.

Amid all his correct reasoning and sobriety of views, we rejoice to find in Mr. Babbage manifest traces of that delightful enthusiasm in his favourite pursuit, which ever and anon is sure to display itself in those who belong to the highest class of intellects. In his aspirations after the *possible*, he soars occasionally almost as high as Bishop Wilkins.

"The conveyance of letters is another instance in which the importance of saving time would allow of great expense in any new machinery for its accomplishment. There is a natural limit to the speed of horses which even the greatest improvements in the breed, aided by an increased perfection in our public roads, can never surpass; and from which perhaps we are at present not very remote. When we reflect upon the great expense of time and money which the last refinements of a theory or an art usually require, it is not unreasonable to suppose the period has arrived in which the substitution of machinery for such purposes ought to be tried.

"The post bag despatched every evening by the mail to one of our largest cities, Bristol, usually weighs less than a hundred pounds. Now the first reflection which naturally presents itself is, that in order to transport these letters a hundred and twenty miles, a coach and apparatus weighing above thirty hundred weight is put in motion, and also conveyed over the same space.\*

"It is obvious that amongst the conditions of machinery for accomplishing such an object, it would be desirable to reduce the weight of matter to be conveyed with the letters; it would also be desirable to reduce the velocity of the animal power employed, because the faster a horse is driven, the less weight he can draw. Amongst the variety of contrivances which might be imagined, we will mention one which, although by no means free from objections, fulfils some of the prescribed conditions, and is not a purely theoretical speculation, since we have seen, on an extremely limited scale, some few experiments upon it.

"Let us imagine a series of high pillars erected at frequent intervals, perhaps every hundred feet, as nearly as possible in a straight line between the two post towns. An iron or steel wire of some thickness must be stretched over proper supports fixed on each of these pillars, and terminating at the end of every three or five miles, as may be found expedient, in a very strong support, by which it may be stretched. At these points a man ought to reside in a small station-house. A narrow cylindrical tin case to contain the letters might be suspended by two wheels rolling upon this wire; these might be so constructed as to enable them to pass unimpeded by the fixed supports of the wire. An endless

\* It is true that the transport of letters is not the only object which this apparatus answers, but the transport of passengers, which is a secondary object, does in fact put a limit to the velocity of that of letters, which is the primary one.

wire of much smaller size must pass over two drums, one at each end. This wire should be supported on rollers, fixed to the supports of the great wire, and at a short distance below it. With this arrangement there would be the two branches of the smaller wire always accompanying the larger one, and the attendant at either station might, by turning the drum, cause these two branches of the small wire to move with great velocity in opposite directions. In order to convey the cylinder which contains the letters, it would only be necessary to attach it by a string or by a catch to either of the branches of the endless wire. Thus it would be conveyed speedily to the next station, where it would be removed by the attendant to the commencement of the next wire, and thus transmitted on. It is not our intention to enter into the details which this or some similar plan would require. It is sufficient to observe that it is attended with its difficulties, but that when they are overcome, it will present many advantages besides velocity. For if an attendant reside at each station, the additional expense of having two or three deliveries of letters every day, and even of sending expresses at any moment, will be comparatively trifling, and it is not impossible that the stretched wire may itself be available for a species of telegraphic communication yet more rapid.

“ We shall mention one other instance in which the object to be obtained is so important, that although it might be rarely wanted, yet machinery for that purpose would justify considerable expense. A vessel to contain men, and to be navigated at some distance below the surface of the sea, would in many circumstances be almost invaluable. Such a vessel evidently could not be propelled by any engine requiring the aid of fire. If, however, by condensing air into a liquid, and carrying it in that state, a propelling power could be procured sufficient for moving the vessel through a considerable space, the expense would scarcely render its occasional employment impossible.”—part xxxiii. 58, 59.

The section on Combinations amongst Masters or Workmen is eminently useful and practical; and both parties may derive advantage from the lesson which is there read to them, that such evil alliances are seldom less injurious to themselves, than they are to the Public. Sometimes, however, the Public has derived benefit at the cost of the combiners. Certain useful inventions in gun-making, by which prices have been reduced, have arisen out of the occasional necessity of manufacturers in consequence of a *strike*. The general disadvantage may be estimated from a single fact. The proprietors of one establishment in the iron-trade find it expedient always to keep in hand a supply of coal sufficient for six months' consumption, in order to guard against the hazard of a combination among the pitmen. The dead capital invested in this particular instance is £10,000, and the interest of that sum must accordingly be added to the price of the manufacture. The workmen, in this case also, are injured no less than

than the Public ; for *their* loss is always proportioned to the increased limit of demand.

The sections on “ the effect of Taxes and of Legal Restrictions upon Manufactures,” and on “ the Exportation of Machinery,” are replete with sound and original thinking ; and seem well adapted to correct the narrow, petty, and illiberal maxims which seek to convert that knowledge, which is ever more beneficial to the individual as it becomes more universal, which contributes to the happiness of separate Nations in proportion as it gladdens the whole World, into a jealous, pitiful, and exclusive monopoly. In his concluding paragraphs, Mr. Babbage evinces that Eloquence is as much at his command as Logic ; that he is no less master of rich and glowing language, than he has shown himself to be of convincing argument.

“ The productions of nature, varied and numerous as they are, may each, in some future day, become the basis of extensive manufactures, and give life, employment, and wealth to millions of Human beings. But the crude treasures perpetually exposed before our eyes contain within them other and more valuable principles. All these, in their innumerable combinations, which ages of labour and research can never exhaust, may be destined to furnish, in perpetual succession, the sources of our wealth and of our happiness. Science and knowledge are subject, in their extension and increase, to laws quite opposite to those which regulate the material world ; unlike the laws of molecular attraction, which cease at sensible distances, or that of gravity, which decreases rapidly with the increasing distance from the point of its origin, the further we advance from the origin of our knowledge, the larger it becomes, and the greater power it bestows upon its cultivators to add new fields to its dominions. Yet does this continually and rapidly increasing power, instead of giving us any reason to anticipate the exhaustion of so fertile a field, place us at each advance on some higher eminence, from which the mind contemplates the past, and feels irresistibly convinced that the whole already gained bears a constantly diminishing ratio to the still more rapidly expanding horizon of our knowledge. But if the knowledge of the chemical and physical properties of the bodies which surround us, as well as that of the less tangible elements, light, electricity, and heat, which mysteriously modify or change their combinations, all concur to convince us of the same fact ; we must remember that another and a higher science, itself still more boundless, is also advancing with a giant's stride, and having grasped the mightier masses of the universe, and reduced their wanderings to laws, has given to us in its own condensed language, expressions which are to the past as history, to the future as prophecy. It is the same science which is now preparing its fetters for the minutest atoms which nature has created : already it has nearly chained the ethereal fluid, and bound in one harmonious system all the intricate and splendid phenomena of light. It is the science of calculation, which

becomes continually more necessary at each step of our progress, and which must ultimately govern the whole of the applications of science to the arts of life.

“ But perhaps a doubt may arise in the mind whilst contemplating the continually increasing field of human knowledge, that the weak arm of man may want the physical force requisite to render that knowledge available. The experience of the past has stamped with the indelible character of truth the maxim that “ *Knowledge is Power.*” It not merely gives to its votaries control over the mental faculties of their species, but it is the generator of physical force. The discovery of the expansive power of steam, its condensation, and the doctrine of latent heat, has already added to the population of this small island millions of hands. But the source of this power is not without limit, and the coal-mines of the world may ultimately be exhausted. Without adverting to the theory that new formations of that mineral are now depositing under the sea, at the estuaries of some of our larger rivers; without anticipating the application of other fluids requiring a less supply of caloric than water;—we may remark that the sea itself offers a perennial source of power hitherto almost unapplied. The tides, twice in each day, raise a vast mass of water, which might be made available for driving machinery. But supposing heat still to remain necessary when the exhausted state of our coal-fields renders it expensive. Long before that period arrives, other methods will probably have been invented for producing it. In some districts there are springs of hot water, which have flowed for centuries unchanged in temperature. In many parts of the island of Ischia, by deepening the sources of the hot springs but a few feet, the water boils, and there can be little doubt that, by boring a short distance, steam of high pressure would issue from the orifice; here then is a natural source of heat, one which is extensively spread over the globe, since it occurs near all active volcanoes. Whether the abstraction of heat on a large scale might not have the effect of diminishing the frequency or the intensity of their eruptions, and whether such countries may not ultimately be destined to become the great centres of the manufactures of the world, must be decided by time and circumstances.”—part xxxiii. pp. 81, 82.

This admirable Essay is terminated by a “ skeleton” of questions which every visitor of a manufactory who seeks accurate acquaintance with its processes will do well to employ; but with which, for obvious reasons, it would be unjust if we were here to provide him. He must obtain it at the fountain head, from which, if he be wise, he will not be content with a shallow draught,

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**ART. VIII.—*The Consistency of the whole Scheme of Revelation with itself and with human Reason.*** By Philip Nicholas Shuttleworth, D.D., Warden of New College, Oxford, and Rector of Foxley, Wilts. London. Rivingtons. pp. 369.

It is idle to deny that a large portion of the Christian world have taken, and continue to take their religion upon trust. Yet is it certain, nevertheless, that the number of inquirers has increased, and is increasing; and that the conductors of the Theological Library have acted wisely in making an early provision for the wants of this interesting class.

Having frequently stated our opinions respecting the rise and progress of infidelity, we shall content ourselves for the present with a very brief allusion to them. Before the Reformation, there was no systematic study of the evidences of Christianity, and therefore when all began to think, many began to doubt: Men of superior education, men of learning, men of science, had to work the problem for themselves, and the consequence was, that many of them failed to solve it. Scepticism became the fashion both on the continent and at home. At length the tide turned, and the able writers who had stemmed it manfully even at the strongest flood, were enabled to guide the public sentiment into a safe anchorage. But although this great work was accomplished, a succession of minor ebbs and flows ensued, and there has been a strong, if not a violent current, constantly setting in the direction of doubt. To meet and counteract the effects of such a circumstance two things were evidently necessary. First, a perspicuous exposition of the direct evidences of revelation; and secondly, the study and consideration of those evidences by the people at large. And these have been in a great degree effected. But it speedily became apparent that these were not enough, since after the mind had become familiarized from early youth with the positive evidences of Christianity, and was able to give a reason of the hope that it entertained, the adversary contrived to perplex the question by doubts, and difficulties, and suggestions, and that armoury of subtle and most destructive implements, from which our faith is yet assailed.

The actual state of opinion, therefore, respecting revealed religion, among the respectable portion of society, appears to us to be this; few persons are to be seen who venture directly to impugn the evidences of Christianity: few books are written avowedly or expressly against them. But infidelity is nevertheless busily at work; and by withdrawing attention from the proofs that have been adduced, and directing it to some of the matters which have

been proved, endeavours to undermine rather than overthrow the Gospel. This is no new attempt, but it is pursued in a different quarter from that in which it was formerly tried without success. When these insidious attacks were directed against the faith of the learned and the philosophical, learned and philosophical treatises, the treatises of Clarke, and Butler, and Douglas, and many others, became powerful weapons of defence; and men who had ability and leisure for profound study, were no longer at the mercy of the sceptic. But the immediate seat of the disease is less deep and more extensive. It is not against any particular attack that the Christian citadel requires defence. The arms of the learned are wielded in its behalf much more frequently than against it. What we require is protection for the great mass of educated persons against the arrow that is shot at a venture, and reaches them either in mixed society, or in writings not directly of an irreligious tendency, or in the surmisings and perplexities of their own thoughts.

This desideratum has been supplied by Dr. Shuttleworth. It cannot be said that his book is very easy or very attractive: nor was this to be expected from the title of the work. The reader must have a desire to learn before he will be disposed to take it up, and he must be prepared to think as well as read before he can take it up with profit. But let these important preliminaries be settled, and we are confident that a perusal of Dr. Shuttleworth's volume will afford permanent benefit and gratification. We must content ourselves with extracting a few passages, which will suffice to give a general idea of his manner. The first refers to a point which has been discussed again and again, but never perhaps more satisfactorily than on the present occasion.

"But let us examine this charge, which, by some persons, is thought so seriously to shake the authority of revelation, more in detail. The believer in Christianity maintains that it was absolutely necessary, for the general welfare of mankind, that the last remnant of the only true religion upon earth should be kept from total extinction, either by the operation of one continued miracle, or by the co-operation of secondary causes, during that dark and protracted period which was destined to intervene between the first settlement of the Israelites in Palestine, and the eventual promulgation of the covenant of the Gospel. The prevention of the contagion of idolatry by the extinction of the idolaters, he contends, was the only really efficacious means for attaining this end, and thus demonstrates, in the first place, the expediency of the measures recorded to have been adopted. That those measures were consistent with the rules of morality, and with the Divine justice, he proves, in the next place, by referring to the numerous acts of infanticide, the human sacrifices, and other fearful abominations, acknowledged to have been practised by that denounced people; and lastly, that the measure now

under discussion was not a deviation from the usual course of the government of Providence, he shows, by referring to the extensive inflictions which, on other occasions, and even within our own times, have been allowed to befall various portions of the human race. Unless the Deist can point out a substantial distinction between the admissions contained in his own mode of belief, and these assumptions from Scripture, his argument obviously proves nothing. But, neither is the whole of his objections, nor the whole of our vindication of this portion of revelation, comprehended in the preceding remarks. He argues, that the making any set of human beings delegated commissioners for the execution of Divine judgments, especially in the case of the speculative points of theology, is, in itself, such a handle afforded to religious persecution, that we cannot conceive so dangerous a doctrine to have proceeded from the hallowed source of inspiration. To this we answer, that the precedent here supposed could be in point only upon the recurrence of exactly similar circumstances, and in the case of a special Divine warrant; but the former of these suppositions implies an impossibility, the latter an extreme improbability. On slighter grounds than these, no real Christian would, any more than the philosophical Theist, advocate the right of extirpating by the sword erroneous doctrines of religion. But it will be said that the parties deputed on this occasion, as the ministers of vengeance, were themselves nearly equally culpable with the very idolaters (and even in the self-same acts of irreligion) for whose punishment they were sent. Admitting this assertion to be correct, which, however, remains to be proved, still, if it mean any thing, it would show that, as all human beings are liable to error, therefore no human beings are capable, in strict justice, of receiving a commission for inflicting any penal retribution upon others. Here, again, we appeal to those principles of common usage and obvious expediency, admitted equally by both parties. Can the objector, in this case, recal to his recollection no instances perfectly accordant with the soundest reason and policy, of civil or military discipline, where one peccant individual is made, for the sake of the example which it affords to himself, the instrument of punishment upon his more culpable confederates? It has been uniformly asserted through the whole of the preceding arguments, and we see no reason for being ashamed of the doctrine, that the mode of Divine government, with reference to mankind, as revealed to us in Scripture, is ever found to be in strict conformity and adaptation to the machinery of human passions. In other words, that God's dealings with mankind are fitted for mankind. The mere punishment of the Canaanitish idolaters, we have reason to believe, was not the sole nor the main object of the awful executions now alluded to. Other nations, both in ancient and modern times, have, we know, grievously sinned as they had done, and yet have been allowed to await the ordinary and procrastinated course of the Divine judgments. The real end aimed at on that occasion was, no doubt, the warning and example afforded by these means to the wavering Israelites themselves. And most fearful and appalling must that example have proved to their own chiding consciences. Whether the lesson thus practically taught them, respecting the grievous crime of idolatry,

was more severe than the actual circumstances required, is best shown by considering to what degree, after all, they did really escape the contagion of irreligion, communicated by their neighbours. Now we know that the apostacy of even these chosen delegates of Divine retribution was, at several periods of their history, all but complete. As, during their wanderings in the Desert, they looked back, with regret and longing, to the coarse servile fare of Egypt, so, during a large portion of their residence in the promised land, they envied and imitated the gross worship of their idolatrous neighbours, and were retained within the limits of something resembling the pure religion taught from Mount Sinai, only by an external circumvallation of rites, and isolating usages, too well contrived for even their wayward obstinacy to break through. In the latter period of their history, immediately preceding the Chaldean captivity, to such an extent had the principle of irreligion prevailed, that if a remnant of true believers still existed, it was a remnant in the strictest application of the term; men chased from society, and herding in woods and rocks, from the persecution of their apostate sovereigns. Still it is remarkable that *the surrounding darkness never completely closed over that remarkable country, to the total extinction of the light from heaven. The machinery employed by Providence for the furtherance of its purpose exactly performed the work required, and no more.* Had one degree less of severity been adopted, had the Mosaic ritual been rendered less exclusive, and the spirit of nationality less earnestly forced upon them, it cannot be doubted but that the principle of evil would have finally prevailed over them, and our blessed Saviour, at his coming, would have had to preach the holy doctrines of the Gospel to a people unimbued with the first notions of sound theism. ‘When ye offer your gifts, when ye make your sons to pass through the fire, ye pollute yourselves with all your idols, even unto this day. And shall I be inquired of by you, O house of Israel? As I live, saith the Lord God, I will not be enquired of by you. *And that which cometh into your mind shall not be at all, that ye say, We will be as the heathen, as the families of the countries, to serve wood and stone.* As I live, saith the Lord God, surely with a mighty hand, and a stretched out arm, and with fury poured out, *will I rule over you.*’ Before, then, we charge the denunciations of the Mosaic code against acts of idolatry, as sanguinary and unjustifiable, or its ceremonial institutions, for the furtherance of the same object, as vexatious and trifling, let it at least be shown, that a slighter effort, on the part of the legislator, would have attained the required object. If this cannot, as assuredly it cannot, be proved, then the only conclusion to which we can arrive, from the whole bearings of the case is, that after all, the means adopted were only just adequate to the emergency, and that what has been set up as an accusation against the truth of revelation on this occasion is, in reality, an additional argument of the wisdom in which its various integral parts have been arranged.”—pp. 100—105.

The following is the summary of a very important argument.

“Without, then, carrying this part of our argument farther than the foregoing observations, and leaving the detailed examination of the ac-

tual fulfilment of prophecy, with the unanswerable evidence which it affords in confirmation of the truth of our religion, to the admirable works which have already been written on that subject, it will only be remarked in this place, with regard to this portion of the Old Testament, as has already been done with respect to the historical books, that every possible theory which we can suggest as the motive for their production, saving and excepting that which presupposes the truth of Christianity, and the consequent real reference of these writings to that coming dispensation, is full of incongruities and inconsistencies. Why, in the very commencement of the Book of Genesis, a distinct hint should have been given, that a descendant from the first stock of the human lineage should one day prove a means of the reconciliation of man with his Maker; why a repetition of the same promise, but in still more explicit language, should have been recorded as having been made to Abraham and his immediate descendants; why Moses, in giving a law to his people, which at the first aspect seemed destined for perpetuity, and which was made imperative upon the whole lineage of Israel, under the most fearful sanctions, should have distinctly, though incidentally, asserted that it was eventually to be cancelled by one vested with still higher authority; why, as time proceeded, subsequent presumed inspired writers should agree in depreciating that very law, the Divine authority of which they confidently asserted, and finally, should almost explicitly, and without disguise or figure, announce the approach of a higher legislator, who was to supersede all existing institutions, and break down the partition wall between Jew and Gentile; why those books should have been received as inspired documents by the very people whose sins they denounced, and whose ruin they anticipated, and why, as we know historically to have been the fact, the expectation of the whole Jewish nation should have been eagerly looking for the promised Messiah at the very period of Christ's appearance in the human form; why all this chain of connected circumstances should have existed, if there was really no connecting principle in the actual state of things to produce it, and no concert or combination in the respective parties, it would seem perfectly impossible to explain. If one main idea, not brought ambitiously and prominently forward, but couched often in allegorical allusions, often in casual expressions, and in language which until its fulfilment must often have been absolutely inexplicable, be really traceable from first to last, from almost the first page of the first Book of Moses, down to the conclusion of Malachi: if with this single key to decypher each respective composition, all separately become unambiguous in their meaning, and collectively form one consistent whole;—and if without that key each part would be at once at variance with itself, and irreconcilable with the others, a tissue of improbable legends, and of unreal, because unnecessary, miracles; and if, in addition to this, the grand question of some religion, or no religion, be finally at stake in proportion as we incline to this side, or its opposite, we surely must admit that the combination of probabilities thus arrived at is fully sufficient to command our assent to the confessedly astounding arrangement of human events, which those documents agree in recording. It is not



for a moment our wish to deny or conceal what every Christian must have felt, the startling sensation which the recital of such preternatural occurrences as those related in the Scriptures is calculated to produce, when considered separately from the great transcendental scheme of which they form the preparatory means. But the cure for such doubts is to be found in considering our religion as a whole; in examining the extent and character of our spiritual necessities; in weighing one seeming contradiction against its contradictory opposite; and in satisfying our minds, that by the demonstrable constitution of our nature, no other alternative is allowed us than that of choosing between the lowest possible state of moral degradation, namely, that of complete irreligion, and the admission of the necessity of some specific Divine arrangement, by which the acknowledged defects of the existing order of things may be met and rectified."—pp. 209—212.

There are two passages in the conclusion which we cannot refrain from transcribing, and our readers, we doubt not, will agree with us in thinking, that were there nothing more contained in Dr. Shuttleworth's volume, these extracts alone would entitle him to our most cordial thanks.

"We should form a very inadequate notion of the value of the Gospel, were we to suppose that it had completed its work when it had smoothed the rough exterior of public manners, and, having inculcated a certain series of moral maxims much too refined and unearthly for the mere worldly mind to adopt, as a rule of practice, or even to appreciate, that it has left human nature as cold and as incapable of holy aspirations as it found it. That stupendous dispensation is assuredly, if true, far, very far, too elaborate an arrangement of Providence to rest contented with this humble result. It is either something vastly superior to every possible worldly object, or it is nothing. No reasonable Christian, any more than any other reasonable person, believes gratuitously, unnecessarily, and from a natural predisposition, in miracles. He knows, he sees as clearly as Hume or any other sceptic, that God never disturbs the established order of his own works, but for some truly extraordinary and paramount object. If, then, notwithstanding this original bias to the contrary, the overpowering force of external and internal evidence obliges him to admit that such preternatural interpositions have really taken place; and if he finds that the choice between assent and unbelief is after all a choice of difficulties, and yet that upon due and cautious examination he cannot but admit that the affirmative side of the question is, beyond comparison, the most probable, still the very feeling of amazement with which he concludes his enquiry leaves him under an awe-struck impression of the infinite importance of the mysterious truths thus forced upon his conviction.

"What, then, is the reasonable, the only conclusion, to which he can arrive? That he cannot, consistently with any rule of sound argument, any more than conformably with what he conceives to be the unequivocal language of revelation, make common cause with the Unitarian, the



Socinian, or the Arian. He feels that he has no alternative but that of receiving Scripture as a whole, or of rejecting it as a whole. He sees no diminution of the difficulty, if, discarding as human superadditions the larger portion of the recorded miracles of Holy Writ, he is compelled by the cogency of proof to retain any. Granting the reality of one, whether that one be the miracle of inspiration, the miracle of prophecy, or the miracle of the transmutation of natural objects, he knows that he has conceded the great question at issue, and that henceforward there remains no other point at which he can reasonably stop in the course of his admissions, than the full boundary line of Scripture itself.

“ But if he receive the whole of what we are taught to acknowledge as God’s word, it will, then, assuredly be to him as the most stupendous and most excellent of God’s gifts. It will strictly be his “*Emmanuel, God with us.*” It will identify him in interests and in feeling with every thing, however noble and transcendental, which his imagination can conceive, or to which his most rapturous wishes can aspire. It will open all heaven before him, because he will know that the price of heaven has already been paid on his account; and it will scale and purge his eyesight with regard to every thing connected with the earth. It will inculcate no fanaticism, no ascetic mortifications, no contemptuous disregard or hard-hearted suppression of the charities of social and domestic life; for such are the false deductions of a morose human philosophy, following up its own harsh and narrow principles under the influence of superstitious terror and unenlightened reason. But he will, notwithstanding, learn to see every thing in its proper proportions, and in its true colours. He will think less of this world, only because he will think of heaven the more; but his dealings with mankind will be in all fervour of affection, and cheerfulness, and guileless simplicity of heart. He will love man, because the principle of his religion is love, and because he knows that for the sake of man his gracious Redeemer quitted heaven and became a sojourner and an outcast upon earth; and he will love God with an intensity of which every other modification of religious belief is incapable, because no other religion teaches that our Creator has done for us what the Gospel assures us that he has done. Need we, then, ask the superfluous question whether Christianity, thus considered and thus adopted, will make him wiser and better? and if such be the certain result of its adoption, need we again ask whether that system of belief is really from God? By their fruits ye shall know them,” is the infallible criterion to which every Christian believer will confidently appeal in vindication of the hope which is in him: being fully assured that those tenets must be founded upon an immoveable basis of truth, the necessary consequence of which is to afford the best, or rather the only, explanation of the mysteries of God’s Providence, and, whilst it kills in their first growth every germinating principle of vice, to develope a capability of spiritual holiness in man, of the possibility of which mere human reason could not have afforded us the slightest conception.”—pp. 352—356.

“ The theological disputant should recollect, that the prepossessed and carnal mind is little disposed to be won over to belief by undue

severity of oburgation, or dogmatism in argument. The Christian revelation, we believe, from the sincerest conviction, to afford by far the most probable exposition of the modes of the Divine government ever offered to the apprehension of man. Believing this, then, we ought to be both willing and able to meet the adversary upon his own ground; to show him that, even upon his own principles, the very points against which he contends supply the most rational solution of his difficulties; and that, turn where he will, whether to unassisted reason or to revelation, he must either be contented with a faith which, accepting much upon external testimony, and arriving at something more by legitimate research, is disposed to repose its main confidence upon a well-founded presumption of the Divine goodness, or that, abandoning that ground, he must be prepared to descend, step by step, into the most gloomy abyss of hopeless scepticism. False positions in theological argument, however conscientiously maintained, false excitement and over-statements, unseemly and unhallowed instruments at all times, and even bad taste and want of discrimination in the expression of our feelings, are not likely to escape without censure or ridicule in an acute and critical age, such as our own. A Christian teacher, accordingly, who, as such, would be effectively useful to the busy community around him, must, so far as his avocations will permit, keep pace with the times in all the accomplishments of rational and ornamental knowledge. He must not allow to his opponents the ready and plausible subterfuge, that his belief is the result of his ignorance, or of the narrowness of his conceptions. According to the description given of him by his Divine Master, he must consider himself as "a light set upon a hill," towards which others are to look, and by which they are to direct their steps. He must be ashamed neither of his faith nor of his ignorance, where both one and the other are in conformity with the Gospel standard. He must not withhold, through an unworthy timidity, the avowal of principles, of the solidity of which he is conscientiously convinced, nor, at the same time, must he flinch from admitting that, with all his real confidence and satisfaction in the correctness of his own views, he is still, in many respects, walking though life by faith only. Acting thus, he may be assured that from the moment that the world ceases to treat him with scorn, as a visionary and an enthusiast, it will begin to turn towards him with feelings of respect. And when this sentiment prevails, in its turn, no small vantage ground is gained for the furtherance of his projects of usefulness. The first object is to excite the sober attention of mankind; the second, to kindle a willingness and desire to be better instructed. The point of repulsion once past, the victory over unbelief is half secured. The innate principles of conscience and morality, and those thrilling associations resulting from our connexion with the things of the immaterial world, which exist in every human breast, and require only to be roused in order to make themselves perceived, will, with God's blessing, do the rest. The evidences of our faith are, by the wisdom of Providence, so nicely balanced, that they are never gratuitously obtruded upon the mind which turns away from them, nor withheld from those who perseveringly seek after them. If scepticism is a sin against religious

morality, it is because it is most frequently a consequence of coldness of heart, and of an indifference to the purest and noblest aspirations of our nature. Belief, accordingly, depends upon the will and upon a proper discipline of the affections much more than worldly men are willing to allow: so much so, that we may safely challenge the whole annals of scepticism to produce a single example of a person, who, having carefully examined all the arguments for and against the credibility of revelation, and with a sincere anxiety to arrive at the truth, has concluded his course by deliberately, and from conscientious conviction, taking his part with the unbeliever."

ART. IX.—*A Sermon, preached in the Ibury, Worcestershire, on Wednesday, the day appointed by his Majesty for a* Rev. George Hall, M. A. Vicar of Ter Rector of Rochford, Herefordshire; a Brougham and Vaux. London. Simpkin and Marshall. 1832. 8vo. pp. 32.

A FAST-SERMON by a Chaplain to the Lord Chancellor claims attention before it is opened; but the contents of Mr. Hall's discourse redouble his demands upon reviewers and the public. The first fourteen pages present us with a powerful description of death by cholera, and an urgent appeal to those who are in danger of it. The next portion informs us that the plague has been sent upon our land on account of the violent opposition that has been made to the Reform Bill!!!!

"Having briefly described the desolation produced by being 'smitten with sickness,' as spoken of in the text, and as now felt in our nation, let us see what sins the text specifies for which the punishment is sent. 'For the rich men thereof are full of violence, and the inhabitants thereof have spoken lies, and their tongue is deceitful in their mouth.'

"The punishment, we see, is desolation by sickness; and the sins, 'violence among the rich men,' or chief men, and 'lies and deceit among the inhabitants.' How strikingly does this text of Scripture apply to the British nation at this time! If we look to our chief men, what violence and opposition do we behold! Whatever measures his Majesty's ministers in parliament may propose, however pure, however disinterested, however patriotic, we see them obstinately opposed by a party, simply, as it appears, for the sake of opposition, and not for the sake of the public good. How to thwart the measures of those in power—how to throw popular odium upon them—how to oust them from their places, and how to get into them—seems the whole end and aim of a party in parliament. It is painful to an ingenuous mind to see how the public weal is made to give place to the selfish feelings or animosities of party spirit. If we look at the doings of the present ministers of his Majesty, we see important improvements introduced into the laws of our country

at the sacrifice of immense individual profit and patronage to the author of the alteration. But what was beneficial to the country, and not what was beneficial to self, could enter the mind of this learned legislator. In other departments we see retrenchment and economy carried to the utmost extent through every branch of the state. By alterations and vigilance in the expenditure in the army and navy, we are informed, by authority, that nearly a million of money yearly will hereafter be saved to the public! And those national accounts that used to be wrapt in mystification, are now endeavoured to be made clear and intelligible, and exhibit the appearance of coming from honest and honourable men, who have nothing to disguise. They are distinguished for looking after business, and into business—for integrity and devotedness to their country's welfare. And if there be any merit in such qualities as these, the present ministers are entitled to it. All who have been accustomed to feed and fatten on public abuses, of course struggle for a continuance of them, and rail at the men who attempt to correct them; they dislike for that corruption which has so long prevailed to be exposed or annihilated, and call it innovation. And so, indeed, it may be, but it is an innovation for which public thanks are due to those who enforce it.

“Respecting that important question called Reform, which has occasioned so much violence and agitation throughout the realm, it may be warrantable on an occasion like the present to advert to here, which I shall briefly do, for the sake of guarding you against mistaken notions on the subject. Heretofore 658 men were elected in certain towns and counties in the three kingdoms, as representatives of the respective people who chose them to serve in the British parliament. Those who had votes to elect them were so qualified for counties by being proprietors of freehold property worth 40s. a year, or having a life annuity to that amount on freehold property. In towns the qualification was various—property, occupation, freedom by birth, purchase or servitude. Several of the places that had once been thought of sufficient importance to entitle them to elect members to represent them in parliament, have in the progress of time fallen into decay and insignificance; while at the same time, other places which have had no representatives, have risen into consequence and importance. From this alteration, which time and circumstances have produced, it has been thought only fair and reasonable that a reform should take place in the towns to be represented, and in the qualification of voters;—that the places which had fallen into insignificance should be disfranchised; and that the towns which had risen into importance and contributed largely to the state, should have representatives. That besides those who were heretofore qualified to vote, other qualifications should also be added, so that almost every one who paid taxes, or had anything at stake in the nation, should have a vote in electing a representative. Such is the design of the Reform Bill which the present ministers have introduced and recommended to parliament.

“You will observe, then, that the Reform Bill only refers to electing men to serve in parliament. Instead of 658 men being elected for certain towns and counties as heretofore, that about the same number shall

hereafter be elected, by an increased number of voters, and that insignificant places should be left out, and important towns added. This is the purport of the Reform Bill, which I have been led to speak of for the sake of exposing the mistaken notions that prevail respecting it in the minds of the lower classes in the kingdom. They have been led to think that it would do them some direct good, or that it would revolutionize the kingdom, and that they would have a chance to mend their condition in the scramble. But through all classes I am afraid that more benefits are expected from it than such a measure as I have described can possibly confer."—pp. 14—20.

Mr. Hall proceeds to vindicate the right of the Church to the property with which it is endowed, and to denounce the newspapers and periodicals.

"Having adverted to the 'sickness' with which our nation is smitten, and 'the violence of the rich' or chief men, and those subjects which at this time call forth their violence, there is yet another branch of the text which demands our attention. 'The inhabitants thereof have spoken lies, and their tongue is deceitful in their mouth.'

"Lies and deceit are odious sins in the sight of the Almighty; and the Scriptures afford us numerous examples of God's punishments for them; sometimes with instant death, and sometimes with afflictions as correctives. In the text 'sickness' we see is the punishment denounced for them. Now if we look at the public press in this country, which may be called the public voice, I mean newspapers or periodicals, we are struck and pained with the lies and misrepresentations with which they abound. Nothing is too gross, or too improbable, for them to assert. And there is often a malignancy in their assertions and insinuations that can only be accounted for as coming from some revengeful bitter enemy, or a wanton fiendish depravity. Every public character that has any merit has to endure the continual and infamous attacks of the writers of these papers, which are sent and read all over the world. There is no protection against the aspersions of these hireling writers for parties, but in obscurity and insignificance. You may always judge of the merit of any public man from the quantity of attention and abuse that is bestowed upon him by the corrupt press, who knowing his merits, his superiority, and his influence, try to injure his reputation by wilfully misrepresenting his deeds, or his opinions or his motives. Truth, and honour, and principle, those strong stays with most men, are by these disregarded and trampled on, and sacrificed to their odious trade. It is grievous and offensive to every candid and honourable and informed mind to witness the falsehoods and misrepresentations which are printed and propagated by the periodical press. Even to the most jaundiced partisan, they can, I should think, afford no pleasure. And if it be offensive to man, how much more offensive must it be to God, 'who desireth truth in the inward parts,' and who has denounced such judgments upon it. 'The inhabitants thereof have spoken lies, and their tongue is deceitful in their mouth. Therefore also will I make thee sick in smiting thee, in making thee desolate because of thy sins.'

"But it is not only individuals that have to suffer from the lies and liberty of the press, but the community also. The press is the great fomenter of all that agitation and violence that now disturb the three kingdoms. Subjects that are calculated to excite the feelings, and work upon men's minds, are daily issuing from the press, and placed before and spread among the people. The press is indeed a mighty engine either for good or for evil. It can make the king tremble on his throne; it can drive his ministers from their places, or it can keep them in office; it can command quietness and keep it among a people; or it can call up discord, and set a town or a country in flames! It seems to have arrived at a power too strong for any other in the nation to contend with. There was a time when the author of what was libellous or seditious was prosecuted and punished; but that time appears to have passed away, and the press now seems to revel unchecked in its liberty, and unawed by consequences."—pp. 26—29.

What will the Lord Chancellor and the Attorney-General say to this?

One more remark and we have done. There is no mention of Christianity in this discourse. The writings of the Prophets are quoted and appealed to; but for any thing that appears in Mr. Hall's Sermon the New Testament is not in existence. Our Lord himself is not once mentioned, and if he is hinted at, it is only once, when the dying sinner is said to be about to resign his soul "into the hands of its Creator and its Judge."—p. 11. We presume from the internal evidence which the sermon affords that the writer is no ordinary person. But he is Vicar of Tenbury, Rector of Rochford, and Chaplain to Lord Brougham and Vaux, and we must believe that he is a Christian:—judging from the publication before us, we should be bound to pronounce him a Jew.

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ART. X.—*Christus Crucifixus; or Our Lord's conduct with Reference to his Crucifixion, considered as an Evidence of the Truth of his Religion.* By the Rev. Arthur Johnson, M. A. Oxford, Talboys. 1831. pp. 125.

THE design of this treatise is stated by the author in the following words:—

"As the argument I am about to advance is drawn altogether from our Lord's conduct, as recorded by the four Evangelists, I shall first give an analysis, or abstract of their account, so far as it bears upon the point in question. That point is; that He appears from the very commencement of His ministry to have acted uniformly with a reference to His final suffering, intentionally pursuing that manner of life which was likely to lead to such an end; avoiding every thing that would have



obstructed it; and finally presenting himself to the danger at the precise time when it was most critical. He had announced to His disciples, a considerable time before, that such would be the end of His ministry; at first by typical and metaphorical expressions; afterwards more and more plainly: at first to His more immediate and confidential followers; afterwards to others also; declaring that He should thereby fulfil the object of His mission, and the prophecies of the ancient Scriptures; by offering, in His own person, an atonement for the sin of others.

“From these previous and distinct intimations of what He was about to suffer, and from the constancy with which He pursued a course of life the most likely to lead to such an end, it is argued that the memorable Personage of whom these things are related, must have been sincere; and that He is entitled to all the credence due to one, who voluntarily and deliberately adopted a painful way of life, the end of which (inexpressibly painful) He had all along foreseen and predicted, yet submitted to, for a peculiar purpose; without any possible advantage to Himself, and incapable of being influenced (as might be objected in the case of the follower of any teacher) by the force of example, or enthusiasm derived from others.

“The reader will be pleased to attend to the number, the force, and the agreement of the following particulars; which are necessarily condensed into a shape little attractive, except to the sincere inquirer after truth. The supreme importance of the truth to which they refer, will, it is hoped, secure his attention to the detail which is unavoidable. I place the facts in the order of time, as they are given in a Harmony, such as that I have before me: the accuracy of which is amply sufficient for the present purpose.”—pp. ii. iii.

The reasoning of Mr. Johnson in support of this position forms a series of detached observations upon the conduct, the miracles, and the words of our Lord, which appear to us to establish the truth for which he contends. But the nature of his argument renders it unfit for compression; all we can do is to extract some passages from the concluding summary, which will enable our readers to form their own opinion respecting the work.

“It may be feebly answered, that a virtuous man—a philosopher—(a Plato for instance, or a Socrates)—may be supposed capable of advancing to encounter death, and such a death, with a long previous conviction of its certainty, and a determination to endure it. For argument’s sake (and only for the sake of argument) we may admit this to be possible *without making our philosopher an enthusiast*:—such as those who have often devoted themselves to voluntary death, from motives of superstitious hope or fear. What then?—He could not have *predicted the manner* of his death:—still less have predicted it long before—in a region remote from the scene of His suffering—when there was no apparent probability of His suffering any judicial death at all, and when, from a peculiar combination of circumstances, the death predicted ap-

peared to stand in contradiction with the authors of it predicted also :— a Roman punishment proceeding from the Jewish Hierarchy. He could not have foretold the very place, and time, nay the day of his death; as well as the manner of it, its authors and abettors; even if, with this clear knowledge announced so long before, he could have calmly advanced to meet it, to seal by the life and death of a God the lie of an impostor—the fanaticism of a madman—or the dreams of a philosopher!

“ Another reply may be imagined: ‘ But what evidence can you allege to assure us that these predictions were actually delivered, as recorded in the Evangelists? ’—What possible purpose could be served by their fabrication? Were they inserted that a nameless individual in the nineteenth century might, for the first time, make use of them as an argument for the truth of those events of which they who recorded them entertained no doubt? But in fact, it would be impossible to get rid of these predictions without abrogating all credit which can attach to any record whatever. A few reasons out of many may suffice—1st. The predictions are multiplied beyond any thing a reader, whose attention has not been turned to the subject can conceive; occurring in every possible variety of form, and occurring almost equally in every one of the four Evangelists. 2dly. No importance appears ever to be attached to them by the historians, as likely to give credibility to their narrative;—but to all appearance, they are set down simply because they were so delivered. 3dly. They are, for the most part, *incidental*, and in this respect coincide perfectly with the characteristic manner of speech peculiar to our Lord. 4thly. They do not stand alone, but are mixed up with many antecedent and succeeding particulars; several of them of a sort the least likely to have been gratuitously imagined. 5thly. They could not have been recorded, as they have been, by all the four Evangelists, without the imputation of a common design and purpose, if not a concerted combination and plan: yet it very frequently occurs that the *prophetic words* are omitted by one or two of the witnesses, who give all the circumstances which led to their utterance, or were consequent upon it. 6thly. These predictions appear to have formed part of a plan (if I may be permitted so to speak), which our Lord systematically pursued, both in His actions and His words, from the commencement of His ministry to the evening before his death. With this plan or purpose, which His actions indicate, His prophetic declarations of His approaching end are indissolubly bound up.

“ Such a plan or purpose it has been my humble and devout endeavour to trace in some of its details. We have seen how systematically He pursued and gradually unveiled to those around Him His unexampled design; revealing it at first to individuals,—then to His immediate and chosen followers,—then to the multitude of His disciples (but to these only by figurative expressions); at first making known the great and all important particular of His future death, the manner of it, and the ultimate cause of it (the Redemption of mankind):—then describing its authors and perpetrators, and at last defining the most minute particulars—the place—the time and the day. These particulars were at first im-

plied by remote but always characteristic expressions : then by others yet more plain, but still figurative : lastly by direct and literal announcements.

“ We find that His Divine Conduct corresponded perfectly with this course of Prophecy : we find Him to have avoided *proclaiming* Himself or suffering Himself to be proclaimed as that Great Personage whom He at last openly confessed Himself to be, and with which confession all his words and actions minutely but not ostentatiously agreed : we find Him to have been fearless in rebuking all sin, and in pursuing His unexampled career as a Teacher ; yet cautiously to have avoided all danger of a violent death except that which He had so long predicted, and to which, with the most perfect foreknowledge, He deliberately resigned Himself.

“ The inevitable conclusion is, that He was *Truth Itself* ; and that we may repose, with full assurance of faith on His words and His promises.”—pp. 117—122.

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ART. XI.—*A word for God against certain Blasphemies reported to have been recently uttered in the House of Commons—A Sermon preached before the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, &c. &c. &c. On Sunday, February, 26, 1832, at the Parish Church of the Holy Sepulchre, London. By Thomas Mortimer, B. D. Minister of St. Mark's, Myddelton Square ; and Lecturer of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch. London. Seeley and Sons, 1832. 8vo. pp. 23.*

WE feel great respect for Mr. Mortimer's zeal ; but what shall we say of his judgment and of his taste ? He appeals to the authority of Latimer, in defence of his mode of proceeding, and then addresses Alderman Key in the following terms.

“ In accordance with these episcopal directions, I would now preach the word of Almighty God to you, my Lord Mayor of London. In doing which I would say—

“ *Continue to honour and keep holy the Sabbath day.*—Be it known unto you all, Christian people, here this day assembled, that the report, circulated some time ago, of our Chief Magistrate having sanctioned the employment of workmen at Guildhall on the Sabbath-day, previous to a civic banquet, was, I rejoice to say, without foundation. His Lordship not only gave the strictest orders that no such thing should be done on the sabbath, but afterwards sent a messenger to see if the orders so given were executed ; and, lest any should still persist in violating that holy day, his Lordship followed in person, shortly after his own messenger.

“ My Lord Mayor, as a minister of God's word I thus publicly express the honour I felt, and still feel, towards you for thus remembering the Sabbath-day to keep it holy.

“ A second remark, which I would make with all reverence, and yet in all faithfulness, is this :

“ Confess, I entreat you, my Lord Mayor, confess your Saviour manfully before men ; and do him all honour, both in your own family and in that high and honourable station in which His providence has placed you.

“ If at the civic feast, or in the civic senate, any blasphemer (which God forbid ! ) should dare to open his lips to impugn the Christian faith, or to deny the moral government of God ; then, then, I beseech your Lordship, as the chief magistrate of the first Christian city in the world, stand forth, even at the risk of opprobrium or insult, to confess your Saviour's name. Think, oh ! think of that solemn day when all earthly dignity shall have vanished ; of that day when ‘ the Son of Man shall come in his glory, and all his holy angels with him ; ’ when ‘ the judgment shall be set, and the books shall be opened, ’ when He shall ‘ reward every man according to his works. ’ For, verily, in that day your Lord and Master ‘ shall sit upon his throne, to confess them before his Father who have confessed Him before the world. ’—pp. 19—21.

Now the meaning and substance of all this is good ; but cannot Mr. Mortimer understand that his forms of expression border on the ludicrous, and that when he thunders out or whispers out “ My Lord Mayor ! ” he is much more likely to make the scoffer laugh than the sinner tremble ? Again his denunciation of Mr. Hume's profaneness is much in the same style.

“ And now, Christian people, let me plainly and in all honesty tell you what led me to the selection of such a subject on such an occasion as the present. I shall not shrink from boldly declaring to you, that it was the daring, disgusting, and horrid language reported to have been used a short time since in the Commons House of Parliament, and that by one of the members for this county. I am not ignorant that in speaking thus I may be considered as interfering with what are called the privileges of Parliament. But in God's holy name I would ask, were not all those privileges granted to that honourable House that they might, upon the true faith of Christian men, duly serve their God, their sovereign, and their country ? I know of no privilege to dishonour either God's holy name, his word, or his providence. And I must say, that if the following printed report be correct, and if it be really true that one of the present members for this county did actually express himself as here described, then is he indeed daring the judgments of God, and calling for the thunderbolts of Divine indignation. In the parliamentary report of an evening paper of the 16th of this month we read thus : ‘ Mr. H. said, that he was as much opposed as ever to the appointment of a fast-day. He regretted that Ministers had been weak enough to agree to the proposition. ’ In the same evening paper of February 20 we read : ‘ Mr. H. replied, that he would state what he did say : he said it was humbug to set forth such words in Acts of Parliament, that it had pleased God to afflict the country

with a pestilence; and the Hon. Baronet ought to have added these words, 'cant, and hypocrisy.'

"If, I say, these two reports, as given in the newspaper just quoted, be really correct, and that the honourable member for Middlesex did thus express himself, I pronounce and declare this day, before God and this congregation, that in so doing he committed a dreadful offence against his Maker, and against the best interests of his country; and (whatever I may be called to suffer for so doing), I denounce such sentiments as awful, execrable, and blasphemous; and this I do as a minister of God's holy word, and in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

"A single word for these Schools, and I have done. If you care for the safety of the state or the welfare of the church, I entreat and beseech you, support liberally the Christian education of youth."

The concluding paragraph acquaints Mr. Mortimer's readers with what they could not have surmised from any preceding portion of his discourse, namely, that he is preaching a *Charity Sermon*—And this matter evidently must have been near his heart, since it is scrupulously reserved for the postscript. But although Mr. Hume deserved the most indignant rebuke which language can convey, is it probable that he will be put to shame by such an address as this? "The evening paper of February, 20," "and the honourable member for Middlesex," are phrases which ought not come in such close contact with a solemn appeal to the Blessed Trinity. Mr. Mortimer means to be impressive, but a vulgar familiarity disgusts many more persons than it attracts—and we protest against the use of such language by the Ministers of the Church.

ART. XII.—*The Sabbath: a Sermon.* By the Rev. William Wood, B.D. Rector of Coulsdon, and Vicar of Fulham. London. Roake and Varty. 1831. 12mo. pp. 32.

WITHOUT intending to be paradoxical, we think that the recent controversy respecting the Sabbath will do good. It has called general attention to the subject—Both parties have been heard—and the victory rests, as we were always confident that it would rest, with the supporters of the old and generally received doctrine. And the discussion has been attended with this additional advantage. Many writers and preachers who have re-examined the question and ascertained the correctness of their former opinions, have felt themselves called upon not only to make those opinions known, but likewise to explain and defend them before

the public, and urge their readers and hearers to a more strict discharge of the duty of hallowing the Sabbath day.

The discourse now before us affords a specimen of the manner in which this task has been executed:—Mr. Wood addresses himself to a country congregation, and having stated in a very solemn and powerful manner the original institution and divine obligation of the Sabbath, and the dreadful results of disobeying a positive command of God, concludes with the following appeal to the consciences of his parishioners.

“ But the great question for *you*, and which you should lay your hands upon your hearts, and answer conscientiously, is this; how much *you* yourselves, individually, have contributed to increase the mass of the national guilt in this particular, of which God is so jealous. As my sacred office compels me to speak the truth, and forbids every kind of flattery and dissimulation; as I cannot otherwise be useful to any of you, or assist you in working out your salvation, but by bearing witness to the truth; as I am, moreover, now about to leave you for a while, and therefore wish to give you some departing farewell advice of the most momentous importance; I say it, I confess, with deep sorrow, and with a painful alarm on *your* account, that, even in this otherwise well-disposed and well-ordered parish, there is a too evident, and a too great, neglect of the Sabbath. In the true spirit of pastoral affection, but in the plain, manly, authoritative language of an Apostle, I say, ‘ I cannot praise you in this.’

“ Alas! alas! what correct idea, or right devout feeling of God’s sabbaths, can *they* have, who are always absent from God’s house, and who, perhaps, profane these sacred days, besides, by drunkenness, or gaming, or some other revelry? None, undoubtedly. But all our remonstrances from this sacred place must, of necessity, be useless to *them*; they need them most, but are never present to hear them. Of the rest, how few come here with so much regularity as to show that it is an essential part of their system of life—an established principle of conduct never to be departed from but upon the most urgent, extraordinary occasions! And how will God judge of *them*, who think that they do sufficient honour to his Sabbath by coming once only, and forget that God may construe their coming but once as a proud assumption on their parts, that they want no more of his sanctifying grace than once a day may be likely to bestow! If the help of the Holy Spirit alone can fit them for salvation, and this help is chiefly given by the ministry of the church, how can they be perfectly satisfied with themselves, and think that they have done enough, when they neglect, once a day, an opportunity of partaking of the spirit, which the church is the instrument to convey? I am not unaware of the circumstances of this parish, which render more sometimes impossible; but how few, how very few, perhaps two or three individuals, lament those circumstances, and the consequent loss of additional means of grace!

“ But how will God judge even of the most exemplary in any congregation, who never forsake his house, either for pleasure, or for busi-



ness, or for any of those plausible reasons by which men are too willing to delude themselves to their own ruin; if they spend the rest of the day, nevertheless, as they spend their other days of the week, and do not remember the Sabbath, to keep it holy throughout; if they do not devote the whole of it with a sober, religious awe to God; if they do not send their children and servants to church with the same punctuality as they go themselves; if they do not shun all the resorts of sensuality and gaiety abroad, or admit such inmates at home; if they do not study the Holy Scriptures, and put aside all other books but such as may tend to build them up in faith and piety; and, in short, if they do not live on this one day, in conformity with the sacred nature of the day, so uniformly and so universally, as to throw a sanctity around the lawful business and the lawful pleasures of every other day, and gradually to make their whole life truly Christian, truly divine, and fit, indeed, for heaven.

“ Now, if they do not accomplish all this, whatever else they do, they fall short of a due observance of the Sabbath; and who is there, even amongst the most exemplary, alas! who ever thinks of accomplishing so much? Alas, alas! who is there amongst any of us, who, in some way or other, does not absolutely break the Sabbath, or even profane it? And what wonder, then, that there should be so much looseness, licentiousness, and depravity of manners in our nation; and that so many evils assail us, so many impend over our heads, and threaten us with some mighty ruin? Sabbath-breaking has led to the temporal and eternal ruin of thousands and tens of thousands; it cannot but lead to the deeper corruption of all; to the gradual undermining and ultimate extinction of all religious principle in the heart of man. When a people cast off their respect for God's Sabbaths, they are prepared to run the full career of irreligion, and of profligacy, and of all the atrocities which scourge and afflict mankind.

“ There are persons in this congregation old enough to remember, as I do, a whole powerful nation, our nearest neighbours, casting it off, as it appeared, with one consent, and, by cruelties almost unheard of before, compelling their spiritual pastors and ministers to fly into exile; neither religion, nor the semblance of religion, being tolerated any longer among them. And what was the issue? This amazing apostacy was followed immediately by such deeds of horror, by such tragical excesses, as will never be blotted out of the annals of time. But the same impious means have been industriously used to produce the same subversion of principle here amongst us at home; and, God knows, they have but too well succeeded with too many; so that we can scarcely exult any longer with our former honourable pride, that our country is as renowned for religion, for piety and virtue, for good order and submission to authority, and for the deep abhorrence of all atrocities, as she is for freedom, for wealth, for victory, and for power.

“ Finally, then, in bidding you farewell, I earnestly beseech you all, and through you I beseech the rest who are under my spiritual charge, to ponder most deeply and seriously, and to lay to heart also, what God

himself spoke with such terrible signs of his power, and what his divine finger wrote for an everlasting memorial; what He decreed in the beginning of time when He rested from his marvellous works, and pronounced them good; and what our blessed Saviour, the fulfiller of all righteousness, obeyed in the true spirit of the command, and set the pattern to every succeeding generation of Christians; I earnestly beseech you all to 'remember the sabbath-day, to keep it holy.' And let the first proof of your remembrance of it, and the first act of keeping it holy, be your constant attendance here in God's house—a practice which will lead you on step by step to every other good work. Let your ministers lament no more the thin attendance of their hearers, in the afternoons especially. Come as often as you may, you will scarcely return without being the better and the wiser for it. I speak not of worldly wisdom, but of the wisdom which will save your souls. What blessing is there, of which you stand in need? Come here, and pray for it in concert with the whole assembly—your united prayers, with one mind and heart, ascending to God, will fetch every blessing down. Is there any blessing of which you feel the enjoyment? Come here, and thank God for it before your fellow men. Are you ignorant of any of the great gospel-doctrines which are necessary to be known? Come here, and they will be explained, each in its proper season, and you will be instructed to have a due and awful sense of their importance. Have you been seduced into sin; do your devotions become languid; do you neglect any duty; is your benevolence cold? Come to God's house; and you will hear discourses, it is to be hoped, as well as striking passages of scripture, which will awaken and arouse you; keep heaven always in your sight; fill you with heavenly affections; and prepare you to dwell in some heavenly mansion with the blessed saints of God. *We*, your ministers, I trust, amidst all the discouragements with which we are surrounded, the entire absence of so many, the apparent lukewarmness of others, preach, nevertheless, with the same zeal as if we preached to multitudes athirst for the word of God, and do not abate one tittle in our fervent desire for *your* everlasting salvation. The more, indeed, men neglect themselves, the more should the ministers of Christ care for them, and stir up every faculty which they have to rescue them from their dream of false security. Let not this labour of *ours* be in vain! Labour for yourselves as *we* labour for you; all of us alike, however, trusting to a greater strength than our own. And I pray God, that, under the influence of the Divine strength, and guided by his Holy Spirit, *you* may become the crown of *our* labours, and enable us to give up the account of our stewardship over you with joy."

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**ART. XIII.—Self-Delusion: a Sermon addressed to the Visible Church of Christ; to which are added some Forms of Prayer suitable to the present Time.** By the Rev. Frederick Dusautoy, B. M. Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, &c. London: Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly. 1832. pp. 48.

WE have been much pleased with the principal passage in this discourse, although it contains one monstrous and shocking absurdity. The workings of selfishness are thus described:—

“ The principle of self may be traced when we feel mortified at any disrespect or neglect we may receive, although the opposite disregard often proceeds from the influence of a fancied self-importance—when we feel the risings of anger and revenge at some injury, slander, or slight, and a *desire of retort and retaliation*—when we manifest impatience at contradiction, and regard those opinions of others which are opposed to our own, with neglect or contempt—when we feel a reluctance to acknowledge our faults and errors—when we are unwilling to yield to the will and inclination of others—when we manifest a dislike to be dictated to or found fault with, although the opposite extreme may likewise proceed from the pride of self-importance and superiority—when we in any manner or under any circumstances, neglect an inferior from the influence of pride or self-consequence; although condescension likewise often proceeds from great pride—when we are prejudiced against those who in any way manifest their dislike towards us, or have told us of some faults and frailties—when we in any way seek for the praise and applause of man, unless to receive it for promoting the glory of God—when we prefer or court the favour of our superiors, and neglect those we regard as our inferiors—when we do good to others for motives of self-interest, or for the *gratification* of some *natural principle of benevolence*: for one person may put himself to great personal inconvenience to relieve the distresses of a fellow-creature, from the influence of a natural benevolence of disposition; and another may commit murder to gratify the feeling of revenge; yet the former would not be less guilty in the sight of God than the latter. Both actions would proceed from a selfish principle, and self is sin. We may say to the former, ‘ verily he has his reward,’ from the consequent feelings of self-complacency.

“ The principle of self manifests itself also when we are pleased with praises and compliments, of which we are conscious we are not deserving—when we feel annoyed at the preference shown to others—when we indulge pride in any outward appearance, or in any circumstances and events we relate to others—when we feel hurt or annoyed at any remarks tending to lower our self-esteem, although the opposite effect often arises from the influence of a rooted self-conceit—when we use the gifts of nature or providence, or any artificial acquirements, to feed our vanity or pride—when we are given to sensual indulgence—when we feel little interest in the concerns or welfare of others—when we are desirous to speak of our own affairs, and unwilling to listen to those of

a brother—when we feel pleasure in relating the faults and failings of others—when we expose the injudiciousness of a brother for the purpose of displaying our own imagined better judgment—when we make any representations to others, which we think will tend to raise ourselves in their opinion—when we consider our own ease and comfort upon any occasion, and feel an unwillingness to make any sacrifice for that of others—when we are ready to spend in self-indulgence, what we should very reluctantly give towards the comforts of others, or the cause of religion—when we sometimes squander money for the sake of being thought liberal—when we are ashamed of poverty or of any state and condition in which we are placed by Providence—when we are unwilling to be under an obligation to any one—when we *resist* any thing which tends to our *own humiliation or abasement*.”—p. 13.

The man who writes thus has evidently no slight knowledge of the human heart; but how can he dare to say that one who does good from natural benevolence, and relieves distress at great personal inconvenience, is not less guilty in the sight of God than a deliberate and malicious murderer? If this be merely the slang of a party, it is downright nonsense, and demands pity rather than contempt; if it be any thing else, it is gross wickedness.

Unhappily the pamphlet contains further specimens of Mr. Dusautoy's theology. To say nothing of such phrases as these—“O Lord Jesu Christ, our affectionate and beloved brother!”—“There was a time, O our Brother and God!”—“We are taught by Thy word, O our Brother,” and “May the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep our hearts in the love, and our minds in the knowledge of Thee, our Father, and of thy Son, our Brother, Jesus Christ,” (p. 40—44)—to say nothing of these unauthorized and unjustifiable expressions (for when did any inspired writer or speaker presume to treat his Redeemer with this disgusting familiarity?), what will the reader think of the following commentary and definition?—

“In the second general prayer on account of the Cholera, the following words occur:—‘Give us grace to turn unto Thee with timely repentance, and thus to obtain through the merits of our Saviour, that pardon to day, which to-morrow it may be too late to seek for.’ Now, we would here remark with deference to the opinions of more competent judges, that we conceive *no Christian* can use these words; yet no one but a *Christian can pray*.

“The whole of our Church Liturgy was very properly composed for the use of *believers*; as also the forms for the administration of the sacraments, and the order of the other rites and ceremonies of our Church. These remarks, however, do not afford the slightest excuse to the natural man for neglecting the use of *the means* of prayer, which God has promised to bless with the out-pouring of His Holy Spirit.

"It is most important to make a distinction between *prayer* and *the means* of prayer. Forms of words are simply *the means* of prayer; although extemporary words in prayer, by believers, consist of *the utterance*, as well as of *the means* of prayer. A correct definition of prayer would be, perhaps, to confine it wholly to the impression made by the Spirit of God on the heart. 'The Spirit maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God: for we know not what we should pray for as we ought; but the Spirit maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered.'"

No Christian can repent, and turn, and be forgiven!!! None but a Christian can pray!!! And prayer is "an impression made by the Spirit of God on the heart"!!! We quote these phrases and make these exclamations not in anger, but in sorrow. It is useless to reason with those who require to be reasoned with upon the subject; but let such as are not yet drawn into the circle of this bewildering mysticism take warning in time.

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ART. XIV.—*On Clerical Education: a Letter, addressed to the Right Rev. Father in God, Edward, Lord Bishop of Llandaff.* By a Clergyman. London: Rivingtons, 1832. pp. 12.

2. *On the Office of Deacon: a Second Letter, addressed to the Right Rev. Father in God, Edward, Lord Bishop of Llandaff.* By a Clergyman. London: Rivingtons, 1832. pp. 16.

THE fault of these tracts is that they are too short. They enter upon several very important subjects, but do not examine them thoroughly. They contain some very valuable suggestions, but do not enter into the details which must necessarily be considered before those suggestions can be adopted. Nevertheless we shall so far imitate the conduct which we condemn, as to dismiss the matter with a very few observations, recommending our readers to weigh the good advice contained in these pamphlets, and expressing a hope that the writer will follow up his blow by a more serious demand upon public attention.

The first letter recommends, that candidates for orders should serve a sort of apprenticeship to their elder brethren in the Church.

"How many inconveniences result from these defects in clerical education, they best know, who have devoted their lives to the work of the ministry. Many of them have themselves only discovered, by painful experience, how much better they might have served God in the first years of their ministry, had they entered upon their holy office with

better preparation. Some pass through life, it is to be feared, with little lively apprehension of the work, for which they have made themselves responsible. It is sufficient, however, to have alluded to a topic, which no serious mind can pursue without much uneasiness and concern, My purpose is not to dwell on defects; or to detail their consequences, but to ask, whether a remedy cannot, and ought not, to be provided?

“ A remedy, adequate to the occasion, and worthy of the country and of the Establishment, I presume not to suggest. I hope wiser men, and persons whose station qualifies them to take a wider view of the actual state of things, and of the means of meeting its difficulties, will turn their attention to the question.

“ In the mean time I will venture to ask, whether something may not be done to mitigate an evil which, perhaps, cannot at once be altogether removed?

“ It has long occurred to me, that if the venerable fathers of our Church were to require from every candidate for holy orders, in addition to the certificate of a degree, a farther certificate of his having passed a year, subsequent to his graduation, in the house of some clergyman, engaged in the active discharge of parochial duty, much would be done to relieve the evil complained of. If that practice were once established, there are many exemplary clergymen, whose circumstances and situation would render such an accession to their family very desirable, though they might not be able, consistently with their ministerial engagements, or even though they might not be properly qualified, to take pupils for other purposes. Competition would produce the same effect in this, as in other cases. Parents would become nice in their choice; bishops would distinguish some clergymen by their patronage; and others would acquire a name by their personal excellence and industry. There would be no impropriety in these probationers reading the appointed Lessons in the desk for the clergyman with whom they reside; and they might also accompany him in his pastoral visits, or even, if the cure were a large one, undertake some portion of that duty, under his superintendence, and by his direction, in his stead. They would practise themselves in writing sermons; form acquaintance with the mode of thinking and speaking, which prevails among the poor and ignorant; accustom themselves to converse with the sick and the dying; and, in short, acquire some experimental knowledge of the nature of the pastoral charge. Besides this, they would of course have leisure for direct theological study, in which they would receive instruction and advice; and, if it should happen, that some individuals should during the interval discover beforehand, that the clerical office is one, for which they have neither taste nor ability, it would be some advantage to themselves to be spared the pain of a fruitless, because late repentance, as well as to the Church itself, to be preserved from the addition of one member, who is unsuited to the work.

“ May, then, a humble individual venture, with all submission, to invite the attention of the Right Reverend Bench to this question, as one, by which the welfare and efficiency of the body over which they preside, and consequently the best interests of the people entrusted to their care



of degradation? Were the door of retreat not actually shut, some, who have acted hastily in taking the first step, would never apply for the second; and this whole cause of painful embarrassment might be avoided.

“ But another objection to the course I have recommended would be found in the want of adequate funds to remunerate a number of assistant curates, especially in those many parishes, where there is much work and little income: and this is indeed a serious difficulty, though, if the change would be right in itself, and beneficial in its operation, I do not despair, that something might be done to relieve it. It would not be necessary for a clergyman to enter upon the full emoluments of his profession, before he enters upon its full duties; and, this being admitted, some little might be accomplished towards providing this class of the working clergy with an income, if only a law were passed making the Easter offerings, after the expiration of existing interests, the property of the assistant deacons, wherever there are any; for these would, in many instances, be more cheerfully paid in return for specific services, and in some cases would furnish alone a sufficient remuneration for the first years of service, which a clergyman would render to his people. Other regulations in respect to fees might be made, which in large parishes, to which the proposed regulation would chiefly apply, might be made to ensure a moderate and competent salary to those deacons who perform the offices to which the fees are attached. Even, however, if no satisfactory provision of this kind should be found practicable, or sufficiently productive, I do not feel, that the suggestion ought to be abandoned on that account; for the appointment of a deacon, if altogether unendowed, would come to be regarded, as the last stage of that necessarily expensive education, which is designed to qualify him ultimately for the right discharge of the important duties of the priesthood.

“ The suggestions, which I have now made, are submitted with much humility to your Lordship's candid consideration. They are offered with a simple desire to improve the efficiency of a Church, which only requires to be kept true to itself, in order to be faithful to its Divine Master. If in this reforming age I should seem to be only one of the many, who are given to change, I have at least this to say for myself, that I believe no change has been proposed in these pages, but such as is in harmony with the design and spirit of our existing institutions, and calculated to improve their stability by recalling them to their first principles.”—pp. 9—15.

We do not presume to say that these recommendations can be adopted, but we repeat that they are worthy of general attention.

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**ART. XV.—***Account of the Edinburgh Sessional School, and the other Parochial Institutions for Education established in that city in the year 1812; with Strictures on Education in general.*

By John Wood, Esq. 12mo. Edinburgh. J. Wardlaw. 1830.

THIS book deserves the serious attention of all who take an interest in the welfare of their fellow-creatures. The author, Mr. Wood, is an Advocate in Edinburgh, and has devoted himself to the superintendence of the Sessional Schools in that city with a perseverance which is above all praise—and with very extraordinary success. His plan does not differ essentially from that which is adopted in the National Schools. But he has carried the questioning system, or as he terms it, ‘the explanatory method’ much farther than is usually carried in this country; and he has united miscellaneous reading and instruction in useful knowledge with the religious education of the children. We shall extract a few passages tending to exhibit the main points of distinction between the Sessional and the National Schools.

“Before entering upon the consideration of the reading department, it may be proper to premise some general observations on that method of explanation, which has been so highly approved of in the Sessional School. Its object is threefold: first, to render more easy and pleasing the acquisition of the mechanical art of reading: secondly, to turn to advantage the particular instruction contained in every individual passage which is read: and, above all, thirdly, to give the pupil, by means of a minute analysis of each passage, a general command of his own language.

“It is of great importance to the proper understanding of the method, that all these objects should be kept distinctly in view. With regard to the first, no one, who has not witnessed the scheme in operation, can well imagine the animation and energy which it inspires. It is the constant remark of almost every stranger who visits the Sessional School, that its pupils have not at all the ordinary appearance of School-boys doomed to an unwilling task, but rather the happy faces of children at their sports. This distinction is chiefly to be attributed to that part of the system of which we are here treating; by which, in place of harassing the pupil with a mere mechanical routine of sounds and technicalities, his attention is excited, his curiosity is gratified, and his fancy is amused.

“In the *second* place, when proper books are put into the hands of the scholars, every article, which they read, may be made the means, not only of forming in their youthful minds the invaluable habit of attention, but also of communicating to them, along with facility in the art of reading, much information, which is both adapted to their present age, and may be profitable to them for the rest of their lives. How different is the result where the mechanical art is made the exclusive object of the master’s and the pupil’s attention! How many fine passages have

been read in the most pompous manner without rousing a single sentiment in the mind of the performer ! How many, in which they have left behind them only the most erroneous and absurd impressions and associations ! Of such associations, if we remember right, Miss Hamilton, in one of her works upon education, affords some striking examples from her personal experience. To these we may add another, furnished by a gentleman of our acquaintance, which, strong as it is, will, we believe be recognised by most of our readers, as too true a picture of what, from a similar cause, has not unfrequently occurred to themselves. He had been accustomed, like most school-boys, to read, and probably to repeat, without the slightest attention to the sense, Gray's *Elegy*, not uncommonly known in school by the name of "the curfew tolls." What either "curfew" or "tolls" meant, he, according to custom, knew nothing. He always thought, however, of *toll-bars*, and wondered what sort of *tolls* were *curfew-tolls* ; but he durst not, of course, put any *idle* question on such a subject to the master. The original impression, as might be expected, remained, and to the present hour continues to haunt him whenever this well known poem comes into his mind.

" But, in the *last* place, they little know the full value of the explanatory method, who think it unnecessary, in any case, to carry it beyond what is absolutely essential to enable the pupil to understand the meaning of the individual passage before him at the time. As well, indeed, might it be maintained, that, in *parsing*, the only object in view should be the elucidation of the particular sentence parsed ; or that, in reading Cæsar's Commentaries in a grammar school, the pupil's sole attention should be directed to the manner in which the Gallic war was conducted. A very little reflection, however, should be sufficient to show how erroneous such a practice would be in either case. The passages gone over in school must of course be very few and limited, and the *direct* information communicated through them extremely scanty. The skill of the instructor must therefore be exhibited, not merely in enabling the pupil to understand these few passages, but in making every lesson bear upon the proper object of his labours, the giving a general knowledge and full command of the language which it is his province to teach, together with as much other useful information as the passage may suggest and circumstances will admit. As in *parsing*, accordingly, no good teacher would be satisfied with examining his pupil upon the syntactic construction of the passage before him as it stands, and making him repeat the rules of that construction, but would also at the same time call upon him to notice the variations which must necessarily be made in certain hypothetical circumstances ; so also in the department of which we are now treating, he will not consider it enough that the child may have, from the context or otherwise, formed a general notion of the meaning of a whole passage, but will also, with a view to future exigences, direct his attention to the full force and signification of the particular terms employed, and likewise, in some cases at least, to their roots, derivatives, and compounds. Thus, for example, if in any lesson the scholar read of one having 'done an unprecedented act,' it might be quite sufficient for understanding the meaning of that single passage, to tell him that 'no

other person had ever done the like ;' but this would by no means fully accomplish the object we have in view. The child would thus receive no clear notion of the word *unprecedented*, and would therefore, in all probability, on the very next occasion of its recurrence, or of the recurrence of other words from the same root, be as much at a loss as before. But direct his attention to the three-fold composition of this word, the *un*, the *pre*, and the *cede*. Ask him the meaning of the syllable *un* in composition, and tell him to point out to you (or, if necessary, point out to him) any other words in which it has this signification of *not*, (such as *uncommon*, *uncivil*) and, if there be leisure, any other syllables which have in composition a similar effect, such as *in*, with all its modifications of *ig*, *il*, *im*, *ir*, also *dis* and *non*, with examples. Next investigate the meaning of the syllable *pre* in composition, and illustrate it with examples, (such as *previous*, *premature*.) Then examine in like manner the meaning of the syllable *cede*, and having shown that in composition it generally signifies *to go*, demand the signification of its various compounds *precede*, *proceed*, *succeed*, *accede*, *recede*, *exceed*, *secede*, *intercede*. The pupil will in this manner acquire not only a much more distinct and lasting impression of the signification of the word in question, but a key also to a vast variety of other words in the language. This too he will do far more pleasingly and satisfactorily in the manner which is here recommended, than by being enjoined to commit them to memory from a vocabulary at home as a task. The latter practice, wherever it is introduced, is, we know, regarded by the children as an irksome drudgery ; the former on the contrary is an amusement. The former makes a strong and lasting impression upon the mind ; under the latter, the information wished to be communicated is too often learned merely as the task of the day, and obliterated by that of the next. It is very true that it would not be possible to go over every word of a lesson with the same minuteness as that we have now instanced. A certain portion of time should therefore be set apart for this examination ; and, after those explanations have been given, which are necessary to the right understanding of the passage, such minuter investigations only may be gone into as time will admit. It is no more essential that every word should be gone over in this way, than that every word should always be spelt or syntactically parsed. A single sentence well done may prove of the greatest service to the scholar in his future studies."—pp. 145—150.

Mr. Wood is in error when he supposes that the questioning in a well ordered National School is confined within the limits prescribed by Dr. Bell ; but we know of no such school in which the system is carried to the length described in the foregoing passage.

His first lessons in reading differ from our own chiefly in the selection of monosyllables.

" After the child has mastered the alphabet, he is immediately, according to the practice of the Sessional School, instructed in the reading of WORDS OF TWO LETTERS. It will be remarked, that we have here used the term *words* and not *syllables*. In most other schools, it is the

practice to make the pupil rhyme over every possible combination of two letters into *syllables*, whether forming words or not: e. g. *ba, be, bi, bo, bu, by; ca, ce, ci, co, cu, cy; da, de, &c. &c.* and so forth through all the combinations of a vowel with a consonant prefixed; and afterwards in like manner, *ab, eb, ib, ob, ub; ac, ec, ic, oc, uc; ad, ed, &c. &c.* through all the combinations of a vowel with a consonant subjoined. Such also was the practice of the Sessional School till within these very few years. With the exception of the alphabet, no part of the children's education was found so dull, so tedious, and irksome, as this; while they were, during the whole of this long preliminary process, kept quite in the dark with regard to its ultimate object. This was sufficiently testified in their vacant, dogged, and unhappy looks. The practice was obviously pernicious in two ways: it both gave the child a natural disgust with his education, and also inured him to early habits of rhyming a quantity of sounds, without ever directing his attention, in the slightest degree, to their sense or object. The writer of this work was so sensible of these objections, that he felt an anxious desire to see this part of the procedure either abridged or enlivened. It was a considerable time, however, before he attempted to carry this desire into effect. It has never, indeed, been without the greatest hesitation, that he has ventured to deviate from any long established practice. The present one, too, had undoubtedly the merit of being founded on systematic principles, and had possibly, he conceived, been dictated by necessity. In making any change accordingly in this matter, it was resolved to proceed with the greatest caution, to watch narrowly its operation and effects, and, in the event of it being found either ineffectual or inexpedient, without hesitation to abandon it, and revert to the common practice, however irksome.

“ To carry the experiment into effect, an elementary book was prepared and printed, but only a very small impression was thrown off, for the use of the school. This book contained no unmeaning sounds, but *words* only which were familiar to the children, and which they were called upon to explain. No sooner was it introduced, than its good effects in inspiring animation and activity, where all had hitherto been cold and spiritless, were immediately apparent, and excited no small astonishment, both among the elder pupils and the visitors of the seminary. The pleasure which the children experienced in finding themselves already able to read the words which they had been accustomed to speak, was not unlike the delight of the infant in his first attempts to pronounce those words which he has been accustomed to hear. And, when they were desired to explain them, or rather to give examples of their application, the whole assumed the appearance far more of an amusement than of a task: and the only difficulty was to restrain them, so as to allow each to give his answer in his turn. In due time it also turned out, that the change was no less profitable than it was pleasing. It was found, that the pupils were able to read interesting and instructive passages, both much sooner, and with fully as great correctness, and far more understanding, than they had done before. Habits of attention were formed, and the method of explaining and illustrating, which hitherto

we had commenced only at a later period of study, was facilitated to a much greater degree than had been anticipated. As a proof of the additional interest, which the children began to take in reading, it was observed, that they were now in the habit of turning over the leaves even of their earliest book, to see what they would have to read next; and, as they advanced, nothing could be a greater punishment to them, than to withhold the use of the school-library. It is highly gratifying also to learn that, in the many seminaries and private families, in which the Sessional elementary school-books and method of preliminary education have been adopted, their introduction has been followed by the like pleasing and successful results."—pp. 175—179.

"In *explaining*, at this stage, it is a special instruction to the monitors never to exact any regular definition, but to be satisfied with any explanation given by the child himself, which indicates his knowledge of the meaning, though it be conveyed in his own ordinary or homely language, or by mere signs. The answers, accordingly, are of various kinds, and made in various forms. Sometimes the explanation is given by a somewhat equivalent term, as *Ye*, you; *Lo*, look; *Me*, myself; *Ay*, yes; *Us*, you and me; *Ho*, holla. Very often it is given by an example, as *My*, my book; *Go*, go to school, or go home; *So*, do so; *On*, on the floor; *In*, in the school; *Oh*, oh dear; *Ah*, ah me. Sometimes it is given by a change of case, as *He*, him; *We*, us. Not unfrequently, too, as we have already mentioned, it is made by a sign, as *Me*, by pointing to one's self; *He*, by pointing to another boy. The great object, it will be remembered, of all explanations *at this stage*, is to enliven what would otherwise have been intolerably dull, to teach the child that every word he reads has a meaning, and to form him to early habits of attention. How these objects have been accomplished in the Sessional School by the simple means which we have just mentioned, all who are acquainted with it can attest. Would the method be improved by rendering it more artificial and technical? In speaking of the word *ox*, for example, would our object be as well attained by teaching the child to repeat any translation of the definition somewhere referred to by Dr. Johnson, in order to expose the inadequacy of all definitions, 'Animal, quadrupes, ruminans, cornutum;' as when we hear him tell us, in his own familiar language, that *ox* means a 'muckle coo.' He is delighted to find, that, by putting together the two letters *o* and *x*, he can express that animal, which he sees grazing in the meadows, or passing the door of the school, perhaps to go to the market; and this is all we want. (If we farther tell him, (and it very frequently indeed happens that this is the first time he receives the information,) that the flesh of the *ox* or *cow* is *beef*, we add something to his scanty fund of information, and afford him perhaps no little satisfaction. All this, however, we were well aware could not fail to encounter the sneer of the pedant. To him whose own knowledge extends not beyond technical slang, nothing has, in all ages of the world and in all departments of education, been naturally more repulsive than plain, simple, familiar illustration. How well does Plato represent the sophist Hippias as scandalized at the notion of his condescending to argue with a man like Socrates, who, in



investigating the nature of beauty, could resort to such low examples as a fair horse or a fair pot well glazed!"—p. 183—185.

Longer words are learned and explained in the same way, and when the art of reading has been acquired, the interest and attention of the pupils are excited in the following manner:—

"The Second Book, besides carrying the child forward in Scripture History, through the remarkable incidents in the lives of ISAAC, JACOB, ESAU, and JOSEPH, presents him with much interesting as well as useful instruction in the department of Natural History, such as an account of *the dog*, its fidelity, its various species, and the purposes to which they are applied; *the horse*, with the various methods of catching and taming it; *the sheep, the cow, and hog*, with the various uses to which their flesh, milk, skin, wool, horns, bones, gristles, fat, blood, &c. are applied; *the swallow, the herring, and salmon*, with their migrations and other peculiarities; *the oyster*, and particularly that very valuable species of it, *the pearl oyster*, with some account of the *pearl fishery*; *the bee*, with the wonderful skill which it displays in making honey and wax; *the caterpillar*, and particularly the *silk-worm*, with the various changes through which it passes, and the purposes to which the silk is applied; *the oak and fir*, with the uses which are made of their timber, and bark,—of the acorns, galls, apples, (as they are called), and saw-dust of the oak, and juice of the fir; the *cotton, corn, flax, and hemp* plants, with their important uses, and the various processes and hands, through which they must pass, before they are finally converted to their respective uses; the *seeds of plants* in general, with the wonderful provisions which have been made for their security, their turning themselves into their proper position in the earth, and their propagation; *minerals* in general, with their several species and respective uses; the *manufactures of pins and glass*, and the various purposes to which the latter article is applied; together with other *miscellaneous information*, of a kind interesting to young minds, and calculated to impress them with a due sense of the blessings of education, such as descriptions of *savage manners*, &c. Every one of these passages the children of the Sessional School are taught not only to read, but to understand. Hence the fondness, which they acquire, for reading all other books, from which they may obtain similar information; and hence, in a great measure, that extent of knowledge, which has so often astonished the visitors of the school, and been called in question by those, who have never witnessed the effects of similar training. How, indeed, was it possible, that such results, (and surely they are most important ones), could ever be produced by a system, which paid little or no attention, and of which it is still the boast of some of its admirers, that it does pay no attention, to any thing but mere sounds, cadences, and inflexions of the voice?"—pp. 200—202.

"The other passage which we shall select from this book, for the illustration of our method, is the introduction to the article on glass, which is as follows:—

‘You have already, in the course of this little work, read of several very extraordinary changes which human art and ingenuity have been able to make upon natural productions. You have heard of the shroud of a worm in its lifeless state, of the fruit of one plant and the fibres of another, being all converted into articles of dress for human beings. But perhaps none of these transformations has surprised you more than that which you are now to hear of. Would you believe that so clear and beautiful an article as glass could be made out of so gross a substance as sand? Yet it is the fact that glass is made by mixing sand with the ashes of certain burnt plants, and exposing them to a strong fire.’

“On this passage the child, besides describing generally how glass is made, is asked, What is meant by ‘art?’ What is meant by ‘human art and ingenuity?’ What are ‘natural productions?’ Can you tell me any of them? What is a ‘shroud?’ What worm has its shroud ‘converted into an article of dress?’ Can you tell me the various changes through which that worm passes? Do you know any of the uses to which silk is put? What plant is it of which the *fruit* is converted into an article of dress? Are there more than one kind of cotton plant? Which is the best? Do you know any thing that is made of cotton? Can you tell me any plant of which ‘the *fibres* are converted into an article of dress?’ Do you know any piece of dress that is made of flax? Do you remember the various hands through which the flax must pass before it becomes a shirt? What do you mean by ‘transformations?’ What is meant by a ‘gross substance?’ &c.

“The above examination will illustrate the manner in which the information communicated in preceding lessons is made to bear upon those which follow. We have no doubt, also, that it will be referred to by our opponents, as an instance of what they are pleased to term the absurdly desultory nature of our examinations. We shall doubtless be asked what have the transformations of flax to do with the metamorphosis of sand into glass? Could not the latter manufacture be understood without any reference to the former? This is all very true. But if we would have the information which we communicate not merely to be learned as a lesson to-day and forgotten to-morrow, but to be permanently retained, and as it were incorporated with our pupils—we must frequently recur to it, and eagerly seize every future incidental opportunity which such allusions as those contained in the passage before us obviously offer for this purpose. Such a practice may not be highly valued by those who know only the mode of teaching by formal and prescribed tasks; but it is to it in a great measure the sessional school is indebted for its success. It is to this practice alone we can refer, in answer to the thousands of inquiries that are daily made about ‘the secret,’ by which its pupils acquire and retain so extensive a range of information. On the foregoing examination, it will also be remarked, that, though it goes beyond those which are employed at an earlier period, it is not yet carried to the same extent as at a more advanced stage. For example, we should, at a later period, have asked the difference between ‘art’ and ‘nature,’ between ‘art’ and ‘science,’ and

between the adjectives ‘artificial’ and ‘artful,’ with other questions of a similar kind.”—p. 204—206.

For children in a more advanced stage of education and corresponding, we presume, nearly with the second class of a National School, a Miscellaneous Reading Book has been prepared, of which Mr. Wood speaks thus:—

“After finishing the Second Book, the children, besides Scripture, (which, as will afterwards be seen, is in regular use in all the higher classes,) read the “National School Collection,” originally compiled, like all the other books of the series, for the use of this seminary. This compilation consists of religious and moral instruction, a selection of fables, descriptions of animals, places, manners, &c. historical passages, and other useful and interesting information for youth. As the pupils advance in this book, each passage, besides being fully explained in all its bearings upon the subject in question, is subjected to a still more minute analysis, than had been practised in the former stages, with the view formerly explained of giving them the full command of their own language, and such general information as the passage may suggest.

“Take, for example, the following passage extracted from ‘Wakefield’s Juvenile Travellers,’ which, as well as the ‘Family Tour,’ by the same authoress, we would recommend for introduction into all libraries for schools or young families.

‘SWITZERLAND.

‘How shall I describe to you the vast variety of wonderful and romantic prospects that we have seen since we came into Switzerland? These charming views are varied with mountains whose snowy heads seem to reach the skies; craggy rocks and steep precipices, with foaming torrents gushing from the crevices in their sides, delightfully intermixed with beautiful valleys, adorned with groves of fir, beech, and chesnut; clear lakes, rapid rivers, cataracts, and bridges of one arch, extending a surprising width from rock to rock. The cultivated parts of the mountains are covered with villages and scattered cottages; and then the insides of the cottages are so very neat, and look so comfortable, that I should like to live in some of them that are situate in the most delightful spots, were it not for the dread of being swallowed up in one of those enormous masses of snow that frequently roll from the tops of the mountains and destroy every thing in their way. In going to the tops of the high mountains of Switzerland, you may enjoy all the seasons of the year in the same day, &c.’

“After reading the passage, the children are required to recapitulate, in their own language, the substance of what they have read, and describe the peculiar character of the Swiss scenery,—the internal appearance of the dwellings of the peasantry,—the particular dangers to which they are exposed,—the variety of climate and its cause,—and to mention any other scenery of a similar kind which is nearer home, such, for example, as the Highlands of Scotland. But, as the passage

is read in school, not merely for the purpose of communicating to them the direct information which it contains, however interesting in itself, but, like all the other passages which they read, to render them familiar with their own language,—to act as a vehicle for the communication of general knowledge, and as a field for examination on that which has formerly been communicated,—they are also called upon to answer some such questions as the following, or at least as many of them as the pupil is not already acquainted with, or the time specially set apart for such examination will permit.

“What is Switzerland? What are its boundaries? What is the literal meaning of the word ‘describe?’ What does the first part of that word signify? Can you give any other examples of that syllable having the same signification? [such as *descend, depress, degrade.*] What does the termination ‘scribe’ signify? Can you tell any of its other compounds, with their various meanings? [Here the pupil will mention and explain the words *inscribe, prescribe, subscribe, superscribe, circumscribe, proscribe, conscribe, ascribe.*] What is meant by ‘variety?’ From what verb does it come? What other words are derived from this verb? What is the meaning of ‘romantic?’ From what word does it come? What is a ‘prospect?’ What does the syllable *pro* signify? Can you give any other example of it? [such as *progress, project.*] What does the termination *spect* denote? Mention some of the other words from the same root, [such as *aspect, retrospect, circum-spect, inspect, expect.*] What word signifies ‘that can be seen?’ and the opposite? What is the difference between a ‘mountain’ and a *hill*? What is the diminutive from *hill*? What is an inhabitant of the ‘mountains’ called? What is the adjective from ‘mountain?’ Mention some of the principal mountains of Switzerland? What other name is given to ‘heads of mountains?’ What are ‘craggy rocks?’ What are ‘precipices?’ Do you know any other words from the same root? What are ‘torrents’ and ‘crevices?’ What is meant by ‘intermixed?’ What does the first part of that word denote? Give some other examples of its application, [such as, *interval, intermediate, intercede.*] What are ‘valleys?’ Does the adjective ‘beautiful’ ever take any other termination? What is the verb from it? What are ‘lakes?’ What are they called in Scotland? Mention some of the principal lakes in Switzerland, describing their respective situations. Mention also, in like manner, some of its principal ‘rivers.’ What are ‘cataracts?’ What is the literal meaning of the word ‘extending?’ What does the former part of that word signify? Can you give any other examples of its application? [such as *extract, expel.*] What does the latter part signify? Can you mention any of its other compounds? [such as *distend, pretend.*] What do you mean by ‘cultivated?’ What word expresses the art of *cultivating fields?* and the art of *cultivating gardens?* What are ‘villages?’ What is the inhabitant of a *village* called? What do you call a *smaller collection* of houses than a *village*? What do you mean by ‘scattered cottages?’ Is there any difference between a ‘cottage’ and a *hut*? or what? Could you express ‘the *insides* of the cottages’ in any other way?

“Such is a specimen of our mode of examination in its fullest form.”—p. 207—211.

Our extracts are already exceeding their proposed limits, but we must not conclude until we have conducted Mr. Wood's pupil to the end of his course.

“As soon as the mode of initiatory instruction, which had thus been introduced, came into full operation, it was found that a much larger proportion of the pupils were enabled to read and understand the most advanced school book of the series, than had at all been anticipated at the time of its publication. It became desirable, therefore, to furnish the scholars with an additional book, which might afford them more interest and information than could be expected from the continued perusal of those with which they were already familiar. This *desideratum*, therefore, has now been supplied by the publication of ‘Instructive Extracts, comprising religious and moral instruction, natural history, elementary science, accounts of remarkable persons, places, manners, arts, and incidents, with a selection of passages from the British poets.’ In the execution of this work, we were in a great measure guided by the following considerations. Keeping in view the age of the children, whose benefit was on the present occasion contemplated,—the previous training which their minds had undergone, and the extent of information which, under this discipline, they had already acquired and displayed, we were induced to think that the work now called for, in order to be of material service to such pupils, should be of a somewhat higher cast than those which preceded it; and might well embrace instructive subjects which would have been extremely ill adapted either to the understanding or the taste of more infantine and less practised minds. No articles have been studied with greater avidity, have been more thoroughly understood, or, we trust, will be found more beneficial than those which treat of the mechanical powers and other elementary science. As a specimen of the method of examination employed in this department we annex the following:

“What is necessary to put a body in motion? What property of the body is it which renders force necessary in such a case? Will a body go quicker of itself? or slower? or stop? Why then does a marble rolled along the floor first go slower, and at length stop altogether? On what two circumstances does the force of a moving body depend? How then can you increase the force of the same body? If two bodies move quite round the same centre within the same time, have they the same velocity? or which has the greater? Do you know any mechanical power that acts upon this principle? What is a LEVER? How many kinds of lever are there? What is the first kind? Can you give me any examples of its application? In what proportion is power gained by the use of this lever? In raising a heavy coal with a poker, whether will it be easier done by applying the hand near the ribs, or at the extremity of the poker? Why? If the arms of a just balance be each divided into the same number of equal parts, how many ounces at the 3d division from the fulcrum on one side, will be balanced by 9 ounces

at the 2d on the other? [or any similar question which a stranger may propose.] What method of detecting false balances does this suggest? Do you know any kind of balance formed upon this principle by which you may weigh all articles with one weight? Describe the *steelyard*. Can you give me any instance of a double lever of the first kind? [*scissars*, for example.] What is the second lever? Can you give any example of it? In what proportion is power gained by the use of this lever? In moving a heavy door, how will you do it with the greatest facility? Why? Can you give any example of a double lever of the 2d kind? [nut crackers, for example.] What is the 3d kind of lever? How is power affected by it? Why? Can you give any example? If you wish to raise bodies to a greater height than the lever can accomplish, what other mechanical powers must be resorted to? What do you mean by the WHEEL AND AXLE? On what principle does it operate? Can you give any example of it? How is its power increased? In drawing up water from a well by means of this power, does the operation grow easier or more difficult as it advances? Why? What is a PULLEY? Is any power gained by employing a *fixed* pulley? What is the use of it? Is any power gained by the use of a moveable pulley? or what? On what principle does the moveable pulley act? Can you illustrate the double velocity of the moving power in this case? What in this case supports the weight? If two such pulleys be combined, what power will be gained? If six, what will be the result? What circumstance, in a certain degree, disturbs all the calculations with regard to the precise power gained by this and other machinery?"—p. 215—218.

For the chapters on grammar, arithmetic, and geography, we must refer to the work itself. They are important additions to the system pursued in England, although not so essential as those which have been more particularly noticed. Mr. Wood is thoroughly acquainted with charity schools, and his observations upon any subject connected with them are distinguished by good sense. He is more free from *crotchets* than any amateur teacher of our acquaintance. And we are disposed to agree with him in thinking, that the general adoption of his improvements would be an event second only in importance to the establishment of the National Schools.



**ART. XVI.**—*The Topography and Antiquities of Rome; including the recent Discoveries made about the Forum and the Via Sacra.* By the Rev. Richard Burgess, Chaplain to the Church of England Congregation at Rome, and Domestic Chaplain to Lieutenant-General the Right Honourable Lord Aylmer. London. Longman. 2 vols. 8vo.

To those who cast a careless eye over the actual state of the Eternal City, as it is still fondly called, and reflect withal upon the number of years in which it has been occupied by an intelligent and restless people, over whom have occasionally presided wise and powerful princes, endowed with ample means for every species of investigation, and by no means deficient in taste and learning themselves, it is matter of great surprise to observe, that so much of its history and antiquities should be left to the inquiries of modern writers and to the labours of foreign antiquaries. Nor will this surprise be lessened when they learn, that the Roman monuments have actually been the constant subjects of interest and study to many learned persons of that nation for the last three centuries, and continue to be so still. A little further inquiry, however, will serve to reconcile this apparent inconsistency to their minds; and when they reflect in how dark a cloud of ignorance and oblivion the minds of men were buried during the middle ages; how many active causes were in operation, calculated to assist the common process of decay; how complete and entire the changes which had been effected in the most remarkable portions of the city, and how many years it would necessarily require to bring to light what so many centuries had contributed to obscure, if some of it could ever be brought to light at all, their feelings will probably be changed, and they will rather wonder that so much has been already done, than that any thing should remain to be done.

“Muojono le città, muojono i regni,” is an observation applicable to many other kingdoms with whose history we are acquainted; but the fate of Rome has been peculiarly hard. It was not simply the hand of time passing rudely, without resistance or regret, over the surface of the city, nor yet the ravages of successive hordes of barbarians, Goths, Vandals, Lombards, and Franks, who affected for the most part to spare what they could not appropriate, and had not time for such mighty mischief—No, it was to other causes springing up within its own bosom that it chiefly owes its ruin:—to the desperate struggles of parties engaged in civil strife, converting temples into fortresses, and carrying into each other’s quarters fire and sword;—to the pious zeal of Christians defacing the monuments of idolatry wherever they were found,—and, above all, to the hasty labours and the neces-

sities of the inhabitants themselves, building new structures with the materials of the old, heaping up fragments of marbles, cornices, and even sepulchral stones in sad confusion, for new constructions, and finally so changing the level of different parts of the city that the very roofs of former ages are now only upon a level with the pavement of the present. By all these means, not only had the general appearance of the place become strange, but the relations of the different parts with each other had been altered, so that an old Roman rising from his grave could scarcely have recognised the country of his birth. Many vallies between hills had been almost filled up, while the hills themselves had changed their comparative height and figure; pools and lakes had disappeared; streams had, in some measure, changed their courses; gates had left their places and retained their names, and *vice versa*; streets had become vineyards; and gardens had become streets; new eminences lofty as the hills had arisen, such as the Monte Testaceo, which were not even known to the inhabitants of ancient Rome; the city itself had moved westward in mass upon the Campus Martius, while a dreary silence reigned unbroken over the undulating ground, which had formerly the most resounded with the cheerful labours and the busy hum of men.

“ Now all is changed; and here, as in the wild,  
The day is silent, dreary as the night;  
None stirring save the herdsman and his herd,  
Savage alike; or they that would explore,  
Discuss and learnedly; or they that come,  
(And there are many who have crossed the earth,)  
That they may give the hours to meditation,  
And wander, often saying to themselves,  
‘ This was the ROMAN FORUM !’ ”

“ Once more we look, and all is still as night,  
All desolate! Groves, temples, palaces,  
Swept from the sight; and nothing visible,  
Amid the sulph’rous vapours that exhale  
As from a land accurst, save here and there  
An empty tomb, a fragment like the limb  
Of some dismembered giant. In the midst  
A City stands, her domes and turrets crowned  
With many a cross; but they, that issue forth,  
Wander like strangers who had built among  
The mighty ruins, silent, spiritless;  
And on the road, where once we might have met  
CÆSAR and CATO, and men more than kings,  
We meet, none else, the pilgrim and the beggar.”

Such was the state of Rome when emerging from the dark ages, after the restoration of learning, it gradually became the

subject of inquiry to the curious of every part of Europe; and such in some respects it appears now. Nor do the first attempts of the *Literati* appear to have been conducted with great judgment, or to have formed a sound basis for future discoveries. They contented themselves with collecting and recording such traditions and fabulous conceits as were found scattered amongst the minds of the vulgar, without a sufficient examination into the authority whereon they rested; by this means they have contrived to perplex their successors rather than to enlighten them, and to fix and perpetuate errors which a better method of inquiry might have early dissipated. Amongst those, however, who were most distinguished by their attempts to recognise and revive the features of the ancient city, are Fulvio, Boissardo, Biondo, Marliano, and particularly Bernardo Rucellai, the friend and relation of Lorenzo de' Medici, whose work upon the antiquities of Rome, often cited with approbation, has somehow or other disappeared. Still much confusion prevailed, and Ligorio has obtained more praise with his countrymen from a little book called the *Paradoxes*, in which he exposed the errors of others, and cleared the subject from the rubbish with which it was incumbered, than for the three large volumes in which he has endeavoured to establish his own opinions. In the latter end of the 17th century the work of Nardini was offered to the public, and seems to have been received with great approbation by his countrymen. Nor can we be surprised at it; in diligence of compiling and accuracy of detail he has scarcely been surpassed by any author. since, though in learning and judgment he is deemed inferior to his predecessor Donatus, to whom Mr. Burgess acknowledges himself very much indebted, Boissard is too prolix, Panciroli and Fabricio too concise; and Venuti, though the most modern, is acknowledged by all to be very dull, and, what is worse, very imperfect and incorrect. In one respect, indeed, these authors have left us little to perform, namely, in learned illustration and research; by them all the classical authors have been completely ransacked, and every passage, which might serve, however obliquely or doubtfully, to throw light upon the subject, has been produced; so that whatever room may still remain for difference of opinion respecting the application of the learning, certain it is, that it would be difficult to add materially to the mass which their united labours have laid up.

But there was another method of illustration which had been more neglected, because more costly and less suited to the habits and genius of the Roman people, that is by excavations and actual examination of the foundations themselves. To this object the French artists and savans, while the city was in the possession of their army, applied themselves with great spirit and activity;

and, short as their occupation was, it was sufficient to throw much new light upon many of the ancient monuments, and to open the way for larger discoveries to those who had the spirit to pursue them. Nor was this advantage neglected. When the papal government was restored, many of the labours which the French had set on foot were continued under its auspices with great felicity and success, and others, by permission of the government, have since been carried on by foreigners at their own costs. Meanwhile the literary part of the Roman people have not been inattentive to their results. Several periodical publications, connected with these discoveries, have been set on foot; the Academy of St. Luke has been overwhelmed with dissertations; and the artist and the architect have resumed their labours with fresh vigour and effect.

As yet, however, no single work embodying all these new discoveries, and containing a complete account of the antiquities of Rome, has proceeded from the pen of any Roman author, though, considering the advantages they possess, many might have been expected to be competent to such a task. Venuti's Description has been reprinted, and a new edition of Nardini, with large notes and additions has been given to the world by Professor Nibby, and also an itinerary by the same author upon the plan of Vasi; yet none of these works seem calculated to afford that extent and species of instruction which foreigners, who either resort to Rome for an enlarged information respecting the antiquities, or who living at a distance, are anxious to become acquainted with the later discoveries, might desire. In truth the Roman authors familiar with the scene have not perceived what sort of knowledge it was that such persons were wishing to obtain; nor would they, perhaps, have been desirous of cultivating it if they had: they have other objects in view, and questions amongst themselves to settle. Besides, the best encouragement for native industry and genius is native patronage, and this they certainly want. It is a fact well known to all who are acquainted with the society of that capital, that such labours have received little encouragement from the great body of the inhabitants themselves, who are more wrapped up in the living glory of their churches, or the substantial comforts of their monasteries and the passing splendour of their ceremonies and processions, than in the faded honours of ancient Rome. "Invitus dico," said Petrarch, "nusquam minus Roma cognoscitur quam Romæ;" and the same observation may be applied in a certain degree now. In truth it requires only a very cursory knowledge of the priesthood or the nobility of Rome, to perceive that they take less interest in their antiquities than foreigners, and what is more, have often less knowledge of them. Instances of their indifference or ignorance

on these subjects must have frequently occurred to all who are moderately acquainted with Roman society, which are quite surprising: and though there are some distinguished scholars both among the clergy and the laity who continue their endeavours to elucidate the ancient history, in spite of the discouragement under which they labour, yet even these are more intent for the most part upon the discussion of single controversial points which incidentally arise out of new discoveries, than upon enlarged views of the great features of the city.

But the greatest difficulty that all have to encounter is the strict censorship of the press, which hangs *in terrorem* over both the authors and their publishers, and shackles them in every stage of their proceedings. They are never safe, for the objections are not founded upon any fixed principle; and it sometimes occurs that a single volume of a work is permitted to appear, and the remainder, by an after-thought as it were, is laid under an interdict, and thus the expense and labour are entirely lost. It is difficult for those who have felt the happiness of being exempt from this scourge to estimate the chilling and baneful influence it spreads around, and the perpetual obstacles it offers to the flow of human genius and energy. The more a writer expands and pursues a subject, the more likely is he to fall upon some ground on which it may be dangerous for him to tread; and as he cannot always speculate before hand with any certainty upon what is likely to be thought innocent and inoffensive in the capricious views of the authorities, he finds the greatest safety to consist in silence, and next to that, in keeping himself and his subjects within as narrow bounds as possible—thus at once cramping his own energies, and stifling the information which might have been useful to others.

But were this obstacle removed, these are not the subjects which the government is most anxious to encourage. It is upon the richness and splendour of its Basilicas, and the decorations of its religion, that it relies for the preservation of its importance in the world, and for the visits of foreigners, which are so gainful to its revenues. Witness the anxiety which the accidental destruction by fire of one of these edifices, the Church of S. Paolo di Fuori, has created. It is situated a mile and a half out of Rome, on the road to Ostium, in a spot so unwholesome as to render it of no use whatever as a Church; and yet the restoration of this proud but dreary building has been deemed of so much importance by the hierarchy, that while many useful labours in the city are suspended for want of funds, nearly half a million has been destined to this object, to be hardly wrung from the revenues of the Clergy of Rome, and from the charity of the faithful in every Catholic Church in Europe.

Under these circumstances the task which Mr. Burgess has

undertaken was a great desideratum in literature. No complete work embracing all the points which strangers would naturally be desirous to know, has appeared in modern times, and every earlier one would now be imperfect, and almost obsolete; for within twenty years so many excavations have been carried on, so much rubbish has been removed, so many substructions brought to light, as to furnish a fund of new matter for antiquarian research. To supply this want Mr. Burgess has occupied himself for many years, and this book, the result of his labours, proves that he was well qualified for such a task. It must be allowed that he possessed advantages beyond those of any who have preceded him: while other English writers, such as Forsyth, Dr. Burton, both admirably qualified in other respects, though in different ways, and several others, passed only a few months, or at the most a year, in Rome, and have been content to record in haste the first impressions which occurred to them, Mr. Burgess has spent five or six years in Rome, in a calm and deliberate contemplation of the various objects which were presented to him, studying their relations with each other, and carefully comparing their present with their former state. But this was only one advantage: his familiar knowledge of the Italian language, and his situation as Chaplain to the British Residents, have given him greater facilities in obtaining information upon the spot, and in judging of its value, than most persons could obtain; while his classical acquirements and good taste were sufficient to guide him in the use of it. From the first moment of his residence in Rome he seems to have directed his attention constantly to antiquarian researches, and to the study of the Italian literature and art, with a view to this elaborate work; and the tract which he has already published upon the Circus of Caracalla, as it was formerly called, or of Romulus, as it is now proved to be, has afforded a sufficient pledge to the public of his capacity for the more extensive labour which he has now completed. The work, which is enriched with many curious and well executed plates, consists of two large volumes octavo, comprehending an entire description of the ancient city of Rome, and of the changes which it has undergone, from the time of Servius to the present day; and though it will of course be much more interesting to those who have visited Rome, on account of the light which is thrown upon many of those scenes which are still fresh in their memories, it will by no means be without interest to the general scholar who may not have enjoyed that advantage. We are not always satisfied with the style, nor do we acquiesce in all his conclusions; yet no one can deny him the merit of great industry, moderation and ability. The worst fault of the book is that it is very costly, which is, perhaps, the effect of the en-



gravings. But it is rich too in classical illustration, and no library ought to be without it.

Mr. Burgess does not pretend to give a detailed account of the churches, and therefore we are not to look for such particulars in his work.

It is not our intention to follow the Author throughout his description of the city, but it may be right to notice the plan he has followed, which, besides the recommendation it possesses of being ancient and familiar, is certainly best adapted to the persons whose gratification he had in view, viz. those who have seen Rome, and those who intend to see it. He adopts the division of the city into regions, and by thus arranging the objects worthy of notice in groups, according to their actual position, without regard to the order of their dates or kinds, he has enabled the visitor to make the most of his strength and time, and to study at his convenience without any material change of place, while, if he had observed the chronological or generic division only, he would have sometimes abruptly sent his readers from one side of the city to the other, and half a day would have been spent before two or three consecutive objects could have been well examined. And surely in the contemplation of such a scene, there is need of every advantage. Montfaucon spread it over twenty days; a common observer would need 200 economically managed. One effect however of such a plan is, that comprehending, as it must, every point, minute as well as important, it renders the work less amusing than if, like Donatus, he had only described the most prominent.

In order to give a clear comprehension of this plan, it may be right to offer a short sketch of the different modes of division which have at different times prevailed at Rome, and of the authorities which have been generally resorted to by Mr. Burgess to determine their limits. Servius Tullius divided the city into four tribes, which were named from the parts of the city which they inhabited. The first, called the Suburran tribe, occupied the Cælian Mount, under the ancient city; the second, the Esquilian, comprehending all the hills known by the name of Esquilæ; the third, Collina, including the Quirinal and Viminal hills; the fourth, Palatina, occupying the Palatine and Capitoline hills. During the first ages of the republic these divisions remained unaltered, but Augustus divided Rome into fourteen wards or "regiones," which are said by Livy to have contained 265 "compita," in modern phraseology, "squares" or "places." During the reign of Nero three of these "regiones" are said by Tacitus to have been entirely destroyed by the great conflagration, seven to have been injured, and only four left untouched

by the fire. That this division of the city into regions still existed in the time of Hadrian will appear from a marble altar still at Rome, dedicated to that Emperor by the "Vicomagistri, or inspectors of the streets of the fourteen regions; and though from Hadrian to Valentinian, a period of 250 years, we have no notice of the arrangements of the city, it is probable the regions remained as Augustus left them, for in the reign of Valentinian, Publius Victor made a catalogue of all the public buildings &c. in each region, of which he enumerates fourteen. Sextus Rufus, about the same time, wrote a second catalogue of the same nature, which was first published by Panvinio. This, however, was imperfect, for the manuscript was mutilated, and some of the regions were entirely wanting. There is also a third catalogue of the public edifices, &c. written at a later period, and first published in the sixteenth century. The works of Victor and Rufus are generally known by the name of "Regionaries" and "Notitia," and though they sometimes differ from each other in their enumeration of objects, yet they agree in the number and names of the regions. On the sides of the altar dedicated to Hadrian, called the "Base Capitolina," are written in very small characters the names of the magistrates who presided over five of the regions, and the names of all the streets which they contained. From these documents, the "Base Capitolina" the "Regionaries," and the "Notitia," antiquaries have principally collected their materials for determining the ruins of Rome; but some have gone further, particularly Panvinio, Merula and Nardini, and not content with this store, have ransacked ruined monuments and ancient authors to discover inscriptions, &c. which might throw light upon this subject; and in many instances their labours have been attended with success. Towards the close of the sixteenth century the fragments of a marble plan of Rome, containing the ground plans of some temples, porticos, &c. supposed to have been executed about the time of Septimius Severus, was discovered behind the church of SS. Cosmo and Damiano, and is still preserved in the Capitol. There is also remaining a document of the eighth century, called "The Anonymous of the Eighth Century," said to have been written by a German, and containing many valuable inscriptions and much curious information on the state of the walls of Rome. To these we may add some Ecclesiastical Records, such as the *Mirabilia Romæ* and the "*Ordo Romanus*," which may be consulted with advantage. Such are the principal materials left to throw light upon the antiquities of Rome; and though it may be difficult to trace out the exact limits of the long-lost regions, yet as the circumference of every one is given in feet, and each has a name generally derived from the

most popular objects contained in it, which are either now remaining, or the position of which may be fairly ascertained, their respective limits are in most instances sufficiently authenticated.

Mr. Burgess enters upon his account of Rome with a spirited view from the Capitol, and from this we shall gladly set out with him. To enjoy all the pleasure which this picture is calculated to convey, and indeed to form a clear conception of the features it comprehends, with all their various and beautiful bearings and combinations, it is necessary that the reader should have been at Rome himself, and by more than one animating view from the Capitol have impressed upon his mind the general outline of the magnificent scenery it presents. With such a one it is not merely the renewal of a lively pleasure, which this picture will produce but the kindling of his own imagination into a flame, and the revival of a thousand agreeable associations which may have lingered about his mind; nevertheless it is a description which can never be without interest even to those who have not seen the reality; and if they will take the trouble to place a good map of Rome and its Campagna before them, they will be able to form some faint notion of the sensations which crowd upon the mind of an intelligent and well informed spectator, when the scene here described, abounding as it does in many striking and beautiful features of nature and art, so many monuments of by gone greatness, and pregnant with so many interesting recollections, is presented under a fine Italian sky to his view.

“The Capitoline Hill may be almost said to divide the ancient from the modern city. From the top of the high tower which stands upon it, is a panoramic view of Rome and the Campagna: here we propose to take a station, for the purpose of making our first topographical survey, to trace the outlines of the seven hills, and to point out the successive enlargements of the city.

“The landscape, which is about to offer us so many interesting details, will probably be already impressed upon the memory of most of our readers; they can easily dispense with our tribute of admiration; and to those who may be induced to read our dissertation on the spot, it would be equally superfluous. The glowing tints which gild the stately palaces and ruins, the magic light which plays over the undulated Campagna, and mingles with the deep blue shades of the Alban hills,—the interest which is accumulated from the history of full 2000 years, and spread, like the genius of the place, over every vineyard, hill, and valley, will not easily be effaced from the recollection of those who have stood, or may stand upon the Campidoglio; and if at a distance from the scene they read the ‘Topography and Antiquities of Rome,’ it will be with a zest which those who only know Rome from descriptions, can scarcely be supposed to experience.” “The reader however is generally supposed to be on the spot, as we now suppose him to be standing on that side of the

tower of the Campidoglio which fronts the hills of Albano. It was intended to confine our observations within the limits of the city; but we can scarcely cast our eyes over the Campagna without inquiring for the boundaries of Latium and the Sabine territory; it will be convenient to point out those first, for they are supposed to have included towns which were in existence long before the foundation of Rome.

“The Tyber, which is seen so conspicuously from the Campidoglio, winding towards the sea, divides the country known to the ancients by the name of Etruria, from the more popular district of Latium: hence that celebrated river in the neighbourhood of Rome is called by the poets, indifferently, a river of Latium, or of Etruria. Our business at present is only with that portion of it which lies between its junction with the Anio, about three miles east of Rome, and its confluence with the Mediterranean at Ostia. This outline of about twenty miles in extent, has always been considered as one fixed boundary of Latium; in other respects, its limits were gradually enlarged with the first conquests of the Romans. The first Latium comprised only the little kingdom of Latinus, extending along the sea-coast from the Tyber to the stream of Numicus. In the direction of the Basilica of St. Paul's, as viewed from our station, was its most ancient capital Laurentum; and at an increased angle of about 20 degrees may be found the direction of Lavinium. The modern names of Torre Paterno and Pratica have succeeded to the sites of those long lost cities; and trackless woods and marshes now cover the scenes of the last six books of the *Æneid*. The country of the Rutuli was situated beyond the Numicus, between the sea-coast and the skirts of the neighbouring hills. The village of Ardea, distant but five miles from Pratica, preserves the ancient name and situation of the city of Turnus. It may be difficult to define whether we are now tracing those vestiges of antiquity by the light of authentic history, or by the more dazzling though less steady light of tradition and poetry—but the task is so pleasing, that we are willing to yield to any uncertain guide which promises to help us to delineate the scenes of Virgil's narrative; we may therefore now follow the ‘boy Ascanius’ from the Lavinian shores to the more celebrated capital which gave birth to Rome itself.

The highest summit in the chain of hills before us is the Alban Mount, now called Monte Cavo: half way between that summit and the plain on the west, may be discovered the modern Albano: a little more to the left, the lake lies concealed in its volcanic basin, and its borders are marked by a darker shade of wood, and the more conspicuous edifices of Castel Gandolfo. It was on the long ridge, bordering the southern part of the lake, where the son of *Æneas* is said to have built *Alba Longa* (A. C. 1152); but it can hardly be said that a vestige of that long-lost city may be traced. The fourteen kings of *Alba Longa* are of doubtful authenticity; and, whatever acquisition of territory might be made by them, Rome was at length enabled to wrest from the rival state its dominions. *Tullus Hostilius*, the third king of Rome, reduced *Alba*; *Ancus Martius* built the port at Ostia; and *Tarquin the Proud* comprised in the second Latium, *Gabii*, *Ardea*, and penetrated into the country of the *Volsci*, which lay beyond the Alban Hills. *Algidum*,

Tusculum, Labicum, and other towns of great antiquity, were added to the territory of Rome with much labour; and it will now be necessary to mark the limits of the country, properly called by the Romans, *Latium Antiquum*. The Anio has its source among those higher mountains which appear to the left of the Alban hills, in a direction that may be marked by looking over the Basilica of Santa Croce; it becomes a river at Subiaco, fetches a compass beyond the Mount Guadagnolo, and reaches Tivoli at the distance of about fifty miles from its source. It continues to flow through the Campagna from Tivoli, to its junction with the Tyber, dividing (in this distance of about nineteen miles) Latium from the Sabine territory. Thus a portion of the two rivers with the sea coast form three of the utmost boundaries of Latium Antiquum. It is not so easy to define its limits at any given period towards the south. We learn from Pliny that ancient Latium, properly so called, extended along the sea coast from the Tyber to Circeii (now S. Felice), being a distance of fifty miles. At a subsequent period, Latium advanced as far as the Liris and even to Sinuessa; thus joining Campania and the ancient country of the Samnites. It is probable, that long before the time of Strabo, the several distinct nations which had exercised the valour of the Romans in their first conquests, were blended in the general name of Latini. Independent of the tribes who dwelt about the Alban hills, and the Aborigines in the plain nearer Rome, we may enumerate the Rutuli, the Volsci, the Equi, the Hernici, and the Ausones. The situations of the two former have already been intimated; the Equi dwelt along the roots of the mountains extending from Tibur to Præneste; the Hernici inhabited more towards the south, and the source of the Anio; and the territory of the still more distant Ausones reached to the Liris. This country, therefore, in its full extent, may more properly be designated the New Latium, or the Latium of the empire. The ancient country of the Sabines comprehended all that territory lying between the Anio and the Tyber, as far as those two rivers, with the mountains for a base, form nearly an isosceles triangle; the extremities of that base may be conceived to lie beyond the Mount Guadagnolo, and a little to the east of the Mount Soracte. At these points the rivers suddenly diverge, and continue nearly in opposite directions; the vertex is at the junction of the rivers, which takes place, as has been observed, at the short distance of three miles from the city. The Sabine territory, therefore, approached nearer to Rome than any other of the neighbouring countries, and this may easily account for the first wars of Romulus being waged against that people, which ended in the two nations being united under one king [A. C. 747.] We shall now proceed to point out some of the most celebrated places of Latium, as they may be discerned from the tower of the Capitol.

“We have already left the scene of Virgil's “epic War” in the dreary country that extends along the coast of the Mediterranean; and the eye has been directed to the Monte Cavo, on which stood the temple of Jupiter Latialis. To this summit the minor triumphs ascended to perform the usual sacrifices, and the Via Numinis, as the initials V. N., still legible on the pavement, testify, may be followed for several hundred feet in uninterrupted preservation. This conspicuous object was seen

over the whole of Latium, and might be considered as the joyful sign of home to the mariners approaching the port of Ostia.

“ Beneath the summit of the Monte Cavo, but inclining to the left, the eye reposes upon a green plain, which is readily contrasted with the surrounding woods. This plain is commonly called the Camp of Hannibal; not surely because Hannibal ever had his camp there, but because, according to Livy, the Romans placed a garrison on the Alban Mount when the Carthaginian hovered about the walls of Rome. The modern village of Rocca di Papa, seen at the same time with the plain, has been supposed, from its relative situation, to occupy the site of the citadel of Albano. Above this village, still keeping our direction towards the Anio, rises another summit, more distant and little inferior in height to the Alban Mount, that is, the Mount Algido, beyond which was the town of that name belonging to the Equi. This mount was crowned by the Temple of Diana, and is celebrated in ancient song, as the coolest retreat in the neighbourhood of Rome. The snow, fetched from the cavities near the top of the Algido, still supplies the luxury of the Eternal City. A little within the hills that intervene between Albano and Frascati are the modern villages of Marino and Grotto-Ferrata; and in passing from one to the other may be traversed the Vallis Ferentina, so renowned in the first ages of Rome, where the diet of the Latin states assembled to discuss the interests of peace and war. The town of Frascati, which adorns the nearest eminence in the chain of hills, cannot be mistaken; its imposing buildings at the distance of twelve miles, must already have attracted the attention of the spectator; but it does not occupy the site of the ancient Tusculum: that city, which is inseparable from the immortal name of Cicero, was situated near two miles from the modern town, (behind and above) and not much below the Mount Algido. A new interest has been given to Tusculum by the excavations lately made amongst its ruins; but the antiquary still seeks in vain for the veritable scene of the Tusculan Questions. The hills of Frascati, amongst which we may include the Monte Porzio, gradually decline towards the territory of the Equi; but before they close with that undulated plain, there is distinctly to be seen, on their last and lowest eminence, the village of La Colonna. It is concluded, from a passage in Strabo, and from an inscription discovered on the spot, that here stood the ancient Labicum. This was one of the towns in the neighbourhood of Rome which Coriolanus got possession of when he waged war against his country—and the Muse of Virgil revived its waning fame in the days of Augustus. In the plain which lies between the hills we are now leaving, and the mountains we shall soon arrive at, are to be traced the vestiges of many places which shine in ‘Livy’s pictured page;’ but in the dull uniformity of that part of the Campagna, no object can be fixed upon at this distance to mark their situations. The Lake Regillus, where the Tarquins sustained the fatal defeat; Gabii the seat of their stratagem; and Collatia connected with the name of Lucretia, and the liberty of Rome, are still sufficient to attract the curiosity of the stranger, and to give employment to the antiquary. The town that appears at the greatest distance upon the declivities of the Prænentine mountains, twenty-five miles from Rome, is



**Palestrina.** The modern name, and the ruins of the famous temple of Fortune, nearly of equal extent with the town itself, indicate the site of the ancient Præneste: this was a favourite retreat of Augustus, and therefore has not been left unsung by his obsequious bard. The names of La Rocca and Monte S. Pietro have been applied to the summit on which might have stood the citadel; and it may be distinguished from our station far above the town itself. The Citadel of Præneste, coupled with the names of Sylla and Young Marius, will recall to memory the bloody history of the social war.

“We may now pass along the chain of barren mountains for a distance of near fourteen miles; and the wearied eye will repose with pleasure upon the fresh hills and olives that adorn the environs of Tivoli: here, the Anio reminds us that we have arrived at the boundary of Latium; for, in that direction, the country never extended beyond. Tibur, the resort of the rich and powerful Romans, its villas, its landscapes, and its ruins, have often been described. The ravages of late years made by the “præceps Anio” and the works of Pope Leo XII., may have a place in future descriptions; but in this rapid survey of the campagna of Rome, we are only pledged to point out boundaries and celebrated spots. There is Tivoli:—

“And where yon bar

Of girdling mountains intercepts the sight

The Sabine farm was till'd, the weary bard's delight.”

“The country beyond the Tyber, as was observed, had the name of Etruria, but the view of the Campagna, towards the north, is intercepted by the Janiculum, the Vatican, and the Monte Mario. The Montes Cimini are partially visible behind the latter, and the distant Soracte may serve to indicate the limits of Etruria, and the Sabine territory; to trace the outlines of the seven hills, we must turn again towards the south.

It is curious to compare this description of Mr. Burgess with the eloquent but melancholy picture drawn by Poggio from the same commanding spot, nine centuries after the fall of the western empire,—in the time of Pope Eugenius IV. The passage is given in Gibbon.

“Her primæval state, such as she might appear in a remote age, when Evander entertained the stranger of Troy, has been delineated by the fancy of Virgil. This Tarpeian rock was then a savage and solitary thicket; in the time of the poet, it was crowned with the golden roofs of a temple; the temple is overthrown, the gold has been pillaged, the wheel of fortune has accomplished her revolution, and the sacred ground is again disfigured with thorns and brambles. The hill of the Capitol on which we sit, was formerly the head of the Roman empire, the citadel of the earth, the terror of kings; illustrated by the footsteps of so many triumphs, enriched with the spoils and tributes of so many nations. The spectacle of the world how is it fallen! how changed! how defaced! the path of victory is obliterated by vines, and the benches of the senators are concealed by a dunghill. Cast your eyes on the Palatine hill, and seek among the shapeless and enormous fragments, the marble theatre,

the obelisks, the colossal statues, the porticos of Nero's palace; survey the other hills of the city, the vacant space is interrupted only by ruins and gardens. The Forum of the Roman people, where they assembled to enact their laws, and elect their magistrates, is now enclosed for the cultivation of pot-herbs, or thrown open for the reception of swine and buffaloes. The public and private edifices, that were founded for eternity, lie prostrate, naked and broken, like the limbs of a mighty giant, and the ruin is the more visible from the stupendous relics that have survived the injuries of time and fortune."

The vicissitudes of all human affairs, and particularly that instance of it which his own beloved Italy presented, seems to have been the only thought of which the mind of Poggio was capable in such a scene; but Mr. Burgess could readily admit of other themes, and the tinge of melancholy which could not well be excluded from the picture only serves to blend agreeably with the many lively features and natural beauties he describes.

Poggio then enumerates the relics, a bridge, an arch, a sepulchre, a pyramid of Cestius, a temple of peace, or as it is now called, the Basilica of Constantine, with sundry other objects, then more buried and in a much less imposing shape than they are at present. In comparing this description with that of the anonymous writer two centuries before, it would appear that the 13th and 14th centuries were the most destructive to the buildings and temples of Rome. While the Roman edifices were still entire, says Gibbon, the first blows, however weighty and impetuous, were resisted by the solidity of the mass and the harmony of the parts; but the slightest touch would precipitate the fragments of arches and columns that already nodded to their fall.

We shall now proceed to notice more particularly a few of those points, which are likely to be most acceptable to the reader on account of the new light which has been thrown upon them either by modern excavations, or by the maturer labours of the learned respecting them. And first, before we quit the Capitoline Hill, where our memory delights to linger, we are attracted by the platform of a temple which has been lately brought to light, between the Capitol and the Forum, and constitutes an important subject of one of Mr. Burgess's Dissertations. The excavations which have effected this discovery, were begun by the French in 1811, but the temple itself was not discovered till 1817, when the Cella and four votive inscriptions were brought to light; of these, the most perfect belongs to the age of Augustus, and furnishes the ruin with an unquestionable title to the name it bears.

M. ARTORIVS GEMINVS

LEG. CAESAR. AVG. PRAEF. AERAR. MIL

CONCORDIAE.

In the beginning of 1831, the excavations were still in progress, and the magnitude and construction of the Cella had come out more clearly. It stood upon a solid and lofty basement, which is nearly all that is left for description, of which one wall of peperine stone faced with marble, extending 70 feet in length and 14 in height, may be plainly traced. Of the portico, nothing now remains; but the steps spoken of by Cicero,\* where the Roman knights took their station, might have been on the flanks like those of the temple of Adrian, so as to lead to it either from the Clivus Capitolini or the Clivus Asyli. The Cella was comparatively large, making a rectangular room of about 100 feet by 80, and portions of the walls rising about eight feet still exist. The interior still exhibits many traces of rich materials with which it was covered, and the elevation of one step seems to mark the ascent from the Pronaon to the Cella. Judging from the whole of the substructions, it reached from the foundation of the Capitol to the brink of the Roman Forum, having on the east the ascent to the Capitol on the side of the Asylum, and on the other the temple of Jupiter Tonans. Agreeable to these discoveries is the description given of it by Festus and Dion; the former of which places it between the Capitol and the Forum, and the latter near the Mamertine prison. It was founded in the 387th year of the city in honour of the union then effected by Camillus, between the Plebeians and the Nobles, and built upon the site of an ancient senaculum; it continued to be used occasionally for the deliberation of the magistrates, and many interesting events in the Roman annals are connected with it.

“ In the Catiline conspiracy, Cicero convoked the senate thither, when Lentulus and Volturcius, with the deputies of the Allobroges, were introduced. Augustus raised it from its republican simplicity to its imperial magnificence: it is probable he entirely rebuilt it, for we find that Tiberius dedicated it, (A. D. 11.) and inscribed his own name upon it, together with that of his brother Drusus, though already dead. If it was destroyed in the civil war of Vitellius and Otho, of which, however, there is no direct proof, Vespasian must be considered as the restorer; and it is to that period, and later, we must look for its greatest splendour. It contained, amongst other works of arts, the group of Battos adoring Apollo and Juno, the Sculpture of the Greek artist Bedas; Latona in the act of supporting her two children, Apollo and Diana, the work of Euphranor; the Esculapius and Hygias of Nicerates; the Mars and Mercury of Pisierates; the Ceres and other figures made by Sthenis. Of the pictures, we find a Bacchus by Nicias, and a Cassandra by Theodorus. These celebrated works of ancient art, and all the precious materials which adorned the building, are now reduced, as we have seen,

\* *An Equites Romanos amplectetur? qui frequentissime in gradibus concordiae steterunt: qui vos ad libertatem, &c. Cic. in Marc. Anton. Phil. vii.*

to a shapeless platform, and a few pieces of oriental marble."—vol. i. Diss. vii.

The epoch of the destruction of the Temple has been the subject of controversy, and we are not quite sure that Mr. Burgess has cleared up the obscurity in which it has been involved. The Anonymous of the eighth century read an inscription upon it entire, and he also mentions a Church of S. Sergius, at or near the arch of Septimius Severus, which Anastatius states to have been demolished about 40 years afterwards by a timorous Dean, on account of his fear of the Temple, (probably that of Concord,) conspicuously situated above it. Pope Hadrian the First rebuilt this Church from its foundations and greatly enlarged it in 772, and to this, Mr. Burgess attributes the first injury of the Temple of Concord, aggravated, as he thinks, by the fire of Robert Guiscard three centuries later, and afterwards consummated by the Senator Brancaglione, in 1257, who laid waste the whole Church and Temple too; "so that in the commencement of the 15th century, the Temple of Concord was effectually lost."

But how is this to be reconciled with the account of Poggio in the 15th century, who says that he saw, at his coming to Rome, the portico of the Temple of Concord at first almost entire, and afterwards perishing before his eyes, having been burnt for lime. Mr. Burgess disposes of this very easily, declaring that Poggio applied the name to the more visible eight columns hard by, and knew not of the true vestiges which have been so triumphantly restored to light; but these columns were of granite, and Poggio expressly declares that the portico he saw was of beautiful marble.

"Porticus ædis Concordiæ, quam, cum primum ad urbem accessi, vidi fere integram opere *marmoreo*, admodum *specioso*; Romani postmodum ad calcem ædém totam et porticus partem disjectis columnis sunt demoliti."

It was easy for this scholar, misled by some fashionable tradition, to have confounded the ruins of one temple with those of another, but he could not easily mistake massive granite pillars for beautiful marble, nor could they burn granite into lime; and if it be said that the pillars might have been granite and the rest of the ornaments fine marble, which the construction will scarcely bear, how are we to reconcile the expression, "disjectis columnis," with the supposition of his describing a portico with pillars of granite still standing?

The question is not of much importance, and it is with some diffidence that we oppose our opinions to that of Mr. Burgess; but we do think that he has treated Poggio somewhat unceremo-

niously; the inscription on the Architrave read by Poggio, is we confess, a difficulty.

Gibbon indeed says, that he saw at Rome a MS. attributed to Gravina, in which it was said that the Temple of Concord was destroyed in the 13th century: but he rejects this testimony.

Under this impression, observing that not one of the authors cited by Mr. Burgess affirms the destruction of the temple before the 15th century, and that one so competent as Poggio saw and described it then, we are compelled to believe that it was not destroyed till afterwards.

The neighbouring temple, that of Jupiter Tonans, affords occasion to Mr. Burgess for many valuable remarks, which we commend to our readers.

The next question which arises in this scene is of an interest purely antiquarian, and has long divided the opinions of learned men at Rome, namely, the position of several celebrated buildings which crowned the summit or adorned the slopes of the Capitoline Hill, particularly the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the Arx or Citadel, the Capitolium, and the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. It is well known to all who have visited this city that the Capitoline Hill, which is of an elliptic form, is divided into two summits, separated by a space once called *Intermontium*, now chiefly occupied by the edifices of the Campidoglio; that upon the northern summit stands the church of Ara Cæli with its monastery, and upon the southern, which is nearer to the Tyber, are the Palazzo Caffarelli, with its gardens, an open area, and a number of wretched houses calculated to excite pity or disgust; also the Monte Caprino, with some gardens sloping to the forum. The hill has lost much of its height from various causes—the filling up of the platform below, the gradual wear and tear of the elements, and the falling of masses of *Tufo* from above, one of which is mentioned by Livy as falling into the *Vicus Jugarius*, and another, as large as a “palazzo,” by Biondo, in the 15th century, which killed five men in an Osteria.

Nardini contends that the Citadel stood on the southern summit, and the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, where the Ara Cæli now stands, on the other, with the Asylum between them; the Arx and Capitolium being always spoken of as two distinct things, particularly by Livy. Donatus reverses this order, and Marliano pleads for the station of the Citadel on Ara Cæli, in which he seems to have been supported by the learned German, Niebuhr, in his *History of Rome*, vol. i. p. 440.—Hare and Thirlwell's Translation. Dr. Burton places the citadel on the southern summit, and the Capitolium on the northern, relying upon the passages of Livy quoted by Nardini, and one more pointed

in Val. Max. On the other hand, J. Rycquius, who has dedicated a whole volume to the subject, divides the Mount into three distinct parts, the *Arx* or Fortress, into which he puts the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, on the southern side, the *Saxum* or Rock from which malefactors were thrown, and the *Capitolium*, which he thinks was the name applied to the northern summit. This distribution Mr. Burgess, after much discussion, adopts, with this exception, that instead of calling the *Ara Cæli* summit the *Capitolium*, he would call it *Mons Capitolinus*, and apply the term *Tarpeian Cliff* more generally to the other summit, the *Saxum* being a bold piece of rock looking towards the *Tyber*. We now subjoin his reasoning, which we think for the most part well supported—

“The *Capitolium*, in its strictest sense, certainly meant the great Temple of Jupiter, with the many other splendid edifices around it. Tacitus has already proved this to us sufficiently, and if more were wanting, we might bring the authorities of Suetonius and Dio. It cannot indeed be denied, that these names were sometimes taken in a more general acceptation, but that will not affect the propriety of these distinctions.

“The point we are next concerned in proving is, that the fortress and the Capitol (the proper “seat of I. O. M.”) were both upon the same summit; and for this purpose it will be sufficient to cite, of the prose writers, these three—Plutarch, Dionysius, and Livy. The former, after correcting the erroneous traditions which prevailed about the origin of a name, observes, that after the death of the virgin Tarpeia the hill was called *Tarpeius*, until King Tarquin consecrated the place to Jupiter. Henceforth the name of Tarpeia ceased to prevail, except for the rock from which they threw the criminals, and this they still call now in the Capitol “Tarpeia.”\* If it be alleged that the word Capitol may here be taken for the whole mount, the same writer, a little after, says, “If the Temple of Jove was consecrated when the bones of Tarpeia were buried, and they were transported thence, yet the cliff retained the name Tarpeia; and this affords a proof the bones had been near the cliff where afterwards the temple was.” Dionysius, still more accurate, speaking of Herdonius, who took possession of the Capitol in the year of Rome 294, says, he approached the city by the place where the *Capitolium* is, being not quite one stadium (625 feet) from the river. Having entered by the gate called *Carmentalis*, which was open, and advancing his forces he took possession of the garrison, and thence proceeded to the citadel, which is contiguous to the *Capitolium*.† In the celebrated account which Livy gives us of the attempts of the Goths and the valour of T. Manlius, we invariably find him mentioning the *Arx* and *Capitolium* as two distinct things, but as always involved in the same danger or success. The house of Manlius was destroyed, and it was

\* Plutarch. in *Romulo*, p. 28, edit. Lutet. Paris, 1624.

† Propert. lib. iv, eleg. i. 7.



henceforth forbid that any patrician should have his habitation in the citadel or the capitol; and when he was thrown from the Tarpeian rock, it is remarked by the historian that the same spot which was the citadel, was the scene of his glory and of his condign punishment. The site of his house was afterwards occupied by the Temple and Mint of Juno Moneta. If we turn to the poets, the authorities, with all allowance for poetical license are still more abundant. Manlius is said to be standing before the temple, and in possession of the lofty capitol, the guardian of the Tarpeian rock, the Tarpeian father is said to thunder from the naked cliff;\* in a style of prophecy Silius Italicus describes the golden capitol on the Tarpeian rock, and Ovid salutes the Tarpeian Jove who holds the citadel.† Nor can it be forgotten how clearly Tacitus describes the Capitolium and the Capitoline fortress in one place; whilst Suetonius, relating the same transaction, equally declares that the Temple of I. O. M. was set on fire. In short, if it were expedient to bring together all the authorities, nothing can be more clearly established than the fact, that the great Temple of Jove, with the adjoining edifices, collectively called the Capitolium, and the citadel, called the “*Arx Capitolina*,” both stood on that part of the mount called the Tarpeian rock, and that this was the southern summit needs no demonstration.”—vol. I. Diss. vii.

We pass over Mr. Burgess's description of the situation of the citadel, and will only add that of the Temple of I. O. M.

“Our next inquiry is for the site of the famous Temple of I. O. M., of which Dionysius has left us a most accurate description. We are informed that Tarquin, the fifth King of Rome, first laid out an extensive platform, by levelling the rugged and uneven parts of the rock, and building up the space with immense substructions, so that an area suitable for such an edifice might, in the first instance, be inaugurated. We shall not dwell upon the purifying of the soil, and the lofty basement upon which the edifice was reared. It was in all eight “*plethra*,” or 770 feet in circuit, being about 200 feet in length and 185 in width. Its elevation was towards the south, and the portico in that direction had three rows of columns, but only a double row on the flanks. The interior was divided into three cells, parallel to one another, and the walls of separation were common. The cella in the midst was of Jupiter; that of Juno on the left; Minerva's on the right,—all under the same roof and ceiling. This description of the temple, however, is as it was rebuilt by Sylla. He replaced the original pilasters of simple stone with the splendid columns of Pentelic marble, which he brought from the Temple of Jupiter Olympius in Greece, but there is no reason to suppose he made any change in the original ground plan. The cells, although under the same roof, had each its own elevation: for we read of the gilded “*Quadrigæ*,” and the twelve glittering shields which adorned the tympanum of Jupiter's cella. This is represented in a medal extant. The statue appears thereon in a sitting posture, much resembling the brazen image now adored in St. Peter's, especially in the

\* *Dello Punico*, lib. iii. 625.

† *Metamorph.* lib. xv. 867.

attitude of stretching forward the foot. We learn also that the head was adorned with a radiated crown. Pope Honorius I. took away the bronze tiles of the Capitol, to make use of for the old Basilica of St. Peter, and this may be the reason why some suppose the statue of Jupiter was also taken away for the same purpose; but to pursue this inquiry would lead us from our subject. In the same cella was a statue of Scipio Africanus. In that of Minerva, there was the small chapel of "Youth" (Juventus,) above which was a painting representing the rape of Proserpine. The ceilings were gorgeously gilded; the pavement of the finest materials; the doors were of bronze overlaid with gold; and a profusion of statues and other objects of surpassing art embellished the whole. But as all these things are probably lost for ever, it would be a needless task to endeavour to enumerate them."—Vol. I. Diss. vii.

The history of this temple is very curious. Tarquinius Priscus was the founder of it after the Sabine war. But he might rather be said to have measured out the foundations by the hope of future greatness, than by the actual resources of the Roman people at that period. Servius Tullius, and after him Tarquinius Superbus, upon capturing the city of Suessa Pometia, continued the work; but the glory of it, says Tacitus, was reserved for the epoch of liberty. In the 247th year of the city the Capitol was finished, and dedicated by Horatius Pulvillus; and upon a scale of magnificence suited to the wealth and power of succeeding ages. In the consulship of L. Scipio and C. Norbanus it fell a prey to the flames of civil war. Sylla undertook to build it a second time upon the old foundations, and regretted, as the only thing wanting to complete his happiness, that he had not lived to finish his work, which devolved upon the Consul Quintus Lutatius Catulus, whose name existed upon the tabularium until the 16th century. Julius Cæsar is said to have stolen out of the Capitol 3000 lbs. weight of gold; but Augustus amply repaired the loss by carrying into the cell of Jupiter 16,000 lbs. of gold at one time, besides gems to the value of £403,645 sterling. To this we may add a variety of golden crowns, victories, silver tables, vases, candelabra, and every object of luxurious art. In this state it was besieged, and set on fire in the face of the whole city, in the civil war between Vitellius and the Flavian party, A. D. 70. Vespasian restored it, and endeavoured to supply the lost copies of the decrees; but it was burnt a third time, and Domitian raised it with greater magnificence than ever, bestowing on the gilding alone twelve thousand talents, that is, £1,976,250 sterling.

"There is no reason to suppose this immense wealth was ever invaded until the calamitous times of Honorius. (A. D. 393—402.)

Then Stilicho, his general, having great need of money, laid hands upon the gold which ornamented the doors. The plunderers, it is said, met with an inscription which, whilst it encouraged their sacrilege, revealed the impending destiny of the empire.—‘These (the doors or gold ornaments) are reserved for an unfortunate king.’ ‘And this,’ says Zosimus, ‘the issue proved; for shortly after Stilicho miserably perished!’ We can hardly suppose the capitol, above all things, to have escaped the fury of the first Gothic siege of the city, which took place only seven years after the death of Honorius; and we are positively assured by Procopius, that amongst the plunder with which they filled the ships of the Vandal king, Genseric, (A. D. 465,) there was one half of the gilded bronze which had covered the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. But the spoil never reached the shores of Africa; and the votaries of Paganism still fancied they saw the vengeance of their gods displayed in the fury of the elements, when the rich cargo was scattered over the waves of the Mediterranean. It is probable that, after the sack of Rome by Ricimer which followed, (A. D. 472,) and the time of Belisarius, (A. D. 537,) there was not much of the original treasure left to tempt the avarice of Totila (A. D. 546): but if it be true that Pope Honorius I. still found some bronze materials in the roof, it proves the temple itself to have survived all the ravages of the barbarians of the north. The Anonymous of the eighth century enumerates a temple of Jove, by which he evidently means the one in the portico of Octavia; and as he mentions no other, it is fair to conclude that the Capitolium was already in ruins: and thus it appears that the fifth century was the period of its decline, the sixth of its more obvious decay, and the seventh of its final ruin. The palace of the Lateran and the tomb of St. Peter now began to eclipse the fame of the Citadel and the Capitoline Jove; and the new sensation thrilled not less powerfully through the disjointed members of the Roman world. Before the dawn of letters revived a faint light once more upon the capitol in the person of Petrarch, the genius of ancient Rome slumbered unknown amongst the unintelligible ruins of the Tarpeian fortress. There might still have been found some traces of the great temple even in the 13th century, if any one had cared to investigate the monuments of antiquity; and before the renown of the Capitolium finally expired, like the last fluttering effort of the fading taper, the tribune Rienzi proclaimed from its summit a transient hour of liberty. (A. D. 1347.) Then no more is it found in the annals of the world; and its squalid appearance in the 15th century (A. D. 1430) could almost draw tears from the eye of the stranger.”

The next ruin to which we shall direct the attention of our readers is one which at this very moment is gradually emerging into day, and occupying a large share of the public attention both of natives and foreigners at Rome. We mean the temple of Venus and Rome. The description of Mr. Burgess is long, and we fear that some of our readers will with difficulty understand it without the engravings, which are of great beauty and merit, from

the architect Pardini; but it is curious on many accounts, and well worthy of the trial. To the book, however, we must refer them, and shall confine ourselves to the external part.

“We have now to trace the ground plan of an enormous temple, whose substructions extend in length from near the Meta Sudans to the arch of Titus, comprising all that space now occupied by the church and monastery of S. Francesca Romana, and exhibiting an elevated platform in front of the Colosseum. In the middle of the site still exist some striking ruins of the interior of the fabric, consisting in two large niches or tribunals reversed to one another, together with a portion of the lateral walls and the vaults. The recent excavations have attracted the special attention of the antiquary and the architect to these ruins, and have equally excited the curiosity of the stranger and indifferent Roman; so that if such a term may be used without a solecism, the temple of Venus and Rome is now the *fashionable antiquity* of the city. It is not, however, on this account that we are about to give it more than an ordinary share of attention, but because it furnishes us with materials for acquiring a general idea of an heathen temple, and points us to a period when the arts ascended the throne, and the world was subservient to the imperial architect and sculptor.

Apollodorus having built the Forum of Trajan, and thereby excited the envy of Hadrian, was driven into exile on some frivolous pretext. The emperor, in order to convince him how easily his services could be dispensed with, sent him his own architectural design of the temple of Venus and Rome, which he was building, desiring to have his opinion upon it. Apollodorus answered, that he ought to have made it more lofty; and with subterraneous accommodations for receiving, as occasion might require, the machines of the adjoining amphitheatre, and for giving it a more imposing aspect towards the Via Sacra. That, as to the statues, (in a sitting posture,) they were so disproportionate, that if the goddesses desired to get up and walk out they would not be able. The architect, as may be supposed, paid the penalty of his criticism with his head. From this account, given by Dion Cassius, the position of the temple is identified with these ruins. It is, moreover, enumerated in the Regionaries in the fourth Region, and seems to have been called indifferently, “*Templum Urbis*,” “*Templum Veneris*,” or “*Templum Romæ et Veneris* ;” the first was, perhaps, the more common appellation. It is mentioned by a minor poet as being before the Via Sacra; and, except the authority of medals, this is all the classical notice we have of it. In Spartian and Marcellinus it is barely mentioned; but the former equally points to the environs of the Via Sacra. Although we are thus without any written description of this edifice, sufficient remains to afford a just idea of its splendour, and to exhibit the true form of, perhaps, the finest temple Rome ever possessed.

“Signor Guiseppe Pardini, architect of Lucca, the author of the annexed drawings, has remarked with great ingenuity the particularities of the ground plan and elevation. It is to him we owe the architectural

observations which will now be introduced, following the vestiges which he has so accurately delineated. The inaugurated ground was surrounded, except the main front, by a portico of grey granite columns, amounting to nearly 200 in number, of which several fragments are lying in different directions, showing the lower diameter of the shafts to have measured three feet four inches, and consequently the height of the columns to have been about 37 feet.

“The flank of the basement, extending from the arch of Titus to the Meta Sudans, is cut into portions of different lengths, forming their several platforms, so as to maintain the general level of the portico against the natural declivity of the ground. Being thus constituted, these graduated areas served as the receptacle for a solid construction of blocks of travertine, one of which still remains as a specimen in its original place, and the marks of several others are left in the mass formed ‘ad emplecton;’ making it appear from measuring each block, that the whole width of this foundation was 14 feet 4 inches. Along the whole of this side there are no traces of steps, or of any ingress to the sacred inclosure.

“The aspect towards the Colosseum must be considered as the grand elevation of the temple; before it was left a clear rectangular space, raised about eight inches above the original level, which was secured by a barrier or palisado. At each extremity remain the skeletons of two large staircases, compassing a width nearly equal to the rectangular space described, there conducted to a landing place, from which rose a second flight to complete the ascent to the consecrated enclosure, and to the entrance of the lateral porticoes. There were thus in all 34 steps, divided into two flights, effecting an altitude of 26 feet. The facing of those stairs being entirely demolished, we have nothing left but the internal mass deformed; but embodied with it are some brick walls of good construction, and which, as they must have existed prior to the temple, are supposed to have belonged to the Golden House of Nero. To form a correct idea of this noble elevation, it is first necessary to obviate a difficulty which occurs in the surprising altitude of the basement comprised between the two flights of steps. Signor Pardini supposes it was relieved by a division, for however large the columns were which formed the front of the portico of Venus's Temple, they would have appeared out of proportion on such a high and massive foundation. On this principle the restoration in the annexed drawing has been made, which is sufficiently consistent with the medals, and confirmed by similar examples to be found in ancient buildings. It is natural to inquire the meaning of those openings which are perforated in the basement, at irregular intervals and of unequal dimensions. Some suppose they contained immense blocks of stone for strengthening the foundation, and that during the middle ages they were extracted for the sake of the material. Now, when the excavations of 1828 were made, it was found that this had been a burial ground, and we saw several coffins of terra cotta disinterred which had been put into the basement, and a quantity of human bones were turned up. For this reason, and from the irregularity of these apertures, as well as because they do not extend along the

whole front, it is better to suppose they were made for some purpose of sepulchral vaults during the middle ages, and consequently have nothing to do with the original formation of the building. The mass was formed 'ad emplecton,' but no doubt covered with travertine stone, as may be seen from some traces near the staircase at the west angle. The whole was then faced with marble, to give it the noble appearance suitable to such a temple. This being the case, we are not to suppose the granite columns to have come in front of this elevation but merely an upper parapet, between which and the portico proper might be placed a colossal statue or altar. These particulars will be understood by reference to the elevation in its present state, and the same restored. In front of the steps at the east angle was discovered that square mass faced with brick, which has been pronounced the pedestal of Nero's colossus. Several pieces of bronze were gathered up in the excavating, and we shall have occasion to recur to the subject when we consider the direction of the Via Sacra.

"The third side of our colonnade presents a construction somewhat different to the corresponding one described. Along two-thirds of the length, beginning from the east angle, are discovered traces of a wall, which served for the substruction of the ancient street; this street is about seven feet above the level of the inaugurated platform, and some of the old pavement of it is still visible in its place. The remainder of this flank is built of the ordinary materials 'ad emplecton,' which seems to have had a facing of travertine stone, to serve at the same time as a foundation for the outer wall. The width of the portico, or colonnade, is also detected along the whole of this side by continual vestiges, which indicate more or less the foundations of the columns, and thus the width of the colonnade literally is shown to be confined between a line of columns and an external wall. At the northern angle of the platform, we find ourselves about eight feet above the level of the pavement of the abovementioned street. The fourth side exhibits much irregularity, and is constructed in a different manner from any of the rest. For the first forty feet, the internal mass bears marks of having been built up with travertine stone; and which perhaps extended further than can now be traced. The solidity thus given to this portion seems to announce a portico or ingress in uniformity with those at the extremities of the main elevation. Near the walls of the Church of St. Francesca is a piece of an ancient fabric, of uncertain date and use, built of triangular bricks, and forming part of those other ruins near it: it interrupts the line of the basement, which, up to this point, preserves an altitude of about seven feet. After the first forty feet above mentioned, is discovered a gradation, which rises within two feet four inches of the level of the portico, and is twelve feet longitudinally measured: its construction is of brick, and continues in the same altitude, parallel with the basement, up to the very walls of the church and in all probability continued still further. Combining this gradation with the fragment of a wall calculated to serve as the foundation of the portico, it is concluded the granite columns continued also along this side, but with a double row, as will better appear from the nature of the steps existing near Titus's arch;



for they are such as an open portico would obviously require. The remainder of this side nearest the arch advances twenty-five feet further towards the Forum; and the flight of steps of which we speak must have been originally thirteen in number, and were of marble. There still exists portions of six steps in succession; and where the marble fails it is supplied by travertine stone. Before the six steps is a small clear space flagged with travertine, which has been secured by a palisado or parapet, as appears from the marks of the supporters, at equal distances. Various fragments of this parapet, which was of marble, have been found on the spot. The flight of steps near the arch of Titus was interrupted and cut by a solid brick construction of thirty-eight feet in length which is very similar to the forty feet already described; observing however that the former was further within the outline of the basement. Near the above-mentioned brick-work is a drain or sink for receiving rain-water. Now, in order to adjust the two portions of this side, which seem incongruous, let it be considered that the anterior fabric (perhaps part of Nero's house), made subservient to the structure of the temple, extended as far as half way under the church of St. Francesca, and at that point cut the flight of steps which began at the arch of Titus; that after an ascent of ten steps, there was a landing place, which, being too confined towards the pre-existing ruins, considerably contracted that part of the basement. The entrance into the open portico was by ascending three steps more, and thus arriving on the great platform. In this manner the whole of the "inaugurated ground" was properly isolated from every surrounding object."

We cannot follow Mr. Burgess in his description of the interior of this edifice, which is very interesting, but we shall add his philological remarks in illustration of heathen temples.

"There are several words, such as *Ædes*, *Delubrum*, *Templum*, *Fanum*, which we usually translate temples, but which nevertheless had each a special meaning as employed by the ancients. Many of the sacred edifices called *Ædes*, were also Temples; but to constitute an *Ædes* a *Templum*, it was necessary that it should be inaugurated after the consecration; and if even the building or object was of another form and for a different purpose, if it was inaugurated it was called a *Templum*, as for instance, the senate-house (*curia*), and the rostrum. An "*Ædes Sacra*," therefore, was an edifice erected for religious purposes, but only consecrated by the pontiffs; the *Templum* required the intervention of the augur, and was not *necessarily* what we understand by a temple; the word *fanum* had more especial reference to the ground itself. Romulus vowed a temple to Jupiter Stator, but it was only a *fanum*; that is, says Livy, a spot consecrated for a temple by a set form of words: so that the ground about a sepulchre inclosed and consecrated might be called a *fane*. They were accustomed to leave a small space in front unconsecrated, into which the people might enter at pleasure; such perhaps, was the place defended by a slight palisado as described in front of Hadrian's temple: this was the "*locus profanus*," meaning it was before the *fane*, but the word afterwards became of

more extensive meaning, as it is used in modern languages. There were at Rome a few fanes, as of Carmenta, Fabris, Hercules at the Porta Capena, Rediculus on the Via Appia, of Venus Murcia, and one in the Vatican. A delubrum might either be of the nature of an *Ædes* or *Templum*, providing that, independently of the edifice itself, there was an additional area dedicated for religious purposes, or that sufficient space was left between the altars for the priests to accomplish their sacrifices; hence the temples situated on the Clivus Capitolinus, where, as we shall see, there was no room for such area, could not properly be called "*Delubra*." But there were several at Rome, of which the principal were, of Apollo, of Jupiter Stator, of Juno Sospita, of Minerva. The edifice we are now examining was eminently a *templum*, but as there was an area of the above description, it was also called a *delubrum*; and because it was a double building, having two aspects, two distinct cells, two areas, &c., it was called in the plural number *Delubra*. It also comprised the properties of a *Fanum* and an *Ædes*; but neither of these words would have been sufficient to express its dignity. *Ædes* may designate the internal edifice, which we have yet to examine, *Delubrum*, the open space between it and the outer colonnade; *Fanum*, the whole consecrated spot on which it stands; and *Templum*, the dignity of the Inauguration."

"The first effort of idolatrous worship was to set up a statue upon a pedestal in the open air, and place a temporary altar before it: it soon became expedient to shelter the statue from the effects of the weather, but without concealing it from the eye of the worshipper; and this was the origin of the niche. As the ceremonies increased, and the priests required the use of utensils for sacrifice and a permanent altar, it was necessary that he also should be sheltered whilst performing his offices: a roof was therefore raised over a small space. In process of time it was regularly built up and enclosed, and the whole shut in by doors: this was the origin of the *Cella*. Whilst the priest thus performed the ceremonies within walls, the people assembled in the open air in front of the *Cella* or *Pronaon*. To protect the assembly from the heat and rain, a roof was reared over the *Pronaon*, supported by columns and pilasters. When the sacrifices were more numerous, and to slaughter the oxen and the sheep within walls, and to use the fire and the libations, would have been inconvenient, the altar was transferred to the *Pronaon*, and the *Cella* only used for delivering oracles according to the augury from birds and smaller animals. In order now to shelter the people, it was necessary to make a portico. This portico at first was only in the front, which constituted the *prostyle*; but when more altars were introduced, and the columns were carried round the *Cella*, it became a *peripteros*: and this whether the temple was round, like that of Vesta, or of a different figure, like some at Pompeii. If it was rectangular and so surrounded, it was a *tetrastyle*, &c. When the edifices of the gods had arrived at this state of perfection, architectural ornaments and grandeur, and proportion, were studied; the portico was erected upon an elevated basement, to which they ascended by a number of steps; more space was given for the numerous sacrifices and denser crowds of spectators;

the elevations were planned with studied magnificence; the Cella were adorned with more niches and statues, and precious marble was lavished on the walls; the vaults were fretted into squares, and enriched with gold; and, in short, the temple of Venus and Rome may be considered as a specimen of all these things united."—vol. i. pp. 275—277.

We shall now offer a few remarks upon the Tomb of the Scipios and the Appian Way, where it was found.

One of the most curious, as well as the most interesting remains of Roman labours, is the Via Appia. Whatever obscurity may hang over other vestiges of Roman labour, every thing unites to demonstrate the genuineness of this singular and immortal road. It was constructed by Appius Claudius, the censor, more than 300 years before our Saviour, and it is now as clearly indicated by the sepulchral monuments constantly occurring on each side of it, as by the firm unaltered materials which compose its foundation, viz. dressed basalt. From the Porta Capena to the tomb of Cecilia Metella it may be traced in patches here and there, apparently as firm and as closely jointed as when first formed. In the valley of La Riccia, the substructions which border it excite the wonder of the traveller. Its course over the Pontine Marshes was by the well known places of the three Taverns and the Appii Forum. The description given of this road by Procopius in the sixth century, may be here inserted.

“ ‘ To traverse the Appian Way is a distance of five days’ journey for an active traveller, and it leads from Rome to Capua. Its breadth is such that two chariots may meet upon it, and pass each other without interruption, and its magnificence surpasses that of all roads. For the construction of this great work, Appius caused the materials to be fetched from a great distance, so as to have all the stones hard and of the nature of mill-stones, such as are not to be found in this part of the country. Having ordered this material to be smoothed and polished, the stones were cut in corresponding angles, so as to fit together in jointures without the intervention of copper or any other material to bind them; and in this manner they were so firmly united, that in looking at them one would say they had not been put together by art, but had grown so upon the spot; and after the wearing of so many ages, being traversed daily by a multitude of vehicles and all sorts of cattle, they still remain unmoved, nor can the least trace of ruin or waste be observed upon these stones; neither do they appear to have lost any of their beautiful polish, and such is the Appian Way.” Twelve centuries since the time it was so have not entirely defaced it, and perhaps the children of ages yet to come may tread the pavement of the Via Appia. Still no more shall the conqueror be seen moving along this road to enter the city in triumph, nor will the steps of the Temple ever again be crowded to welcome the return of a Cicero from exile; the solemn stillness which now pervades the precincts of the Appian Way is more appalling than the thunder of Pompey’s triumphant chariot which once shook its pavement;

and the solitude withal, which seems to increase at every step, effectually proclaims the more durable conquest of Time. But the cypress tree announces the sepulchre in which were entombed the ashes of the Scipios.'"  
Diss. 111.

This tomb exhibits a remarkable instance of the truth of our former observation concerning the obscurity which hung for so many years over some of the most remarkable ruins of Rome; for though no doubt can possibly remain at present respecting the purpose of a monument, which contained in it several inscriptions to the Scipio family, and some very ancient sarcophagi, yet before this, other tombs had successively claimed and obtained the distinction, while the spot, which is alone entitled to it, was never suspected till the discovery was made. This monument may now be seen in a garden not far from the Appian Road; but as the inscriptions on the sarcophagi have been carried to the Vatican, there is nothing now to be seen even by the light of torches, but a suite of dark chambers, with niches in the walls, where the urns and sarcophagi once rested. The most valuable of the sarcophagi is that now in the Vatican of L. Scipio Barbatus, great grandfather of Scipio Africanus, who was Consul, A. C. 456. M. Dutens says that the skeleton in this sarcophagus was found entire, with a ring on one of his fingers, which Pius VI. gave to M. Dutens, who transferred it to Lord Beverley. It is well worthy of observation that no memorial was found in this tomb of Scipio Africanus himself, which affords a strong negative proof that he was buried at Liternum,\* where Livy says that he retired, without any wish to revisit the city, where he had been treated with so much ingratitude, †*ingrata patria ne ossa quidem mea habes*. The first notice which served to indicate this tomb was discovered in 1616, viz., an inscription written on Peperine stone, preserved in the Barberini Library. It was at first believed to be spurious, a supicion which probably prevented any farther search being made till the year 1780, when a second inscription of a more decided character turned up, and farther excavations removed every shadow of doubt. It is a curious fact that only one place was found in this tomb for a cinerary urn, though many recesses were observed hollowed out in the rock for containing bodies, which confirms the remark of Pliny that it had not been the habit of the family of the Scipios to burn the bodies of their relations. We shall give the two inscriptions, which are remarkable for their orthography.

\* The place where Liternum stood goes now by the name of *Patria*, from the fragment of an inscription found there. . . . TA PATRIA NEC.

† Val. Max.

## 1.

HONC . OINO . PLOIRVME . CONSENTIONT . R  
 DVONORO . OPTVMO . FVISE . VIRO  
 LVCION . SCIPIONE . FILIOS . BARBATI  
 CONSOL . CENSOR . AIDILIS . HIC . FVET . A . . .  
 IIEC . CEPIT . CORSICA . ALERIAQVE . VRBE  
 DEDET . TEMPESTATEBUS . AIDE . MERETO.

which Sirmondo thus interprets:

“ Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romæ bonorum optimum fuisse virum Lucium Scipionem, filius Barbati, Consul, Censor, Ædilis hic fuit atque (others “ apud vos”) hic cepit Corsicam Aleriamque urbem, Dedit tempestatibus ædem merito.”

## 2.

L. CORNELI . L . F . P . N  
 SCIPIO . QVAIST  
 TR . MIL . ANNOS.  
 GNATVS . XXXIII.  
 MORTVOS . PATER.  
 REGEM . ANTIOCO.  
 SVBEGIT.

The following observations upon the prospects of futurity entertained by the ancients, afford a fair specimen of the author's manner.

“ The ancients considered a tomb in a much more important light than we either can or ought to do. So feeble indeed were their hopes of living in another state of existence, that they generally looked forward to this honour as the only blessing that awaited them after death. Hence we so frequently discover on monumental inscriptions the anxiety the individual had during his life-time, to provide a place of burial for himself and his dependants, free from incumbrances and intrusion: and we cannot wonder that the rich under those circumstances should have bestowed so much wealth in erecting their private monuments, and the warrior so much care and toil in gaining this as a public honour from his country. The argument which Cicero uses in his *Tusculan Questions*, to show that great men, who exist no more on earth, are still to be accounted happy, is, that their proud monuments perpetuate their fame to posterity, and announce their glory to every passing traveller. In placing their tombs, moreover, by the sides of the public roads, the ancient Romans accomplished two objects, respectively adapted to flatter their pride and support their renown. The foreign ambassadors, in approaching the city, were struck with the splendour and public spirit of the commonwealth; and the Roman youth, in having these immortal honours always before their eyes, aspired to emulate the valour of the illustrious dead. ‘ When thou hast gone out of the Capena gate,’ says Cicero, “ and beholdest the sepulchres of Calatinus, of the Scipios, of the Servilii, and the Metelli, canst thou deem the buried inmates wretched?’ Of the four sepulchres mentioned by Cicero, one (perhaps two) has been satisfactorily brought to light. The tomb of the Scipios

has already been considered. The remains of that of the Servilii was discovered as lately as 1808. The tomb of Catalinus lies concealed; and except the proud tower of Cæcilia Metella serves to point out at least the site of the family burial ground, the ashes of the Metelli also may be lost for ever. The tomb of Q. Cæcilius has shared the same fate, notwithstanding the local indication of Cornelius Nepos, that it was near the fifth mile stone on the Via Appia. With it also are irrecoverably lost the ashes of the friend and correspondent of Cicero. Some monuments of less importance have also been brought to light in modern times; for instance, opposite the tomb of the Scipios is a vineyard in which vestiges and inscriptions have been seen relating to the burial places of the Manlii and the Furii. These afford, indeed, little matter either for description or argument, and therefore we only name them. In pursuing the Appian way we shall find some 'columbaria' of greater interest; and in the wide field for reflection, where vestiges of mortality occur at almost every step, the Catacombs of S. Sebastian may complete the mournful scene.

Of the three statues mentioned by Livy as being within the tomb, viz. those of P. and L. Scipio, and of the poet Ennius, no trace has yet been found, unless, indeed, a bust crowned with laurel, now in the Sala del Torso, might be considered that of the poet; but this is scarcely consistent with the account of it in Livy, the substance of which is given in several other authors, by whom *statue* is always expressed. Besides, it has been justly thought too young. One reason for the lateness of this discovery is the passage in Cicero, which represents the Cornelian Tomb as without the walls—and there it has been always sought. There, too, it really was in the time of Cicero: but the Porta Capena having been since removed from the Aqua Crabra almost to the Almo, left the remains of the Scipios within the city. Mr. Burgess has not given us the inscription on the sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus, and we shall here copy it from the work of Dr. Burton. The sarcophagus itself we have examined frequently with great interest. It is of rough porous stone, perfect in all respects, and richly carved, with roses between the triglyphs. Models of it have been formed at Rome in every species of material, and widely dispersed by visitors through every part of Europe, accompanied with the inscription, which is probably the reason why Mr. Burgess does not give it.

CORNELIUS . LVCIVS . SCIPIO . BARBATVS . GNAI  
VOD . PATRE.—

PROGNATUS . FORTIS . VIR . SAPIENSQVE.—QVOIVS  
FORMA . VIRTUTEI . PARIVMA  
FVIT—CONSOL . CENSOR . AIDILIS . QVEI . FUIT . APVD  
VOS—TAVRASIA . CISAVNA  
SAMNIO . CEPIT—SVBIGIT  
OMNE LOVCANA OPSIDESQV . ABDVCIT.



Our last observations have been reserved for a monument which has occupied the attention of all who have written upon ancient Rome, but has never, we think, been fully presented to the general reader under that aspect, in which it is most important as connected with sacred history. It is besides a favourite topic of our own, and therefore we shall be induced to be more particular; we speak of the Arch of Titus. It is attractive to the sculptor, the antiquary, and the historian in many points of view—but above all it is interesting to the Christian; and to the Jew so deeply affecting, on account of the humiliating calamity which it records, that no man of that nation will ever willingly pass under it. It is not simply the event that it commemorates, so intimately connected both with the Law and the Gospel, from which it derives its interest, though that is remarkable enough, but the strong light which it throws by its sculpture upon several of those sacred deposits of the temple, which were most intimately connected with the service of the Jewish ritual, and carry us back even to the time of the great legislator himself.

That our readers may enter more fully into the feelings it is calculated to excite, we shall first recall to their minds the occasion on which it was erected, and then having laid before them the account given by Josephus of the spoils carried in the triumph, we shall compare the sculpture on the Arch with the particulars of his account as well as with other notices of the same objects in ancient authors, and particularly in the Pentateuch.

It is well known to all who are acquainted with the Roman history, that the short and rapid career of this great prince and commander Titus, the delight as he was called of the human race, the instrument of Heaven in bringing about the remarkable prophecy of our Saviour, was chiefly distinguished by his victories in Palestine; and that a remarkable medal of his reign exhibits the Holy Land under the emblem of a palm tree, with a captive female sitting at the foot of it, and the superscription JUDEA CAPTA; thus faithfully representing the daughter of Jerusalem, over whose impending miseries the Saviour wept—as cast down herself and weeping in the dust, like Rachel weeping for her children and refusing to be comforted. Upon this occasion it appears, that the arch of Titus was erected in honour of his triumph; and though we do not find any express mention of the monument in the historians of the time, yet Dion, in his Epitome, informs us that Vespasian and Titus did not as usual assume the name of the conquered country, but had triumphal arches decreed to them; and Sextus Rufus, in his description of the fourth

region, mentions Arcus Titi. But the monument speaks for itself, plainly declaring in its inscription, that it was erected by the senate and people to the honor of Titus and Vespasian.

And now let us turn to the account given by Josephus, of the triumphal procession which took place upon the occasion, and to which we wish particularly to direct the attention of our readers. "Amongst other trophies carried before them," says the historian, "there were the golden table which weighed many talents, and the candlestick also of gold, constructed on a different principle from anything now in use amongst us. In the middle was the stem, which rose out of the base; from this proceeded smaller branches, very much resembling the form of a trident, and on the top of each of them was a candlestick wrought in brass—there were seven, emblematic of the Jewish week: the last of the spoils was carried the *Law of the Jews*." (7th Bk. Ch. 5. Oxford edition).

Vespasian and Domitian were present with Titus in this triumph, and when it had finished at the Capitol, the son of Simon, one of the captives, was strangled.

The next thing to which we shall direct the attention of our readers is the description of the Arch itself, with its sculpture.

And 1st the inscription.

SENATVS. POPVLVSQVE. ROMANVS.  
DIVO. TITO. DIVI. VESPASIANI. F.  
VESPASIANO. AVGVSTO.

In the vault is represented the Apotheosis of Titus—the hero borne to heaven on the back of an eagle; and from the word DIVO, which appears in the inscription, it has been inferred that at whatever period it was begun it was not finished during his lifetime. Within the arcade, in all the freedom and grandeur of full relief, are seen the triumph and the spoils carried in it. There is the table, and before the table appears the candlestick mentioned by Josephus, and described in another part of his work. Two of its branches are preserved, and five may be faintly traced; there is one foot of the table still visible, which seems to terminate with the paw or foot of an animal. There are two utensils upon the table, which are called censers by Reland, and in front of the table are also seen two trumpets crossed. On the corresponding bas-relief appears the Emperor in his triumphal car, preceded by Romans crowned with laurel leaves, carrying the fasces; on the frieze are some small figures of warriors leading oxen to sacrifice, and the figure of an old man

carried on a table or slab, which is supposed to be an allegorical representation of the river Jordan.

And now let us look to the passages which it illustrates. Of the golden table and the golden candlestick, an account is given by Moses in Exodus xxv. v. 23, &c.

“Thou shalt make a table of shittim wood, \* \* \* and thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, and make thereto a crown of gold round about.” v. 23, 24. “And thou shalt make a candlestick of pure gold, of beaten work shall the candlestick be made, his shaft and his branches, his bowls, his knops and his flowers shall be of the same. And six branches shall come out of the sides of it, three branches of the candlestick out of the one side, and three branches out of the other side.” v. 31, 32.

Josephus, speaking of the table in his *Antiquities*, Book iii. chap. vi. says, that it had feet, which, in the lower part, showed the perfect form of animals, such as the Dorians are wont to use for their couches, but were square in the upper half; and Reland says, that in his time the legs of the table in the arch ended in the form of true feet, such as are those of animals, *ungularum tripartita distinctio*. Now, as we see from the description, only one obscure form of foot remains. In the time of Reland, the candlestick was entire with all its branches, knops and flowers; he gives an engraving of it from a drawing furnished by a friend at Rome, an Englishman, from which it appears that the branches were all in the same plane, and of the same height. Josephus, in his *Antiquities*, Lib. iii. chap. 6, describes it in terms nearly the same as Reland, particularly specifying the flowers with knops and bowls.—Ex.

The vessels upon the table, which are called censers, according to Reland, were the vessels peculiar to it, and generally placed upon it, holding the frankincense. To this subject he dedicates a whole chapter, (ch. xi.) showing, from various Hebrew authorities, that such was their place and use.

Of the trumpets and their use, we shall find an account in Numb. x., 1, 2, “And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Make thee two trumpets of silver, of a whole piece shalt thou make them, that thou mayst use them for the calling of the assembly, and for the journeyings of the camps.”

And Josephus, speaking of the same fact, describes the form of the trumpet, exactly corresponding to the form of those on the Arch of Titus; he adds, that they were called *Asosra*, and that they were two. Besides their use in assembling the people morning and evening in the wilderness, the priests were commanded to blow them when the people entered into battle, and upon their solemn feast days and sacrifices, and new moons.

To us, however, what has been least noticed is the most interesting,—that which was carried last in the procession according to Josephus, the official copy of the Book of the Law,—it was once, probably, represented in the arch, but did not appear in it when Reland wrote. The wonder is that so much remains, for in the time of Sextus IV. the bas-reliefs were not visible, having been buried in the accumulated soil, and the usual road through it having been stopped.

The first account of this official copy will be found in the 32d Chap. of Deut. 9, 10, 11, where the Lawgiver himself solemnly sealed the Record of the Pentateuch, and delivered and commended it to his countrymen: “And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it to the priests the sons of Levi, which bare the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, and unto all the Elders of Israel, and Moses commanded them, saying, At the end of every seven years in the solemnity of the year of release in the Feast of Tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before the Lord thy God, in the place which he shalt choose, then shall thou read this law before all Israel in their hearing.”

To preserve this sacred deposit pure from all change, he enjoined, Deut. iv. 2, “You shall not add unto the word which I have commanded you, neither shall you diminish from it;” and, as a further guard, he had enjoined, by anticipation, Deut. xviii. 18, “That every king should write him a copy of this law in a book, out of that which is before the Priests and Levites;” and, finally, in Joshua, xxiv. 26, when Joshua made the people renew the Covenant in Shechem, he solemnly records it in the Book of the Law:—“Joshua wrote these words in the Book of the Law of God, and took a great stone and set it up there under an oak, that was by the Sanctuary of the Lord.” From this period did the Law remain in the Ark, sometimes in the Tabernacle, and sometimes removed from it, till the time of Solomon, who, having completed and dedicated the Temple, brought the tabernacle from Gibeon, and placed it with the Ark of the Covenant in the Sanctuary.

In the days of Josiah there was a solemn recognition of the authority of the Pentateuch, by the King and the whole people of the Jews; 2nd Chronicles, ch. xxxiv., v. 3. 14, on which occasion the Priests found a copy of the Law, probably, the autograph of Moses himself, originally deposited in the Ark. (See Patrick, &c.) “Hilkiah the priest found a book of the Law of the Lord given by Moses, and Hilkiah answered and said to Shaphan the Scribe, I have found the book of the Law in the house of the Lord. And Hilkiah delivered the book to Shaphan, and Shaphan carried the book to the King—And Shaphan read

it before the King, and it came to pass when the King had heard the words of the Law, that he rent his clothes."

It seems not improbable, that the part read to him by which he was so greatly affected, was a passage in Deut. containing the prophetic denunciations of the Lawgiver, against the apostacies of the people.

Whether this original copy was burnt or destroyed with the Temple when the Jews were carried away by Nebuchadnezzar, and the city was laid waste does not appear; it is probable, however, that it was not, as the Persians were by no means hostile to the religion of the Jews, but on many occasions shewed their respect and veneration for it, requesting the prayers of the priests for their prosperity, and proclaiming the God of Israel, as the God of all the earth; and we find the Prophet Daniel, during the captivity, referring to the book of the Law as then existing, ch. ix. 11—13; besides, as the vessels were restored on their return, it is probable that the other sacred deposits accompanied them; at all events, it is certain that a copy of the Law was brought out and read to the people at their desire by Ezra, after the captivity, and laid up in the second Temple: from this period or soon after with Malachi, the Sacred Oracles cease, and the history of the Jews in the interval, before the coming of our Lord, must be collected from Josephus, the Maccabees, Philo, the fragments of Hecataeus, and of other authors now lost. From these we learn that an official copy of the Law was carefully preserved in the second Temple, and that it was brought out and read to Alexander the Great who recognized his own history in a part of the Prophecy of Daniel. Antiochus Epiphanes, 170 years before Christ, plundered the Temple, suspended the worship, and destroyed many copies of the Law. What became of the official copy in this distress does not appear, but new vessels were placed in the Temple, which, in the time of Herod the Great, was restored to its ancient splendour, when again the Book of the Law, with the other sacred deposits, appear in the Sanctuary.

But the fate of these sacred objects, thus carried in triumph by Vespasian and Titus, is well worthy of attention. After the triumph of Titus, the other spoils were deposited by Vespasian in a splendid building called the Temple of Peace, but the Copy of the Law and the Purple Veil of the Sanctuary were preserved in the imperial palace; thus they all remained for more than 300 years, till in the sack of Rome 455, they fell into the hands of Genseric, and were carried into Africa to Carthage; from thence they were afterwards translated to Constantinople, then the capital of the Roman empire, by Belisarius, who recovered them in his conquest of Africa; and by a strange vicissitude.

they were again transferred to Jerusalem. Anastasius, whose words are quoted by Reland, describes the transportation of the Roman treasure (amongst them the *Vasà Hebraica*) to Africa by Genseric, and also their restoration to Europe by Belisarius. Procopius, speaking of the triumph of Belisarius, says, " amongst these (the spoils carried away from Rome by Genseric) were the vessels of the Jews, which Titus, the son of Vespasian, had brought to Rome after the destruction of Jerusalem; at the sight of which, a certain Jew, looking upon the triumph, observed that it would not be wise to carry these spoils to the palace in Constantinople, as they could no where be preserved but in the Temple where Solomon had deposited them; that on account of their forcible separation from it, Genseric had been permitted to capture the Roman palace and Belisarius that of the Vandals; and that the emperor having heard the story, ordered them to be transported to a Christian church at Jerusalem. What has become of them since it is difficult to conjecture; it is suspected by some they were carried to Persia in the year 641 by Chosroes, but Reland doubts whether the ship in which they were embarked ever reached its destination.

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# STATE OF THE DIOCESES

## IN

# ENGLAND AND WALES,

FROM APRIL TO JUNE INCLUSIVE.

### PREFERRED.

The Honourable and Reverend EDWARD GREY, D.D., to the See of Hereford, vacant by the decease of the late Right Reverend GEORGE ISAAC HUNTINGFORD, D.D., Lord Bishop thereof.

The Rev. DANIEL WILSON, D.D., of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, and Vicar of Islington, to the See of Calcutta, vacant by the death of the late Right Rev. Dr. TURNER.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
<b>York.</b>			
Archdeaconry of Nottingham . . . . }	York . .	G. Wilkins, D.D.	Earl Manvers.
Cottingham-cum-Skidley, V. . . . }	E. York .	R. Barker . .	Bishop of Chester.
Crambe, V. and Hutton Ambo, P.C. }	N. York .	Wm. Richardson	The Archbishop.
Hovingham, P.C. . . .	N. York .	Rich. Prowde .	Earl of Carlisle.
Whitgift, C. . . . .	W. York .	R. S. Robson .	N. E. Yarburch, Esq.
<b>London.</b>			
London, St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, R. . . }	Middlesex .	J. Russell, D.D. {	Bishop of London.
— St. Peter ad Vincula, R. . . . }		Rish. Rob. Bailey	The King this turn.
Thorington, R. with Frating, R. . . . }	Essex . .	Rich. Duffield .	The Lord Chancellor.
Westminster, Regent Street, C. . . . . }	Middlesex .	Rich. Duffield .	St. John's Coll. Camb.
— St. John the Evangelist, R. . }		J. G. Brett . . }	R. of St. George, Hanover Square.
		J. Jennings . .	Dean and Chapter.
<b>Durham.</b>			
Grindon, V. . . . .	Durham .	W. Withers Ewbank	Sherburn Hospital.
Longnewton, R. . . .	Durham .	Tho. H. Dyke .	The Lord Bishop.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
<b>Winchester.</b>			
Thruxton, R. . . . .	Hants . .	Lanc. M. Halton	Mrs. Harriot Halton.
Winchester, St. Peter's, } Cheeshill, R. . . . }	Hants . .	J. Stevenson . .	Lord Chancellor.
<b>Bath and Wells.</b>			
Almsford, R. . . . .	Somerset .	Tho. Woodforde	Rev. Fra. Woodforde.
Bath, Walcot, St. } Saviour's, C. . . . }	Somerset .	H. S. C. Crook .	R. of Walcot.
Farley, Hungerford, R.	Somerset .	W. S. Robinson	Jos. Houlton, Esq.
Queen's Camel, V. . .	Somerset .	Cha. Langdon .	Miss Ann Mildman.
<b>Bristol.</b>			
Coombe Keynes, V. } with Wool, V. . . . }	Dorset . .	E. D. Witt . .	John Bond, Esq.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of .	Bristol . .	Edw. Bankes .	Lord Chancellor.
<b>Carlisle.</b>			
Askham, V. . . . .	Westmore nd	J. T. Ward . .	
Mallerstang, C. . . .	Westmorll nd	John Fawcett .	Earl of Thanet.
Musgrave, R. . . . .	Westmorl nd	John Bowstead .	The Lord Bishop.
<b>Chester.</b>			
Pointon, P. C. . . . .	Chester . .	Robert Litler .	Lady Vernon.
Samlesbury, C. . . . .	Lancaster .	F. Law . . . .	V. of Blackburne.
Shocklach, C. . . . .	Chester . .	C. W. W. Eaton	Sir R. Puleston.
Threapwood, P. C. . .	Flint . . .	J. Fred. Churton	The Lord Bishop.
Toxteth Park, St. } John, C. . . . . }	Lancaster .	James Hassall .	R. of Walton.
Walton le Dale . . . .	Lancaster .	H. W. M'Grath	V. of Blackburne.
<b>Chichester.</b>			
Can. Res. in Cath. Ch. of	Chichester .	Geo. Wells . . .	The Lord Bishop.
Middleton, R. . . . .	Sussex . .	J. B. Reed . . .	Lord Chancellor.
<b>Ely.</b>			
Soham, V. . . . .	Cambridge .	Henry Tasker .	Pembroke Coll. Camb.
Thriplow, V. . . . .	Cambridge .	John Jenks . . .	The Lord Bishop.
<b>Exeter.</b>			
Bondleigh, R. . . . .	Devon . . .	G. Croly Clark .	Hon. P. C. Wyndham.
Butterleigh, R. . . . .	Devon . . .	J. Pyke Jones .	The Lord Chancellor.
Chipping Campden, R.	Devon . . .	C. E. Kennaway	Lord Barham.
Clovelly, R. . . . .	Devon . . .	C. Kingsley . . .	Sir J. H. Williams, Bt.
Exeter, St. Paul, R. . .	Devon . . .	A. T. R. Vicary	Dean and Chapter.
Holcombe Burnell, V.	Devon . . .	R. J. Beadon . .	Rev. W. P. Thomas, as Preb. of Holcombe.
Ladock, R. . . . .	Cornwall .	Henry Ware . .	Lord Grenville.
Teigngrace, R. . . . .	Devon . . .	John Templer .	Duke of Somerset.
Upplowman, R. . . . .	Devon . . .	Syden. Pidsley .	Trustees.
Witheridge, V. . . . .	Devon . . .	W. P. Thomas .	R. Melhuish, Esq.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
<b>Gloucester.</b>			
Chipping Bamden, R.	Gloucester .	Cha. E. Kennaway	Rt. Hon. Ld. Barham.
Sudeley, R. and Winchcombe, V. with Gretton, C. }	Gloucester .	Edw. H. Dawson	Cha. H. Tracey, Esq.
<b>Hereford.</b>			
Deanery of, and Prebend of Pyon Parva, in Cath. Ch. of }	Hereford .	John Merewether	The King.
Dormington, R. with Bartistree, C. . . }	Hereford .	Hen. Card, D.D.	E. T. Foley, Esq.
Peterchurch, V. . .	Hereford .	Braith. Armitage	Govs. of Christ Hosp.
<b>Lichfield &amp; Coventry.</b>			
Dawley, C. . . . .	Salop . .	John Wood . .	
<b>Lincoln.</b>			
Barrow-upon-Soar, V.	Leicester .	Rich. Gwatkin .	St. John's Coll. Camb.
Great Gransden, V. .	Hunts . .	Fred. Le Grice .	Clare Hall, Camb.
Marton, V. . . . .	Lincoln .	John White . .	The Lord Bishop.
Newport Pagnell, V. .	Bucks . .	Geo. Morley . .	Lord Chancellor.
Therfield, R. . . .	Herts . .	Daniel Twining .	Dn. & Ch. of St. Paul's.
<b>Windsor.</b>			
Colwinston, V. . . .	Glamorgan .	Evan Jones . .	Miss Thomas.
<b>Norwich.</b>			
Barrow, R. . . . .	Suffolk . .	Arthur Carrighan	St. John's Coll. Camb.
Charsfield, P. C. . .	Suffolk . .	G. W. Kershaw .	Earl Howe.
Cramworth, R. with Letton, R. . . . }	Norfolk . .	Philip Gurdon .	Theo. T. Gurdon, Esq.
Felthorpe, R. and Ringland, V. . . }	Norfolk . .	A. W. Schomberg	The Lord Bishop.
Freston, R. and Holbrook, R. . . }	Suffolk . .	J. B. Wilkinson }	Rev. G. Capper and Rev. Tho. Mann.
Gorleston, R. with South Town, R. }	Norfolk . .	Wm. Gunn . }	Rev. J. B. Wilkinson.
and West Town, C. }			Lucy Browne.
Hackford, R. . . . .	Norfolk . .	T. Crompton .	T. T. Gurdon, Esq.
Ilketshall, St. John's, V.	Suffolk . .	Russell Richards	Lord Chancellor.
Newbourn, R. . . .	Suffolk . .	John Gale Dobree	Sir W. Rowley, Bart.
Norwich, St. Augus- tine, R. . . . . }	Norfolk . .	Samuel Stone .	Dean and Chapter.
Pensthorpe, R. . . .	Norfolk . .	Henry Dagmore	Rev. Geo. Coldham.
Redlingfield, C. . .	Norwich .	Geo. Sandby .	Alex. Adair, Esq.
Thwaite, All Saints, R.	Norfolk . .	John Stewart . .	The Lord Bishop.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
<b>Oxford.</b>			
Chalgrove, <i>V.</i> with } Berrick, <i>C.</i> . . . }	Oxford . .	J. W. Lockwood	Christ Ch. Oxford.
Steeple Aston, <i>R.</i> . .	Oxford . .	Joseph Burrows	Brasenose Coll. Oxf.
<b>Peterborough.</b>			
Abthorpe, <i>C.</i> . . .	Northampton	Tho. Coldwell . .	Bp. of Lich. & Coven.
Brixworth, <i>V.</i> . . .	Northampton	Cha. F. Watkins	Ch. of Cath. of Sarum.
Charwelton, <i>R.</i> . . .	Northampton	Geo. Boulton . .	Sir Cha. Knightley.
Chipping Warden, <i>R.</i>	Northampton	E. Gibbs Welford	Lady Susan North.
Evenley, <i>V.</i> . . . .	Northampton	J. B. Harrison {	St. Mary Magd. Coll. Oxford.
Exton, <i>V.</i> . . . .	Rutland . .	Hon. Leland Noel	Sir G. N. Noel. Bart.
Great Addington, <i>R.</i>	Northampton	James Tyley . .	Rev. J. Tyley.
Hardwick, <i>R.</i> . . .	Northampton	T. S. Hughes . {	Louisa and Sarah Jane Hughes.
Maxey, <i>V.</i> . . . .	Northampton	John James . .	Dean and Chapter.
Ravensthorpe, <i>V.</i> . .	Northampton	Aug. P. Saunders	Christ Ch. Oxford.
<b>Salisbury.</b>			
Aldworth, <i>V.</i> . . . .	Berks . . .	J. T. Austen . .	St. John's Coll. Camb.
Blewberry, <i>V.</i> . . .	Berks . . .	W. A. Evanson . .	The Lord Bishop.
Corsham, <i>V.</i> . . . .	Wilts . . .	W. C. Bennett . .	P. Methuen, Esq.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of .	Salisbury .	Wm. Dalby . . .	The Lord Bishop.
<b>St. David's.</b>			
Archdeaconry of . . .	Caermarthen	R. Venables, D.D.	The Lord Bishop.
Devunnuck, <i>R.</i> with } Blaen Glyn Towy, <i>C.</i> }	Brecon . .	W. S. Phillips . .	Bishop of Gloucester.
Disserth, <i>R.</i> with } Bettws Disserseth, <i>C.</i> }	Radnor . .	T. Thomas . . .	The Lord Bishop.
Llanbadarn Vawr, <i>R.</i>	Radnor . .	L. P. Jones . . .	The Lord Bishop.
Llanbedr, <i>R.</i> . . . .	Brecon . .	Edward Lewis . .	Duke of Beaufort.
Llanglydwen, <i>R.</i> . .	Caermarthen	J. Evans . . . .	Lord Chancellor.
St. Ishmael, <i>V.</i> . . }	Pemb. . . .	S. W. Saunders {	Lord Chancellor.
Dale, <i>P. C.</i> . . . . }			Lloyd Phillips, Esq.
<b>Worcester.</b>			
Hampton, <i>P. C.</i> . . .	Worcester .	R. F. Lawrence . .	Christ Ch. Oxford.
Oldbury, <i>P. C.</i> . . .	Worcester .	Geo. Sproston . .	Rev. W. R. Holden.

**CHAPLAINCIES.**

Bateman, Josiah, to be Chaplain to the Honourable East India Company in India, and Chaplain to the Bishop of Calcutta.

Bruce, Courtney Boyle, to be Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Longford.

Dennis, Edwin P., B.C.L. of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, to be Domestic Chaplain to Lord Panmure.

Moore, Edward, M.A. of Brasenose

College, Oxford, to be Domestic Chaplain to Lord Cornwallis.

Robson, R. S., to be Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Balcarras.

Scott, Alexander, to be Domestic Chaplain to Dowager Marchioness of Lothian.

Williams, Wm., M.A. of All Souls College, Oxford, to be Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Warwick.

**SCHOOLS.**

Crofts, Christopher, to the Mastership of Woodbridge Grammar School.

Mackenzie, Charles, to the Head Mastership of Queen Elizabeth's Free Grammar School, Southwark.

Saunders, Aug. Page, Student of Christ Church, Cambridge, to the Head Mastership of the Charter House School.

**HOSPITAL, PREACHERSHIP.**

Armstrong, —, to the Mastership of Hemsworth Hospital.

Robins, S., to be Morning Preacher of the Female Orphan Asylum, London.

Merewether, John, to be Supernumerary Deputy Clerk of the Closet to His Majesty.

**ORDAINED.****BATH AND WELLS.**

By the Lord Bishop.

*April 22.*

**DEACONS.**

John Thomas Fisher, S. C. L. Jesus College, Cambridge.

Charles James Wade, B.A. Jesus College, Cambridge.

George Willy, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

**PRIESTS.**

Walter Alford, B.A. St. Edmund Hall, Oxford.

William Yorke Draper, B.A. Wadham College, Oxford.

Thomas Beagly Nayler, B.A. Magdalen Hall, Oxford.

Georgè W. Newnham, M.A. Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

John Nurse, B. A. Merton College, Oxford.

Francis Crome Parsons, B.A. Worcester College, Oxford.

Edward Phillot, B.A. Pembroke College, Oxford.

Robert Allan Scott, M.A. Balliol College, Oxford.

Theophilus F. Blackburne, B.A. Jesus College, Cambridge.

John Bazett Doveton, B.A. Downing College, Cambridge.

John King Eagles, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

James Morgan, B. A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Daniel Dodd Samuel, B. A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

*June 10.*

**DEACONS.**

Jonathau James Toogood, B.A. Pembroke College, Oxford.

Wm. Edward Trenchard, B.A. Pembroke College, Oxford.

Wm. P. Trelawny Wickham, M.A. Balliol College, Oxford.

Geo. Ayliffe Poole, B.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

**PRIESTS.**

William Irving, B. A. Jesus College, Oxford.

A. H. Fownes Luttrell, B.A. Pembroke College, Cambridge.

**ELY.**

By the Lord Bishop, at St. George's,  
Hanover Square.

June 10.

**DEACONS.**

Arthur Tatham, B.A. Magdalen College Cambridge.

Allen William Chatfield, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

George Fisk, S.C.L. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Horatio Samuel Hildyard, St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

Wm. Perceval Baily, B.A. Clare Hall, Cambridge.

George Ash Butters, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Charles Pritchard, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

William John Clayton, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

George Williams, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Adam Fitch, B.A. Christ's College, Cambridge.

**PRIESTS.**

G. Phillips, M.A. Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge.

Lewis W. Sampson, B.A. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

G. Thackeray, B.A. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

J. Thackeray, M.A. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

John Tinkler, M.A. Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

James Fendall, M.A. Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge.

Florence James Wethered, B.A. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

C. Frederick Childe, B.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Charles Luxmore, B.A. King's College, Cambridge.

William Law, M.A. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Fred. Thos. Wm. Coke Fitzroy, B.A. Fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge.

Halsted Elwin Cobden Cobden, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Rob. Barrick, M.A. Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge.

**EXETER.**

April 39.

By the Lord Bishop, the following gentlemen of the University of Oxford.

**DEACONS.**

James Buckingham, Wadham College.

John Kingdon, Pembroke College.

James R. Whyte, Oriel College.

John M. Chantar, Oriel College.

Henry George Kempe, Exeter College  
William Hocker, Exeter College.

**PRIESTS.**

Sydenham Pidsley, Worcester College.

William Roche, Trinity College.

W. H. Veale, Magdalen College.

Thomas Henry Maitland, Oriel College.

Arthur Johnson, Christ Church.

Charles Rodd, Exeter College.

Henry John Morshead, Exeter College.

Francis T.B. Willesford, Exeter College.

Rufus Hutton, Exeter College.

**LINCOLN.**

By the Lord Bishop, at Buckden.

June 17.

**DEACONS.**

Charles Hippuff Bingham, Caius College, Cambridge.

John Davies, B.A. Trinity Col. Camb.

Robert Edward Hall, B.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Joseph Oldknow, B.A. Christ's College, Cambridge.

Fred. C. G. Pawsey, B.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

James Prosser, B.A. Cath. Hall, Camb.

Thos. Stanton, B.A. Christ's Col. Camb.

S. John Stowe, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Charles Temyson, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Robert Whytehead, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Charles Lessingham Smith, M.A. }  
Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. }

By Let. Dim. from the Bishop of Ely. }  
Henry Cha. Eaton, B.A. St. John's }  
College, Cambridge. }

By Let. Dim. from the Bishop of Norwich. }  
Hon. Gerald Wellesley, M.A. Tri- }  
nity College, Cambridge. }

By Let. Dim. from the Bishop of Durham. }  
Daniel de Boudry, Magdalen Hall, }  
Oxford. }

By Let. Dim. from the Bishop of Bristol. }  
Cha. Hickson, B.A. Magdalen Hall, }  
Oxford. }

By Let. Dim. from the Bishop of Exeter. }

**PRIESTS.**

William M. K. Bradford, M.A. Magdalen Hall, Oxford.

James W. S. Donnison, B.A. University College, Oxford.

Joseph Green, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Henry J. Chitty Harper, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

Thomas Hutchinson, B.A. Clare Hall, Cambridge.

George Cave Orme, B.A. Jesus College, Cambridge.



**Hon. S. G. Osborne, B. A. Brasenose College, Oxford.**

**Edward Price, S. C. L. St. John's College, Cambridge.**

**John Travers Robinson, B. A. Jesus College, Cambridge.**

**William Henry Rooper, B. A. University College, Oxford.**

**Thomas L. J. Sunderland, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.**

**George Wingfield, B. A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.**

#### NORWICH.

*May 20.*

**By the Lord Bishop, in the Cathedral Church.**

#### DEACONS.

**William Corbould, B. A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.**

**George Coulcher, M.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.**

**Jas. Edw. Dalton, B. A. Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge.**

**John Hindes Groome, B.A. Pembroke College, Cambridge.**

**John Wm. Hamilton, M. A. Trinity College, Cambridge.**

**Hen. Churchman Long, B.A. Christ's College, Cambridge.**

**Algernon L. Massingberd, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.**

**William Molson, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.**

**John Nelson, S. C. L. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.**

**T. Starling Norgate, B. A. Caius College, Cambridge.**

**William Vickers, B. A. Queen's College, Cambridge.**

**D. Constable Walley, B.A. Pembroke College, Cambridge.**

**Thomas Burningham, B. A. Trinity College, Oxford.**

**John Wm. Chambers, M.A. St. John's College, Oxford.**

**Wm. Wilcox Clarke, B. A. Wadham College, Oxford.**

**Wm. John Coope, B. A. St. Mary's Hall, Oxford.**

**Alfred Hanbury, S.C.L. St. Mary Hall, Oxford.**

**Thomas Williams Hughes, B.A. St. Edmund Hall, Oxford.**

**John Penleaze, B.A. Magdalen College, Oxford.**

**John Pyemont, B. A. Lincoln College, Oxford.**

**Sayer Stone Warmoll, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.**

**Josias Gardener Webster, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford.**

#### PRIESTS.

**George Baker, B. A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.**

**Henry Bird, B. A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.**

**Richardson Cox, B. A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.**

**Frederick Evans, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.**

**Luke Flood Page, M.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.**

**W. Fras. Rhodes, B.A. Trin.Col. Camb.**

**William Sprigge, B.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.**

**Henry Cupper Smith, B. A. Christ's College, Cambridge.**

**Wm. Thos. Thompson, B.A. Jesus College, Cambridge.**

**John Thos. Elliot West, B. A. Christ College, Cambridge.**

**George Brettell, B.A. Exeter Col. Oxf.**

**William Hall Graham, B. A. Exeter**

**Robert George Lewis, A.M. Wadham**

**Charles Lloyd, B.A. Jesus Col. Oxford:**

#### PETERBOROUGH.

**By the Lord Bishop.**

*April 29.*

#### DEACONS.

**Thos. Scott Bonnin, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.**

**John Lloyd Crawley, B. A. Trinity College, Cambridge.**

**Abel Seyer Lendon, B. A. Christ Church, Oxford.**

**Charles Warren, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.**

#### PRIESTS.

**Raisley Calvert, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.**

**Frederic Septimus Emly, M.A. Wadham College, Oxford.**

**William Severne, M.A. Queen's College, Oxford.**

**William Thornton, M.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.**

#### SALISBURY.

**By the Lord Bishop, in the Chapel of his Palace.**

*April 15.*

#### DEACONS.

**George Robbins, B. A. Magdalen College, Oxford.**

**John James Vaughan, B. A. Merton College, Oxford.**

**Steph. Ralph Spicer, B.A. Worcester College, Oxford.**

**Thomas Cottle, M.A. Pemb. Col. Oxf.**

#### PRIESTS.

**Rich. Pet. Hoare, B.A. Trin.Col. Camb.**

**H. J. Cooper, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.**

## DECEASED.

The Right Rev. GEORGE ISAAC HUNTINGFORD, D. D. F. R. S. Lord Bishop of Hereford, on Sunday, April 29th, aged 84. Consecrated Bishop of Gloucester in 1802, and translated to Hereford in 1815.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
<b>York.</b>			
Cottingham, V. . . . .	E. York . .	James Deans . .	Bishop of Chester.
Hovingham, P. C. . . .	N. York . .	Robert Frear . .	Earl of Carlisle.
Thornton-le-street, R. } with N. Otterington, } V. . . . . }	N. York . .	T. Hartland Fowle	Ch. Ch. Oxford.
<b>London.</b>			
Foulness, R. . . . .	Essex . .	Thomas Archer . .	Earl of Winchelsea.
Langford, R. . . . .	Essex . .	W. Westcombe	Mrs. Westcombe.
Woodford, R. . . . .	Essex . .	Wm. Boldero . .	Hon. W. T. L. P. Walsley.
Wormley, R. . . . .	Herts . .	Tho. M'Culloch	Sir A. Hume, Bt.
Westminster, Regent } Street, C. . . . . }	Middlesex .	Edw. Williams }	Rector of St. George, Hanover Square.
<b>Durham.</b>			
Esk, C. and } Satley, C. . . . . }	Durham . .	John Harriman . .	C. of Lanchester.
Grindon, V. . . . .	Durham . .	C. Terrot . . . .	Sherburn Hospital.
<b>Winchester.</b>			
Banstead, V. . . . .	Surry . .	Wm. Buckle . .	Rev. W. Buckle.
Bramshot, R. . . . .	Hants . .	Wm. Nicholson . .	Queen's Coll. Oxford.
Guildford, St. Nicholas, R. . . . . }	Surry . .	Edward Fulham	Dean of Sarum.
Thrxuton, R. . . . .	Hants . .	L. Greenth. Halton	Mrs. Harriett Halton.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
<b>Bath and Wells.</b>			
Aisholt, R. and Grenton, R. . . . }	Somerset .	John Brice . . }	Rev. John Brice. S. Kekewich, Esq.
Fifehead, V. and Merriott, V. and Swell, V. . . . }	Somerset .	Thomas Price .	Dn. and Ch. of Bristol.
Queen's Camel, V. and Puddimore Milton, R. }	Somerset .	T. H. Pearson }	Miss Ann Mildman. T. S. Horner, Esq.
<b>Carlisle.</b>			
Askam, V. . . . .	Westmorl. .	J. Langton Leech	E. Bolton, Esq.
<b>Chester.</b>			
Middleton, R. . . .	Lancashire .	James Archer .	Lady Suffield.
Mobberley, R. . . .	Chester . .	J. H. Mallory .	Rev. J. H. Mallory.
Shocklach, C. . . .	Chester . .	Peter Ravenscroft	Sir R. Puleston, Bart.
<b>Chichester.</b>			
Prebend. in Cath. Ch. of	Chichester .	Edward Fulham	The Lord Bishop.
<b>Ely.</b>			
Carlton, R. with Willingham, C. . . }	Cambridge	Wm. Boldero .	Lord Dacre.
Great Wilbraham, V. .	Cambridge	Joseph Studholme	Mrs. Hicks.
Soham, V. . . . .	Cambridge	George Haggitt .	Pembroke Coll. Camb.
<b>Exeter.</b>			
Boconnoc, R. . . .	Cornwall .	T. Bennett . .	Lord Grenville.
Ladoc, R. and Merthyr Uni. P. C. }	Cornwall .	George Moore .	Lord Grenville.
Preb. and Can. Res. in Cath. Ch. and Pinhoe, V. . . . }	Devon . .	Thomas Bartlam	The Lord Bishop.
Rackenford, R. . . .	Devon . .	John Comins .	Thomas Comins, Esq.
Stoke Fleming, R. . .	Devon . .	Wm. Manley .	Chr. Farwell, Esq.
Plympton, R. . . .	Devon . .	Edw. O. Holwell	Oriel Coll. Oxford.
<b>Lichfield &amp; Coventry.</b>			
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of .	Lichfield .	William Walker	The Lord Bishop.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
<b>Lincoln.</b>			
Bjerton, <i>V.</i> with Buckland, <i>C.</i> and Stoke Mandeville, <i>C.</i> and Carsington, <i>R.</i>	Bucks . . }	Thomas Smith }	Dean and Chapter.
Ellesborough, <i>R.</i>	Derby . }	C. Stanley Leathes }	Dean of Lincoln.
Melton Mowbray, <i>V.</i> with Burton Lazars, <i>C.</i> Freeby, <i>C.</i> Sysonby, <i>C.</i> and Welby, <i>C.</i>	Bucks . . Leicester .	Thomas Godfrey	R. G. Russell, Esq.
Newport Pagnell, <i>V.</i> Preb. in Cath. Ch. of	Lincoln .	G. Durham . . Geo. Moore . .	Peter Godfrey, Esq. Lord Chancellor. The Lord Bishop.
<b>Norwich.</b>			
Bradingham, East, <i>R.</i> Shouldham, <i>C.</i> and Shouldhamthorpe, <i>C.</i> and Tottenhill, <i>P.C.</i>	Norfolk . . }	Arthur Iveson . }	Thomas Oxley, Esq. Thomas Hare, Esq. Bishop of Ely.
Bungay, St. John, <i>R.</i> and Stuston, <i>R.</i>	Suffolk . . }	Wm. Walker .	Sir E. Kerrison, Bart.
Denham, <i>V.</i> with Hoxne, <i>V.</i> and Martlesham, <i>R.</i>	Suffolk . . }	G. C. Doughty }	T. Maynard, Esq. Mrs. Goodwin.
Gorleston, <i>R.</i> with South Town, <i>R.</i> and West Town, <i>C.</i>	Suffolk . . }	Tho. Browne, D.D.	Mrs. Astley.
Homersfield, <i>R.</i> with Sandcroft, <i>R.</i> and St. Cross, <i>R.</i>	Suffolk . . }	Wm. Clarke . .	Alex. Adair, Esq.
Rainham, St. Mary and St. Margaret, <i>R.</i>	Norfolk . . }	E. Dewing . .	W. Ainge, Esq.
Ringland, <i>V.</i>	Norfolk . .	Samuel Carter .	Bishop of Ely.
Tatterford cum Tat- teset, <i>R.</i>	Norfolk . . }	Robert Norris .	Sir Cha. Chad, Bart.
Thwaite, All Saints, <i>R.</i> and Walsham, St. Mary, <i>V.</i>	Norfolk . . }	Edward Valpy }	The Lord Bishop. The Lord Bp. by lapse.
Tivetshall, St. Mary, <i>R.</i> St. Margaret, <i>R.</i>	Norfolk . . }	Thomas Talbot .	Earl of Orford.
Wheatacre, All Saints, <i>R.</i>	Norfolk . }	William Bond .	Caius Coll. Oxford.
and Barnaby cum Mutford	Suffolk . }		
<b>Oxford.</b>			
Pirton, <i>V.</i>	Oxford . .	Wm. Buckle . .	Ch. Ch. Oxford.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
<b>Peterborough.</b> Brixworth, V. . . .	Northampton	John De Chair .	Chanc. of Salisb. Cath.
<b>Salisbury.</b> Cholsey, V. . . . . Poorslock, V. with West Milton, C. . . }	Berks . . Dorset . .	Wyatt Cottle . J. Williams . .	Lord Chancellor. Dean and Chapter.
<b>St. David's.</b> Can. Res. of Cath.Ch. of and Archdeacon of and Preb.in Coll.Ch. and Devunnuck, V. Blaen Glyn Towy, C. . . . }	St. David's Caermarth. Brecon . Brecon .	Hen.Tho.Payne	Bishop of St. David's. Bishop of Gloucester.

Name.	Residence or Appointment.
Brañdon, Rev. Lord . . . . .	At Nice.
Goussell, J. B. . . . .	Teacher of the French Language at the University of Cambridge.
Thorpe, R. A. B.D. . . . .	Fellow, Tutor and Latin Reader of Corpus Christi Coll. Oxford.
Dickens, James C. O'Hara . .	At Copdock Hill, near Ipswich.
Griffith, W. M. A. . . . .	Scholar of Jesus College, Oxford.
Pilkington, Wm. . . . .	Probationary Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.
Scott, Dr. . . . .	Head Master of Stamfordham endowed School, Northumberland.

PROCEEDINGS  
OF  
THE UNIVERSITIES.

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OXFORD.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM APRIL TO JUNE INCLUSIVE.

DOCTOR IN DIVINITY.

June 9.

The Very Reverend John Merewether,  
Queen's College, Dean of Hereford.

DOCTOR IN DIVINITY, BY DIPLOMA.

April 12.

Rev. Daniel Wilson, M.A. St. Edmund  
Hall, Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

DOCTOR IN MEDICINE.

June 21.

John Read Corrie, M.D. of Corpus  
Christi College, Cambridge, was admitted,  
*ad eundem*.

DOCTORS IN CIVIL LAW.

June 21.

In Convocation, this day, in the thea-  
tre, the Honorary Degree of Doctor in  
Civil Law was conferred on the following  
gentlemen, as persons eminently distin-  
guished in the scientific world:—

Sir David Brewster, K.H., F.R.S. Cor-  
responding Member of the Institute of  
France.

Robert Brown, Esq., F.R.S., Vice Pre-  
sident of the Linnæan Society.

Michael Farraday, Esq. F.R.S. Corre-  
sponding Member of the Institute of  
France.

John Dalton, Esq. F.R.S. Member of  
the Institute of France.

June 16.

In Convocation, this day, it was unani-  
mously agreed to confer the degree of  
Doctor in Civil Law, *by diploma*, on Davies  
Gilbert, Esq. M.P. Honorary M.A. of  
Pembroke College, and some time Presi-  
dent of the Royal Society.

BACHELORS IN DIVINITY.

May 10.

Rev. Edw. Bouverie Pusey, Canon of  
Christ Church, and Regius Professor of  
Hebrew, Grand Compounder.

Rev. D. Veysie, Censor of Christ  
Church.

May 30.

Rev. James Robertson Holcombe, Fel-  
low of Jesus College, Prebendary of St.  
David's.

June 7.

The very Reverend John Merewether,  
M.A. of Queen's College, Dean of Here-  
ford.

BACHELOR IN CIVIL LAW.

May 24,

Francis Povah, Fellow of St. John's  
College.

June 9.

The Rev. John Boote James, B.C.L.  
of Queen's College, Cambridge, was ad-  
mitted, *ad eundem*.

BACHELOR IN MEDICINE, (*with License  
to Practise.*)

June 15.

William Dallas Bernard, M.A. Wad-  
ham College.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

April 7.

Rev. Francis Edmund Witts, Wadham  
College.

Rev. C. Brandon Tyre, Brasenose  
College.

Rev. James Hughes Hallett, Oriel Col.



*April 14.*

Thomas Shann, University College.  
 Thomas Dry, Merton College.  
 Rev. James Tanner, Queen's College.

*May 2.*

R. C. B. Clayton, Brasenose College,  
 grand compounder.  
 Rev. W. M. K. Bradford, Magdalen  
 Hall.  
 Rev. C. T. Cary, Magdalen Hall.  
 Rev. H. J. Morshead, Exeter College.

*May 10.*

A. Morgan, University College, grand  
 compounder.  
 Rev. F. Morgan, St. John's, grand  
 compounder.  
 Rev. C. H. W. Alston, St. Mary Hall.  
 Jasper Nicolls Harrison, Worcester.  
 G. S. Casement, Christ Church.  
 Rev. Alexander Murray, Magdalen  
 Hall.  
 Thomas Denman Whatley, Queen's  
 College.  
 John Griffith Cole, Fellow of Exeter  
 College.  
 Edw. Arthur Dayman, Fellow of Exeter  
 College.

*May 17.*

Rev. Thomas Page, Magdalen Hall.  
 Stephen Gaselee, Balliol College.  
 James Hussey, Balliol College.  
 George Eaton, Brasenose College.  
 Henry Raymond Barker, Merton Coll.

*May 24.*

Rev. Edward Auriol, Christ Church,  
 grand compounder.  
 Henry Barton, Brasenose College,  
 grand compounder.  
 Rev. Thos. Furnivall, Queen's College.  
 Rev. John Parson, Trinity College.  
 Robert A. Hornby, Oriel College.

*May 30.*

Thomas Prickard, St. Mary Hall, grand  
 compounder.  
 Robert Holland, St. Mary Hall.  
 John White, Queen's College.  
 Rev. James Vaughan, Balliol College.  
 John Cooke, Balliol College.

*June 9.*

Henry Clark, Worcester College, grand  
 compounder.  
 Rev. Sackville Usher Bolton Lee,  
 Oriel College.  
 George Frederick Arthur, Trinity Coll.  
 Rev. William North, Jesus College.

*June 13.*

Montague Edmund Newcombe Parker,  
 Oriel College, Grand Compounder.  
 Patrick Boyle, Oriel College, Grand  
 Compounder.  
 Rev. William John Phillpotts, Oriel  
 College.  
 Rev. Robert Dyer, Alban Hall.  
 Rev. Tobias Furneaux, Magdalen Hall.  
 William Duke, Magdalen Hall.  
 Rev. Thomas William Webb, Magda-  
 len Hall.  
 Rev. George Andrew Jacob, Worces-  
 ter College.  
 Rev. Edward Ness, St. Mary Hall.  
 The Hon. Charles Augustus Murray,  
 Fellow of All Souls' College.  
 William Watts, Scholar of University  
 College.  
 Thomas Tyssen Bazely, Fellow of Bra-  
 zenose College.  
 George Barton, Brazenose College.  
 Robert Lloyd, Brazenose College.  
 Temple Hillyard, Brazenose College.  
 Charles Wordsworth, Student of Christ  
 Church College.  
 Samuel Irton Fell, Queen's College.  
 Rev. Edward Pole, Exeter College.  
 Rev. Thomas Inglis Stewart, Exeter  
 College.  
 Henry Horn, Fellow of Magdalen Hall.  
 William Robert Freemantle, Fellow of  
 Magdalen Hall.  
 Rev. William Curling, Wadham Coll.  
 William John Blew, Wadham College.  
 Robert Bentley Todd, Pembroke Coll.  
 Rev. John James, Jesus College.  
 Thomas Griffiths, Jesus College.

*June 21.*

Sir John Mordaunt, Bart. Christ Church  
 College, Grand Compounder.  
 Lord Ashley, Christ Church College.  
 Viscount Sandon, Christ Church Coll.  
 Octavius S. Morgan, Christ Church  
 College.  
 Rev. George Madan, Christ Church  
 College.  
 Charles Boyle, Fellow of All Souls' Coll.  
 Bonamy Price, Scholar of Worcester  
 College.  
 Rev. Charles John Laprimaudaye, St.  
 John's College.  
 Richard Heelis, Queen's College.  
 Rev. Richard Bellamy, Pembroke Coll.  
 Rev. T. B. G. Moore, Pembroke Coll.  
 Rev. H. B. Snooke, Pembroke Coll.

The following gentlemen were admitted *ad eundem* :—

Thomas Smith Turnbull, M.A. President of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

John Blackburn, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Robert Willis, M.A. Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

Edmund Storr Halswell, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

William Garnons, M.A. Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

Henry Edward Fawcett, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

William Miller, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

James Cumming, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Walker Gray, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

James Bowstead, M.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

James Dunn, M.A. Trinity College, Dublin.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

*April 7.*

Hon. Thomas Manners Rous, Balliol College, grand compounder.

*April 14.*

William Henry Bloxsome, Wadham College.

*May 10.*

Harry Vane Russel, Corpus Christi College.

Forster Alleyne M'Geachy, Balliol Coll.

John William Pugh, Balliol College.

R. Lloyd, Brasenose College, incorporated from Trinity College, Dublin.

*May 17.*

W. H. H. Beach, Oriel College, grand compounder.

Francis Palmer, Christ Church.

William Mears, Queen's College.

John Fisher, Queen's College.

*May 24.*

Henry Hutton, Trinity College, grand compounder.

George W. Owen, New Inn Hall.

George James Riddell, New Inn Hall.

Edward D'Oyly Barwell, New Inn Hall.

Dugald Campbell Gill, St. Alban Hall.

Hastings Howes Harington, Magdalen Hall.

Robert Sykes, Magdalen Hall.

Henry H. Crommelin, Magdalen Hall.

Mark Antony Hartnell, Magdalen Hall.

Thomas Cooper, Magdalen Hall.

Edward Lowndes, Magdalen Hall.

John Southwell Hill, Magdalen Hall.

Henry Jones, Jesus College.

Thomas French, Jesus College.

Thomas Jones, Jesus College.

Francis B. Cole, Christ Church

Robert Waller, Brasenose College.

Lomas Miles, Queen's College.

Robert James Dunn, Exeter College.

Henry Hobhouse, Balliol College.

Edmund Dawe Wickham, Balliol Coll.

Allan Maclean Skinner, Balliol Coll.

Hon. Henry Charles Cadogan, Oriel College.

Thomas Stephens, Oriel College.

George Carwithen, Oriel College.

Christopher Rawlins, Oriel College.

Arthur Whipham, Trinity College.

Peregrine Arthur Ilbert, Trinity Coll.

Henry Stuart Powell, Trinity College.

Richard Wood, Fellow of St. John's College.

Edward Alston, Fellow of St. John's College.

*May 30.*

Wm. Cave, St. Mary Hall, Grand Compounder.

Hon. Cha. Brodrick Bernard, Balliol College.

David Thomas Knight, Lincoln Coll.

George Arney, Brasenose College.

Charles Turner, University College.

Wm. Henry Pooke, Worcester College.

George Lillingston, Worcester College.

Fred. Downes Panter, Trinity College.

John Harman Samler, Pembroke Coll.

John Cha. Wm. Leslie, Exeter Coll.

Arthur Stonehouse, Wadham College.

James Edwardes Sewell, Fellow of New College.

James F. Ferrier, Magdalen College.

*June 9.*

Charles R. Moore, Christ Church College, grand compounder.

Charles Edward Lefroy, Christ Church.

Francis Hastings Doyle, Christ Church.

Vesnon Pearce Taylor, Christ Church.

Robert Williams, Christ Church.

Richard E. Roberts, Edmund Hall.

Philip Scholfield, University College.

John L. R. Kettle, Lincoln College.

Charles John Delabere Marsden, Lincoln College.

Robert Spofforth, Lincoln College.

Charles Rowe, Trinity College.

John Rowlandson, Queen's College.  
 Francis Bowcher Wright, Queen's Coll.  
 George Ferris Whidborne, Queen's Coll.  
 John Finden Smith Phabayn, Queen's College.

James Allan Smith, Queen's College.  
 William Warde Fowler, Pembroke Coll.  
 George Dent Johnson, St. John's Coll.  
 William Wellwood Stoddart, Fellow of St. John's College.

Richard Prichard, Jesus College.  
 Edward Prothero Vaughan, Balliol Coll.  
 Patrick Douglas Hadow, Balliol Coll.  
 Hugh Edward Strickland, Oriel Coll.  
 Frederick Rogers, Oriel College.  
 James Robert Burgess, Oriel College.  
 Henry Lewis Stephens, Oriel College.  
 Arthur William Tooke, St. Alban Hall.  
 Harry Jelly, St. Alban Hall.

*June 13.*

William John Birch, New Inn Hall.  
 Thomas Dickenson, Magdalen Hall.  
 James Burnett, Magdalen Hall.  
 John Garwood, Magdalen Hall.  
 John Little, Magdalen Hall.  
 Henry Wildey Wright, Magdalen Hall.  
 William Macquarrie Cowper, Magdalen Hall.

Richard Parson, Magdalen Hall.  
 Henry William Mawre Light, University College.

John Henry Allen, Brazenose College.  
 George Thistlethwaite, Brazenose Coll.  
 Charles Henry Oakes, Merton College.  
 William Cooper Johnson, Merton Coll.  
 John Wetherall, Lincoln College.  
 John Hamilton Bond, Worcester Coll.  
 John French, Worcester College.  
 James Wayland Joyce, Student of Christ Church.

Charles Woodcock, Student of Christ Church.

Edw. Paget, Student of Christ Church.  
 Alexander D. Kelly, Christ Church.  
 Alleyne Cox Yard, Exeter College.  
 William Wayman, Exeter College.  
 William Mountford Stracy, Exeter Coll.  
 Richard Peter Warren, Exeter College.  
 Thomas Davis, Queen's College.  
 Benjamin Davis, Queen's College.  
 James Walrond Burrough, Queen's Coll.  
 Nicholas Rice Callender, Queen's Coll.  
 John Kington Newbold, Queen's Coll.  
 Charles Neale, Queen's College.

Charles William Borrett, Demy of Magdalen.

William Buckler, Magdalen.  
 William Richardson, Wadham College.  
 John Kent, Wadham College.

Henry Tufnell Young, Balliol College.  
 David James Lewis, Jesus College.  
 Richard Evans, Jesus College.  
 Thomas Williams, Jesus College.

*June 21.*

Joseph Salt, Balliol College, Grand Compounder.

James Greenfield, Brasenose College, Grand Compounder.

Alston Wm. Radcliffe, Brasenose Coll.  
 William Rigden, Magdalen Hall.

Daniel de Boudry, Magdalen Hall.  
 William Eyre, Magdalen Hall.

Henry Usborne, Balliol College.  
 Thomas Egerton, Christ Church Coll.

John Wm. Warre Tyndale, Christ Church College.

Hon. Arthur E. D. Dillon, Trinity Coll.  
 Bowyer Vaux, Trinity College.

James Liptrott, Worcester College.  
 Frederick Wickham, Fellow of New College.

## MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

*Elections.**April 27.*

Charles Page Eden, B.A. of Oriel College, was elected Fellow of that Society.

*April 18.*

Mr. Browne was admitted Actual Fellow of New College, from Winchester College, being Founder's kin.

Henry Denison, S. C. L. Fellow of All Souls' College, has been unanimously elected a Scholar on Mr. Viner's Foundation.

*May 3.*

*Senior Proctor.*—The Reverend Francis Clarke, M.A. late Fellow of All Souls' College.

*Junior Proctor.*—The Rev. Richard Young, M.A. Fellow of New College.

*Pro-Proctors.*—Rev. James Bullock, M.A. Fellow of Worcester College; William Falconer, M.A. Fellow of Exeter College; Rev. Thomas Forster, M.A. New College; Geo. Rob. Michael Ward, M.A. Fellow of Trinity College.

The Rev. Robert Spaccatt Barter, B.C.L. and Fellow of New College, has been elected by that Society to the War-

denhip of Winchester College, vacant by the death of the late Bishop of Hereford.

The Rev. Frederick Nolan, D.C.L. of Exeter College, has been appointed by the Heads of Colleges to preach the Bampton Lectures in 1853.

*May 9.*

Messrs. Humfry, Gardiner, and Burdon, Undergraduate Commoners of Lincoln College, were elected Lord Crewe's Exhibitioners; and Messrs. West, of Lincoln College, and Hannam, of St. John's College, were elected Scholars.

*May 11.*

Mr. Digby Octavius Cotes was elected Scholar of University College, on the Yorkshire Foundation.

*May 24.*

Edward Caswall, from Marlborough School, Henry Hall Davis, Commoner of Magdalen Hall, and Wm. Cockin, Commoner of Brasenose College, were elected Scholars of Brasenose College.

*June 8.*

The Rev. Jasper Harrison, M.A. Scholar of Worcester College, was elected Fellow on Mrs. Eaton's Foundation, and Messrs. Wm. Whitehead and Charles Bradley, were elected Scholars on the same Foundation.

*June 12.*

The Annual Election of the Senior Pupils of the Merchant Tailors' School took place pursuant to statute, when Messrs. S. H. Russell, J. A. Hessey, and G. K. Morrell, were elected to Fellowships of St. John's College.

*June 15.*

Messrs. Stewart Adolphus Pears and John Matthias Wilson, were elected Scholars of Corpus Christi College.

*June 18.*

The Rev. Wm. John Copeland, M.A. and Thomas Legh Claughton, B.A. Scholars of Trinity College, were elected Probationary Fellows; and Joseph Webster, of Trinity College, and James Cowles Prichard, were elected Scholars of that Society. At the same time, William Henry Ley, of Pembroke College, was elected Blount Scholar of Trinity College.

*May 17.*

In Convocation, the sum of £900 was voted from the University Chest, for the extra repairs and furniture required for the rooms in the Clarendon Building.

*June 13.*

In convocation, the Rev. H. Duke Harrington, M.A. Fellow of Exeter College, the Rev. Peter Hansell, M.A. Fellow of University College, and the Rev. John Wm. Hughes, M.A. of Trinity College, were nominated Masters of the Schools for the ensuing year.

*June 21.*

In Convocation, the sum of 200*l.* was voted from the University chest, in aid of a fund now raising in order to effect certain improvements between Christ Church and Pembroke, by removing several old houses which intercept the view and confine the thoroughfare in front of these colleges.

*May 22.*

Mr. Richard Wood, of St. John's College, was admitted an Actual Fellow of that Society.

*May 26.*

The Rev. M. Barter, the new Warden of Winchester College, having gone through the preliminary ceremonies before the Bishop of Winchester at Farnham Castle, was formally installed by the Fellows in the College Chapel.

*May 30.*

The Rev. Isaac Williams, M.A. of Trinity College, was admitted Actual Fellow of that Society.

*May 31.*

The following gentlemen (previously elected from Westminster School) were admitted Students of Christ Church College,—Thomas Edw. Morris, Edw. John Randolph, Arthur Ralph Barnes, and Thomas Wm. Weare.

Lord Viscount Cantalupo, eldest son of Earl Delawarr, has entered at Christ Church.

Ford Viscount Brome, eldest son of Earl Cornwallis, has entered at New College.

*June 3.*

Mr. Wm. Beadon Heathcote was admitted Scholar of New College.

*The following are the REGULATIONS FOR THE PUSEY AND ELLERTON HEBREW SCHOLARSHIPS, agreed upon in Convocation, for which we had not sufficient space in our last Number.*

*May 22.*

I. That the sum of 30*l.* shall at the first be annually paid to each of the three Scholars who shall be selected in the manner hereinafter mentioned; and that this stipend shall continue, provided the circumstances of the estate shall permit the required payment; and shall be from time to time increased, whenever the proceeds shall allow the addition of 5*l.* to each Scholarship.

II. That all Members of the University under the degree of M.A. or B.C.L., and any persons who having taken either of those degrees shall not have exceeded twenty-five years of age, shall be eligible to these Scholarships.

III. That the Scholarships be holden for three calendar years from the day of election, provided that the following conditions be complied with. Every Scholar shall reside in the first two years after his election to a Scholarship, as follows; viz. not less than seven weeks in the Michaelmas and Lent terms respectively of each year, and seven weeks in the Easter and Act Terms of some one of the two years. During this residence the Scholars shall be required to attend the Lectures of the Professor of Hebrew, unless he dispense with their attendance, and shall pursue studies in that and the cognate languages as the Professor shall advise. The residence of every Scholar shall be certified in writing, to the Trustees hereinafter appointed, by the Head of his College or Hall, or by the Vicegerent in the absence of the said Head. And his attendance upon the Lectures of the Professor of Hebrew, or his dispensation from attendance on them, shall be certified in writing by the said Professor. The Trustees may dispense with the residence of a Scholar during any two of the said periods of seven weeks for any *very urgent* cause, and during any two more, if he can make it appear to the Trustees that he can pursue any branch of these studies to a greater advantage elsewhere; but in either case such dispensation must be approved of by an absolute majority of the whole number, of whom the Regius Professor of Hebrew, or the Reader in Arabic shall always be one.

IV. That the Proceeds arising from this Benefaction be payable to the Trustees hereinafter appointed.

V. That these Trustees be the Vice-Chancellor, the President of Magdalen College, the Dean of Christ Church, the Warden of Wadham College, the Regius Professor of Divinity, the Regius Professor of Hebrew, and the Lord Almoner's Reader in Arabic, respectively, for the time being. The presence of three Trustees shall be necessary to form a Board.

VI. That the Trustees pay the Scholars the sum specified in Regulation I. on their producing the requisite Certificates; discharge all other expenses incident to the Trust; and submit their accounts annually to the Delegates of the University Accounts, to be audited by them.

VII. That the Trustees shall invest in the Public Funds, in the name of the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University, any surplus which may remain after the above payments have been made; unless the Trustees shall think it advisable to appropriate any part of it in prizes, either to meritorious, though unsuccessful Candidates, or for Compositions on any subject connected with the object of the foundation.

VIII. That the Electors be the Regius Professor of Divinity, the Regius Professor of Hebrew, and the Lord Almoner's Reader in Arabic, for the time being; and the same Electors shall be judges of any prize compositions, whenever any prizes (as contemplated in Regulation VII.) may be given. And if in either case any one or more of these official Electors decline acting, or if the office of Professor or Reader be vacant, the Trustees shall appoint an Elector or Electors for that time in his or their stead.

IX.—1. That only one Scholar be elected in one calendar year. And if the Electors at any time shall not think any of the Candidates worthy of the Scholarship, they may decline to elect till the next year.

2. The Examination shall always take place in Act Term, and the first shall be in the year 1832.

3. The Electors shall give a notice of not less than ten days of the time for the holding the Examinations. This notice shall be affixed to the door of the Convocation House, and to the Buttery door of each College and Hall, and distributed to

the Heads of Colleges and Halls, and to the Common Rooms.

4. Every Candidate shall signify his intention of offering himself by delivering to the Electors a Certificate of the consent of the Head or Vicegerent of his College or Hall, together with a certificate of his age, if necessary, two days at least before the commencement of the Examination; and without such Certificate or Certificates the Electors shall not proceed to examine any Candidate.

5. The three Electors conjointly shall be empowered to bestow, with the consent of the Trustees, presents of money or books (not exceeding the sum of £10) upon any unsuccessful Candidate whom they shall judge worthy of that distinction.

6. The mode of conducting the Examination shall be left entirely to the Electors. Besides an accurate and critical acquaintance with the original Scriptures of the Old Testament, the application of the knowledge of Hebrew to the illustration of the New, or to that of any portion of Theology, lies within the contemplation of the Founders. Since, moreover, a sound and extensive acquaintance with other Semitic tongues is very essential to the thorough understanding of Hebrew, and in other ways serviceable to the exposition of Holy Scripture, it is recommended that Candidates should be examined in as many of them as may be practicable. Nevertheless a Scholarship shall not be awarded to a Candidate, how well soever acquainted with any or all of the cognate dialects, unless he be also a proficient in Hebrew.

7. The Electors, on electing a Scholar, shall certify the election to the Vice-Chancellor, who shall cause it to be announced to the University by a paper affixed to the door of the Convocation House.

X. That since, through the changes to

which all human institutions are liable, an adherence to the letter of these Regulations may defeat the very object which the Founders have in view, the Trustees shall be at liberty (with the concurrence of the Founders or any one of them, during their or his life, and of Convocation at all times) to alter or dispense with any of these Regulations, (not even excepting the number of the Scholarships,) as may seem to them advantageous, provided that they never lose sight of the main object of the Foundation—the Promotion of Sound Theology through a Solid and Critical Knowledge of Hebrew.

Number of the Members of this University.

	Members of Convocation.	Members on the Books.
Christ Church . . . . .	462	948
Brasenose . . . . .	234	418
Queen's . . . . .	166	351
Exeter . . . . .	124	299
Oriel . . . . .	144	293
Trinity . . . . .	113	259
Balliol . . . . .	101	257
Worcester . . . . .	88	231
St. John's . . . . .	117	218
Wadham . . . . .	87	217
University . . . . .	103	207
Pembroke . . . . .	89	189
Magdalen Hall . . . . .	48	178
Jesus . . . . .	56	167
Magdalen College . . . . .	123	165
New College . . . . .	72	157
Lincoln . . . . .	78	141
Corpus Christi . . . . .	80	127
Merton . . . . .	67	124
All Souls' . . . . .	69	98
St. Edmund Hall . . . . .	51	96
St. Mary Hall . . . . .	40	83
St. Alban Hall . . . . .	9	41
New Inn Hall . . . . .	1	10
	<hr/> 2522	<hr/> 5274

PUBLIC EXAMINATION.—EASTER TERM.

The names of those candidates, who, at the close of the Public Examinations in Easter Term, were admitted by the Public Examiners into the Four Classes of *Literæ Humaniores*, according to the alphabetical arrangement, in each class, prescribed by the statute, stand as follow:—

FIRST CLASS.

Brewer, John Sherren, Commoner of Queen's College.  
Doyle, Francis Hastings, Commoner of Christ Church.  
Rogers, Frederick, Commoner of Oriel College.



**SECOND CLASS.**

Borrett, Charles William, Demy of Magdalen.

Copleston, Reginald Edward, Fellow of Exeter College.

Fowler, William Ward, Commoner of Pembroke College.

James, Thomas, Commoner of Christ Church.

Kettle, John Lucena Ross, Lord Crewe's Exhibitioner at Lincoln College.

Lefroy, Charles Edward, Commoner of Christ Church.

Menzies, Alfred, Scholar of Trin. Coll.

Richardson, William, Commoner of Wadham College.

Stoddart, William Wellwood, Fellow of St. John's College.

Vaughan, Edward Protheroe, Commoner of Balliol College.

**THIRD CLASS.**

Bachelot, Thomas, Gentleman Commoner of Magdalen Hall.

Blackhall, Henry, Student of Christ Church.

Calvert, Thomas, Probationary Scholar of Queen's College.

Dand, Thomas, Probationary Scholar of Queen's College.

Hadow, Patrick Douglas, Commoner of Queen's College.

Johnson, George Dent, Commoner of St. John's College.

Jones, Henry, Commoner of Jesus Coll.

Martelli, Charles Henry Ansley, Commoner of Trinity College.

Prichard, Rich. Commoner of Jesus Co.

Rowlandson, Joh. Commoner of Queen's College.

Salt, Joseph, Commoner of Balliol Coll.

Sotheby, Thomas Hans, Commoner of New Inn Hall.

Strickland, Hugh Edwin, Commoner of Oriel College.

Thistlewaite, George, Commoner of Brazenose College.

Wayman, William, Commoner of Exeter College.

Wright, Frank Bowcher, Commoner of Queen's College.

Wyatt, Charles Percy, Commoner of Christ Church College.

Young, Henry Tufnell, Commoner of Balliol College.

**FOURTH CLASS.**

Anson, Frederick, Student of Christ Church.

Baker, Godfrey Thomas, Commoner of Christ Church.

Bernard, Hon. Charles Broderick, Commoner of Balliol College.

Burgess, James Robert, Commoner of Oriel College.

Burnett, James, Commoner of St. Edmund Hall.

Deboudry, Daniel, Gentleman Commoner of Magdalen Hall.

Ferrier, James Frederick, Gentleman Commoner of Magdalen College.

Irvine, John, Commoner of Magd. Hall.

Kent, John, Commoner of Wadh. Coll.

Loring, Henry Nele, Commoner of Exeter College.

Lowndes, Edward, Commoner of Magdalen Hall.

Martin, Joseph, Commoner of Jesus College.

Rogers, George Bourdine, Commoner of Pembroke College.

Stanley, Edward Marmaduke, Commoner of Worcester College.

Sutherland, Alexander John, Student of Christ Church College.

Tooke, Arthur William, Gentleman Commoner of St. Alban Hall.

Vaux, Bowyer, Commoner of Trin. Col.

Number of Fifth Class, 105.

Examiners—C. W. Stocker, D.D. Alban Hall; T. W. Lancaster, M.A. Queen's College; R. D. Hampden, M.A. Oriel College; and W. Sewell, M.A. Exeter College.

We understand that the Fourth Class of this year contains *exclusively* the names of those gentlemen, who, not being ambitious of honours, but merely taking up sufficient books for a common examination, performed their exercises in such a manner as to be considered entitled to public notice.

**PRIZES.****DR. ALLERTON'S THEOLOGICAL PRIZE.**

"On the Fulness of Time at which Christ appeared on Earth," awarded to Anth. Grant, B.C.L. Fellow of New Coll.

**CHANCELLOR'S PRIZES.**

*Latin Verse*, "Attila," John Thomas, Trinity College.

*English Essay*, "The Study of different Languages, as it relates to the Philosophy

of the Human Mind," Benjamin Harrison, M.A. Student of Christ Church Col.

*Latin Essay*, "De Stoicorum Disciplina," Thomas Legh Claughton, M.A. Probationary Fellow of Trinity College.

**SIR ROGER NEWDIGATE'S PRIZE.**

*English Verse*, "Staffa," Roundell Palmer, Scholar of Trinity Coll.

## CAMBRIDGE.

### DEGREES CONFERRED FROM APRIL TO JUNE INCLUSIVE.

#### BACHELORS IN DIVINITY.

*June 6.*

Rev. Thos. Gregory, St. John's College.  
Rev. Robt. Little, Sidney College.

*June 11.*

Rev. Geo. Barber Paley, Fellow of St. Peter's College.  
Rev. Samuel Fennell, Fellow of Queen's College.  
Rev. John Malmesbury Kirby, Queen's College.  
Rev. Joseph Taylor, Fellow of St. John's College.

#### DOCTOR IN PHYSIC.

*June 20.*

Edw. Beck, Esq. Jesus College.

#### INCEPTORS TO THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS.

*April 6.*

Joseph Thackeray, Fellow of King's College.  
Capel Loft, Fellow of King's College.  
Robert Pashley, Fellow of Trinity Coll.  
Rev. William Airy, Trinity College.  
Mervyn A. N. Crawford, Trinity Coll.  
John M. Robinson, Trinity College.  
Colin Campbell, Trinity College.  
Lancelot Shadwell, Fellow of St. John's College.  
George Langshaw, Fellow of St. John's College.  
William Martin, Fellow of St. John's College.  
David Bristow Baker, St. John's Coll.  
Halsted E. C. Cobden, St. John's Coll.  
Midgley John Jennings, St. John's Coll.  
George Goldsmith, St. Peter's College.  
Rev. Alexan. Thurtell, Fellow of Caius College.  
Rev. Robert Murphy, Fellow of Caius College.  
George Coulcher, Corpus Christi Coll.  
William Adams, Queen's College.  
John Parkin, Queen's College.  
Robert Birkett, Emmanuel College.

#### HONORARY MASTERS OF ARTS.

*May 9.*

The Hon. Musgrave Alured Henry Har-

ris (son of the late Lord Harris), Corpus Christi College.

Hon. Frederick Henry Yelverton Powys (grandson of the late Lord Lilford), Emmanuel College.

#### MASTERS OF ARTS.

*May 9.*

George James Cubitt, Caius College.  
William Ladds, Caius College.  
Rev. George Phillips, Queen's College.  
Henry Philpott, Fellow of Catharine Hall.  
Charles Lesingham Smith, Fellow of Christ's College.  
Rev. Edmund H. Hopper, Fellow of Christ's College.

*May 23.*

Wm. Aldwin Somes, Fellow of Trinity College.  
Rev. Edw. Pickering Williams, Trinity College.  
James Taylor Ingham, Trinity College.  
Charles Morris, Trinity College.  
Frs. Michael M'Carthy, St. Peter's Coll.  
Rev. Wm. Samuel Parr Wilder, Caius College, Compounder.  
Richard Fleming Hartley, Queen's Coll.

*June 6.*

Francis Scott, Trinity College.  
Rev. Henry Parsons, M.A. of Balliol College, Oxford, was admitted *ad eundem*.

*June 20.*

Rev. John Calthrop, M.A. of Brazenose College, Oxford, was admitted *ad eundem*.

#### LICENTIATES IN PHYSIC.

*May 23.*

Leonard Richard Willan, St. Peter's College.  
Thomas Briggs, Caius College.

#### BACHELORS IN PHYSIC.

*May 9.*

John Okes, Sidney College, Grand Compounder.

*June 6.*

Cha. James B. Aldis, Trinity College.

Wm. Holt Yates, St. John's College.  
 George Wilson, St. John's College.  
 Matthew Scholefield, Caius College.  
 Joseph Jones, Caius College.  
 Edward Williams, Queen's College.  
 Arth. Todd Holroyd, Christ's College.

*June 11.*

George Pardoe, Caius College.

**BACHELORS IN CIVIL LAW.**

*April 6.*

Rev. John Piercy, Catharine Hall.

*May 23.*

John Platt, Trinity College.

*June 6.*

Lord Augustus Fitzclarence, Trinity College.

Rev. John B. James, F. L. S. Queen's College.

Rev. John Morgan, Sidney College.

**BACHELORS OF ARTS.**

*April 6.*

Wilcox Lawrence, Trinity College.

Alexander Wetherall, St. John's Coll.

Henry Denshire, Clare Hall.

John Fisher Garrett, Queen's College.

Joseph Betton, Christ's College.

William Clarke Haines, Caius College.

Robert Baylis, Sidney College.

Edward Dansey, Downing College.

*May 9.*

Michael Nihell Bovill, Trinity College.

James Hayworth, Trinity College.

John Bayley Darvall, Trinity College.

William Milne, St. John's College.

John Daniel, St. John's College.

John Jones, St. John's College.

William Spence, St. John's College.

Charles Bowen, St. Peter's College.

Thomas Dennett West, St. Peter's Coll.

Francis Du Boulay, Clare Hall.

Rev. William Sloman Rowe, Queen's College.

William Acworth, Queen's College.

John Knight, Queen's College.

Edward Robert Lascelles, Cath. Hall.

John Witherington Peers, Cath. Hall.

William Haymond, Jesus College.

Thomas James Scale, Jesus College.

Thomas A. Roper, Magdalene College.

George Baker Garrow, Emmanuel Coll.

Rev. Alex. P. Birrell, Sidney College.

*May 23.*

William Brooke, Fellow of King's Coll.  
 Wm. Wigan Harvey, Fellow of King's College.

John Carey, Trinity College.

Alex. Fowden Halciburton, St. John's College.

Charles George, St. John's College.

Charles Sawbridge, St. Peter's College.

James Walter E. Ellis, Caius College.

Wm. Dark Daniel, Caius College.

Fitzjames Watt, Caius College, Comp.

James Curtis Somerville, Trinity Hall.

Cowdel Chapman, Corpus Christi Coll.

*June 6.*

Richard Geo. L. Blenkinsopp, Trinity College.

Thomas Daniel Holt Wilson, Trinity College.

James Garnett, Trinity College.

David Williams, St. John's College.

John Cross Morphew, St. Peter's College. (Compounder.)

George Tho. Hall, St. Peter's College.

Philip Brandon Backhouse, Clare Hall.

Charles Erskine Mayo, Clare Hall.

William Monkhouse, Caius College.

Edw. Freeman, Corpus Christi College.

Cha. Johnson Snape, Queen's College.

Weston Fullerton, Emmanuel College.

*June 11.*

Archibald Campbell, Trinity College.

Beilby Porteus Hodgson, Trinity Coll.

**MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.**

**ELECTIONS.**

*April 6.*

Edward Howes, of Trinity College, and Henry Cotterill, of St. John's College, were elected Bell's Scholars.

*April 9.*

Messrs. C. Pritchard and J. M. Herbert, Bachelors of Arts, were elected Foundation Fellows of St. John's College.

*April 10.*

Francis Foster, Esq. B.A. of Catharine Hall, was elected a Skirne Fellow of that Society.

*May 3.*

The following gentlemen of Trinity College have been elected Scholars of that Society:—

Walford,  
 Barnes,  
 Feachem,  
 Wright,  
 Lawrence,  
 Phelps,  
 Marsh,  
 Stevenson,

Forsyth,  
 Selwin,  
 Hoare.  
*Westmin. Scholars.*  
 Hue,  
 Ellison,  
 Gwilt,  
 White.

May 4.

Charles Davidson, B. A. of Christ College, has been elected a Fellow of that Society, on the foundation of Sir John Finch and Sir Thomas Baines.

May 9.

The Rev. Harry Longueville Jones, M.A. and the Rev. George Urquhart, B.A. of Magdalene College, were elected Foundation Fellows of that Society.

George Stovin Venables, B.A. Scholar of Jesus College, has been elected a Fellow of that Society.

William Dixon Rangeley and John Newton Peill have been elected Foundation Fellows of Queen's College.

May 11.

Robert Gordon Latham, Esq. Scholar of King's College, was elected a Fellow of that Society.

June 5.

At the close of the examination at St. John's College, the First Class in each year was arranged as follows:—

Third Year.

Pound,	J. Thompson,
Creuze,	Massey,
Paley,	J. H. Barker.
Quirk,	
Howlett,	

Second Year.

Bullock,	Coates,
Low,	Jenner,
J. Wood,	Wharton,
Trentham,	White,
Bryer,	Nevin,
Hey,	Sandford,
Welldon,	Meyler,
Giles,	Huxtable,
Rolfe,	C. Cotterill.

First Year.

Sylvester,	W. H. Smith,
Cotterill,	Gipps,
Scudamore,	Curtis,
Gibbons,	Lambert,
Bishop,	A. Smith,
Ireland,	Bensted,
Waltham,	Bateson,
Hutchinson,	Elty,
Pillard,	W. Laing,
Legrew,	Drake,
Mr. Hope,	R. Barber,
Beadon,	Makinson,

June 7.

J. W. L. Heaviside, B. A. of Sidney Sussex College, was elected a Foundation Fellow of that Society; and the Rev. Chas. James Shaw, M.A. was at the same

time elected a Fellow on Smith's Foundation.

June 12.

The following gentlemen were appointed Barnaby Lecturers:—

*Mathematical.*—Rev. Francis Martin, Trinity College.

*Philosophical.*—William Hamilton Turner, Pembroke College.

*Rhetorical.*—Rev. Edw. Baines, Christ College.

*Logical.*—Rev. John Croft, Christ's College.

TRINITY COLLEGE EXAMINATION.

(Alphabetical List of the First Classes.)

SENIOR SOPHS.

Boteler,	Hankinson,
Brown,	Kemplay,
Fowler,	Phelps,
Gowring,	

JUNIOR SOPHS.

Birks,	Morton,
Forsyth,	Pryor,
Gooch,	Selwyn,
Hoare,	Smyth,
A. Hulton,	Stevenson,
Marsh,	F. Williams,

FRESHMEN.

Allen,	Le Mottee,
Blackburn,	Merivale,
Burnett,	Murray,
J. Cooper,	Musgrave,
Dixon,	Rawle,
Goulburn,	Ross,
Grote,	Scrivener,
Harris,	Seager,
Heisch,	White.
Howes,	

June 15.

M. Chadius Germas, of St. John's College and French Tutor in the Grammar School at Huntingdon, was elected Teacher of the French Language for this University, in the room of the late M. Jean Baptiste Goussell.

GRACES.

April 6.

The following Graces passed the Senate:—

1. That the Syndics, appointed to procure a plan and estimate of expense for erecting a Museum and other Rooms, for the accommodation of the Professors of Chemistry and Anatomy, be authorized to expend a sum, not exceeding 2500*l.*, in the erection of suitable buildings for the above purpose, agreeably to the plan recommended in their report.

2. To continue until the end of next term the Syndicate appointed to reconsider the report dated February 15, 1831, relative to the mode of raising funds for the erection of a New Library, &c.

3. To confirm the regulations recommended in the report of the Syndics appointed to consider whether any and what alterations can be made with advantage in the present mode of examining the Candidates for Mathematical Honours.

The Syndics appointed to consider what steps should be taken in consequence of the difficulties which have arisen respecting the legal conveyance of the Old Printing House and other adjoining property, from the University to the Master and Fellows of Catharine Hall, have reported to the Senate—"That they have not been able to make any arrangement, mutually satisfactory to the Master and Fellows of Catharine Hall and the Syndics, for the removal of those difficulties; and that the Master and Fellows of Catharine Hall have finally declined to complete the purchase."

The Syndics appointed to confer with the Provost and Fellows of King's College, respecting the laying out of the ground in front of King's College and the Public Library, have reported to the Senate—"That, by the kindness of the Provost and Fellows of King's College, the plan on which they propose to lay out the ground in front of King's College, has been submitted to the inspection of the Syndics; and the Syndics regret that they cannot recommend to the University to make any arrangement for laying out the ground in front of the Public Library in conformity with that plan."

At a meeting of the Syndics of the Public Library, May , it was agreed as follows:—"As it appears to the Syndics that the present Librarian is inadequately remunerated for the time and attention which he devotes to the discharge of the duties of his office,—agreed that it be recommended to the Senate to increase the salary of the present Librarian from 210*l.* to 300*l.* a year, and to pay the additional 90*l.* out of the common chest; the augmentation to commence from Lady Day, 1832." At the request of Mr. Lodge, the intended grace to the above effect has been withdrawn, until several improvements connected with the University shall have been carried into effect.

## PRIZES.

### CHANCELLOR'S GOLD MEDALS.

[For the best English Poem.]

Subject:—"The Taking of Jerusalem in the first Crusades."

Adjudged to  
Wm. Chapman Kinglake, Trinity College.

[For the two best proficient in Classical Learning among the commencing Bachelors of Arts.]

Adjudged to  
Edmund Law Lushington, and  
William Hepworth Thompson,  
both of Trinity College.

### MEMBERS' PRIZES.

[For Bachelors of Arts.]

Subject:—"Qua præcipue parte debilis sit et manca Veterum Philosophorum de Officiis doctrina?"

Adjudged to  
1. James Spedding, Trinity College.  
2. H. S. H. Hildyard, B.A. St. Peter's College.

### MEMBERS' PRIZE.

[For Undergraduate.]

Subject:—"Inter silvas Academi quærere verum."

Adjudged to  
James Hildyard, Christ's College.  
No second prize awarded.

### PORSON PRIZE.

[For the best translation of a passage from Shakspeare into Greek verse.]

Subject:—"Julius Cæsar, Act II. Scene 2. Beginning—Cæsar, I never stood on ceremonies."

And ending—"Seeing that death, a necessary end, will come when it will come."

Adjudged to  
Henry Lushington, Trinity College.

### SIR WILLIAM BROWNE'S MEDALS.

Subjects:—

Greek Ode—"Quid dedicatum poscit linem Vates?"

Latin Ode—"Oscultum quatiente animo tortore flag-Apolellum."

Greek Epigram—"Quis enim celaverit ignem, Lumine qui semper proditur ipse suo?"

Latin Epigram—"Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto."

Adjudged to  
Odes.—James Hildyard, Christ's Coll.  
Epigrams.—Wm. Nicholson, Christ's College.

PREVIOUS EXAMINATION, Lent Term, 1832.

EXAMINERS.

William Carus, M. A. Trinity College. Edward Baines, M. A. Christ College.  
Henry Arletti, M. A. Pembroke Hall. George King, M. A. Corpus Christi College.

[The Names are arranged alphabetically.]

FIRST CLASS.

Allen,	Emm.	Clarke, G.	Trin.	Grady,	Trin.	Leathley,	Trin.
Alston,	Corpus	Coates,	Joh.	Grasett,	Joh.	Letts,	Sid.
Arthur,	Trin.	Cocker,	Pet.	Green,	Magd.	Lister,	Trin.
Asker,	Corpus	Cook,	Trin.	Groomes,	Qu.	Lloyd,	Trin.
Aspinall, R.	Trin.	Cookson,	Joh.	Gundry,	Pet.	Love,	Corpus
Awdry,	Joh.	Cooper,	Trin.H.	Hales,	Chr.	Low,	Joh.
Bailey,	Trin.	Corfield,	Chr.	Hall,	Qu.	Loyd,	Trin.
Bailey,	Cath.	Cotterill, C.	Joh.	Hamilton,	Joh.	Macpherson,	Trin.
Baker,	Clare	Caward,	Qu.	Hanson,	Pemb.	Main,	Qu.
Barber,	Corpus	Cresswell,	Emm.	Hanson,	Emm.	Mann,	Clare
Barker,	Down.	Crichton,	Corpus	Harston,	Clare	Marsden,	Corpus
Barnes,	Joh.	Cumming,	Emm.	Haygarth,	Trin.	Marsh,	Trin.
Barrow,	Caius	Cundill,	Joh.	Hellyer,	Joh.	Martin,	Jes.
Batchelor,	Trin.	Dampier,	Corpus	Henry,	Trin.	Melson,	Trin.
Batten,	Trin.	Darley,	Chr.	Heslop,	Qu.	Merewether, F.	Trin.
Baynes,	Trin.	Darnell,	Trin.	Hey,	Joh.	Meylet,	Joh.
Betford,	Pet.	Darton,	Pet.	Higmore,	Joh.	Mills,	Clare
Beddingfield,	Qu.	Dewdney,	Trin.	Hoare,	Trin.	Mitford,	Jes.
Beevor,	Pemb.	Dixon,	Joh.	Hobson,	Corpus	Moncrieffe,	Trin.
Bell,	Pet.	Dobson, R.S.	Joh.	Holditch,	Clare	Moore, J.	Joh.
Bevan,	Trin.	Docker,	Cath.	Holmes,	Trin.	Morant,	Magd.
Bibby,	Joh.	Donaldson,	Trin.	Hooper,	Chr.	Morrison,	Trin.
Bingham,	Caius	Dundas,	Magd.	Huff,	Qu.	Morton,	Trin.
Birks,	Trin.	Eales,	Trin.	Hulbert,	Sid.	Mytton,	Trin.
Blackley,	Joh.	Edge,	Emm.	Hulton, A.	Trin.	Nantes,	Trin.
Bompass,	Qu.	Elwyn,	Pemb.	Hulton, J.	Trin.	Nevin,	Joh.
Bowtell,	Joh.	Evans,	Pet.	Hurlock,	Joh.	Newton,	Trin.
Bramah,	Trin.	Farmer,	Trin.	Huxtable,	Joh.	Nicholls,	Trin.
Bree,	Qu.	Fearon, W.C.	Joh.	Ilderton,	Pet.	Nixon,	Trin.
Broadwood,	Trin.	Fector,	Trin.	Irwin,	Caius	Norgate,	Corpus
Branchia,	Caius	Fish,	Trin.	Isaacson,	Sid.	Norris,	Jes.
Broughton,	Caius	Fletcher,	Pemb.	Jackson,	Emm.	North,	Trin.
Bryer,	Joh.	Flintoff,	Trin.	Jenkins,	Trin.	Nottidge,	Jes.
Bull,	Cath.	Foljambe,	Clare	Jenner,	Joh.	Ogilby,	Trin.
Bullock,	Joh.	Forster, G.	Corpus	Johnes,	Chr.	Oldacres,	Joh.
Bunbury,	Trin.	Forsyth,	Trin.	Johnson,	Qu.	Oldfield,	Joh.
Bushe,	Trin.	Foster,	Magd.	Johnson,	Joh.	Oliver,	Trin.H.
Buswell,	Qu.	Fowler,	Qu.	Johnstone,	Trin.	Onslow,	Trin.
Buttner,	Clare	Gale,	Pet. H.	Jones,	Corpus	Ouvry,	Trin.
Buxton,	Trin.	Gale,	Trin.H.	Kell,	Joh.	Paget,	Trin.
Byron,	Trin.H.	Gardiner,	Trin.	Kelland,	Qu.	Palin,	Trin.
Caddell,	Corpus	Giles,	Joh.	Kemp,	Pet. H.	Palmer,	Trin.
Campbell,	Joh.	Gladwin,	Jes.	Kendall,	Joh.	Parker,	Qu.
Canpbell,	Trin.	Glasgow,	Trin.	Kennedy,	Joh.	Parker,	Cath.
Carlyon,	Emm.	Gleadowe,	Caius	Kent,	Qu.	Parry,	Magd.
Carmichael,	Trin.	Godfrey,	Jes.	King,	Clare	Partridge,	Trin.
Carter,	Qu.	Golding,	Trin.H.	Kinsman,	Trin.	Peacock,	Trin.
Carter, E.	Trin.	Gooch,	Trin.	Lacey,	Pemb.	Phillips, G.	Trin.
Carter, T. S.	Trin.	Good,	Trin.	Lampet,	Corpus	Phipps,	Joh.
Carver,	Caius	Goodchild,	Magd.	Latimer,	Trin.	Platten,	Emm.
Cavendish,	Trin.	Goodwyn,	Joh.	Lawson,	Magd.	Powell,	Pemb.



Pryor,	Trin.	Sharpley,	Joh.	Tocker,	Trin.	Weston,	Trin.
Pulley,	Chr.	Sherard,	Joh.	Trentham,	Joh.	Wharton,	Joh.
Pyne,	Caius	Simpson,	Clare	Tucker,	Pet.	Whitaker,	Magd.
Rawlings,	Trin.	Skelton,	Pet.	Tyson,	Qu.	White,	Pet.
Ready,	Joh.	Skelton,	Trin.H.	Vaughan,	Chr.	White,	Joh.
Rendell,	Joh.	Smith, E.	Joh.	Waites,	Joh.	Whiting,	Magd.
Richards,	Joh.	Smith, H.W.	Joh.	Walker,	Chr.	Wilkins,	Qu.
Rickards,	Trin.	Smoothey,	Joh.	Walker, J.C.	Joh.	Wilkinson,	Qu.
Roberts,	Cath.	Smyth,	Trin.	Warburton,	Trin.	Williams, A.	Trin.
Robertson,	Trin.	Stevenson,	Trin.	Warnes,	Qu.	Williams, F.	Trin.
Rolfe,	Joh.	Stirling,	Joh.	Warter,	Magd.	Wilson,	Pet.
Rowlands,	Qu.	Storer,	Trin.H.	Watherston,	Emm.	Wilson, E. S.	Joh.
Sanders,	Trin.	Sullivan,	Joh.	Watson,	Caius	Wood, J.	Joh.
Sandford,	Joh.	Syddell,	Qu.	Watts,	Pet.	Wood,	Mag.
Saunders,	Cath.	Taylor,	Chr.	Wauchope,	Cath.	Yarker,	Caius
Schwabe,	Caius	Thornhill,	Joh.	Webster,	Qu.	Yonge,	Joh.
Selwyn,	Trin.	Tippett,	Pet.	Welldon,	Joh.		

## SECOND CLASS.

Appleyard,	Trin.	Cursham,	Trin.	Hurst,	Clare	Ratcliff, T.	Joh.
Arden,	Pet.	Cusack,	Cath.	Ibbotson,	Joh.	Rawes,	Clare
Bagnall,	Magd.	Dakins,	Corpus	Ison,	Joh.	Reeve,	Trin.
Bates,	Jes.	Dalton,	Caius	Jeafferson,	Pemb.	Rugg,	Joh.
Bazeley,	Qu.	Dawson,	Down.	Jones,	Qu.	Selleck,	Pemb.
Bishop,	Cath.	Deedes,	Jes.	Kerridge,	Trin.H.	Sisson,	Chr.
Blunt,	Trin.	Disney,	Pet.	King,	Pemb.	Skrimshire,	Cath.
Blunt,	Caius	Dodson,	Joh.	Langdon,	Trin.	Smart,	Pet.
Braithwaite,	Clare	Drinkwater,	Joh.	Langford,	Sid.	Stoneham,	Pet.
Branton,	Emm.	Fleming,	Trin.	Lewis, J.D.	Joh.	Teale,	Joh.
Brown,	Trin.	Frampton,	Trin.	Lockley,	Caius	Theobalds,	Jes.
Browne,	Trin.	Freeman,	Pet.	Mansfield,	Trin.	Tompson,	Trin.
Bull,	Sid.	Freke,	Trin.	Marsh,	Joh.	Turnor,	Trin.
Bullock,	Corpus	Grey,	Jes.	Melhuish,	Pet.	Vander Meulen,	
Clarke, J.A.	Joh.	Groves,	Pet.	Nash,	Trin.	Trin.	
Clarke, T.A.	Joh.	Haigh,	Cath.	Needham,	Jes.	Watson, J.	Trin.
Clements,	Qu.	Handley,	Joh.	Newington,	Trin.	Watson, W.	Trin.
Coope,	Trin.	Hazelewood,	Chr.	Oldham,	Emm.	Whalley,	Joh.
Cory,	Pemb.	Hill,	Pet.	Owen,	Qu.	Williamson,	Cath.
Crosier,	Cath.	Hodgson,	Trin.	Peers,	Cath.	Wrottesley,	Trin.
Currie,	Emm.	Hurle,	Caius	Power,	Cath.		

*Number of the Members of this University.*

	Members of Senate.	Members on Boards.		Members of Senate.	Members on Boards.
Trinity College . . . .	746	1652	Trinity Hall . . . . .	32	128
St. John's College . .	508	1090	King's College . . . .	71	113
Queen's College . . .	90	374	Pembroke College . .	52	111
Caius College . . . .	103	243	Sidney College . . . .	44	103
St. Peter's College .	80	220	Downing College . .	23	50
Christ's College . . .	80	218	Commorantes in Villà	7	7
Emmanuel College .	104	214			
Corpus Christi Col..	67	192		2269	5364
Jesus College . . . .	81	177			
Catharine Hall . . . .	49	173			
Clare Hall . . . . .	73	159			
Magdalene College	59	140			

The increase in this University since  
last year is thirty-two.

THE  
BRITISH CRITIC,  
Quarterly Theological Review,  
AND  
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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OCTOBER, 1832.

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ART. I.—*The Apostolicity of Trinitarianism.* By the Rev. G. S. Faber, B. D. 2 vols. 8vo. London. Rivingtons.

THERE is something very distressing in all controversy relative to the most awful mysteries of the Christian faith. It is distressing, first, because it brings close to our thoughts the portentous fact, that mankind have been for ages in a state of conflict—frequently of very bitter conflict—relative to matters that pertain unto their eternal *peace*. It is, further, distressing, because it is very apt to bring out into action all the most violent *polemical* propensities of our nature; as we find abundantly intimated in our proverbial use of the words *Odium Theologicum*, whenever we wish to express the utmost intensity of uncharitable feeling. It is, if possible, still more distressing, because it compels us to bandy about the most awful themes and phrases—to treat the things which angels humbly desire to look into, like so many critical and historical problems—and, almost, to sit down to the examination of the great mysteries of Godliness, just as if they were a sort of puzzle, tossed into the world to exercise the perverse ingenuity of man. And yet, afflicting and dangerous as it is, the temptation must be encountered. It must needs be that heresies arise among us, so that *they which are approved may be made manifest*. What, therefore, remains for us but to convert this formidable necessity into an occasion of good: to consider religious controversy, not as a luxury and a privilege, but as a very great positive evil; from which, however, under the guidance of God's Holy Spirit, much benefit may, eventually, be extracted, on behalf of the Church which he hath purchased by the precious blood of his Son?

These considerations, we are quite confident, are habitually present to the mind of Mr. Faber. He has here produced two

volumes of controversy, on the whole, as fair and temperate as we recollect to have met with. We are, further, of opinion that, for the more immediate purposes for which it was composed, his work is triumphant and irresistible. The *Humanitarian* heresy had been broken to pieces like unto a potter's vessel beneath the blows of former assailants. All that was left was, to burn it with fire, and to stamp it, and to grind it very small, even till it should be as small as dust, and to scatter the dust thereof to the four winds of heaven. This Mr. Faber has performed, as it appears to us, not altogether without some little complacent consciousness of the havoc which he was making, but, nevertheless, in a tone of becoming moderation and courtesy.

Before we proceed to our analysis of Mr. Faber's argument, it will be expedient to look back, for a moment, on what has been achieved by those, who have trodden this great wine-press before him; and, moreover, by way of preparation for that review, it may be advisable to offer some considerations on the general principle which must guide us in our attempts to terminate all religious controversies—all controversies, at least, which are immediately connected with conflicting interpretations of the Bible.

In one thing, then, all parties are sure to agree; that is, all parties who profess to receive the sacred Scriptures as the sole depository of revealed truth. They will all allow that the authority of the Scriptures is final, and that no appeal must be made to any other authority. And nothing, of course, could be more simple and direct than this mode of decision, if it were found that the faculties of men were so constituted, or their passions so regulated, as, ultimately, to receive the same impression from the responses of that supreme oracle, upon a careful comparison of them with each other. It is manifest that, if this were the case, there would either have been no controversies at all, or, that they would have been extinguished as fast as they arose.

Unhappily, however, the human race, in its present condition, is apparently not gifted with the capacity to derive the same uniform instruction from the divine communications. They have eyes to see, and ears to hear, and hearts to understand; but, nevertheless, such is the vast divergency into which they are constantly betrayed in the exercise of their faculties, that one would sometimes imagine that there was no sort of general similarity in their constitution,—but that every individual, or at least every class or sect, were furnished with a set of mental organs, respectively peculiar to themselves. Under these circumstances, it would be quite in vain to content ourselves with an appeal to Scripture. It would be an utterly hopeless thing for two men to say to each other—Let us seek for concord solely in the language

of the Bible, and let us cast all human explanations or conjectures to the winds. They would, probably, soon discover that, in spite of all their attention, and all their sagacity, and all their candour, the language of Scripture would, somehow or other, speak very differently to each of them, and, in some instances, would only confirm them in their original disagreement. And at length they would be brought to listen, with reluctant patience, to the exclamation of Tertullian (produced by Mr. Faber)—

“What do you think to gain by all this, my most accomplished Scripturists? What one of you denies, is affirmed by his antagonist; and, again, the assertions of one are met by a flat denial from the other. You will, in truth, but lose your voices in the loudness of debate. And what can you hope to gain, but a vast secretion of bile, from listening to each other's *perversions*?”

In short, to think of assuaging theological contest, merely by throwing down the Bible between the conflicting ranks, would be a proceeding about as hopeful, as to toss a copy of the Scriptures into the ocean, with a view to still the raging of its waters. If every volume of human exposition or controversy were, at this moment, swept away from the earth, and blotted from the memory of man, the only effect would be, that the business of disputation would have to begin again; and to begin, too, under circumstances still more desperate than before. And yet, in spite of these very obvious considerations, we perpetually hear contending parties disclaiming every guide but the written word of God. And by no party is the protest against all sublunary teaching more loudly echoed, than by that, which proclaims the doctrine of our Lord's Divinity, to be a most abominable corruption of the truth. We are told by Mr. Lindsey, for instance, that “the authorities of men are nothing; that it is Holy Scripture alone—or Holy Scripture unadulterated by any human interpretation—which must finally decide the point at issue, between the Trinitarian and Antitrinitarian.” And Mr. Haynes, as we are informed by the same writer, was quite persuaded, that “the word of God alone is to settle the matter; and that no regard is to be paid to any human scheme or explanation of that word.” All which, (when the noise of these sonorous phrases has died away), will be found to amount to nothing more than this—that the Humanitarians are firmly determined to adhere to the Bible—(we do not quite know whether we are to add the *whole Bible*)—and nothing but the Bible, and to throw away all human interpretation of the Bible—their own interpretation always excepted. And, by virtue of this laudable resolution, they, some of them, profess to have arrived at “a full persuasion of the truth of their sentiments concerning God and Jesus Christ;” to be relieved

“ from all doubts, scruples, or secret misgivings respecting the possibility of their being mistaken;” in a word, to have attained the confidence which is only to be felt in resting on “ a foundation *most certain and infallible.*” \*

This is the way in which many an honest divine has *deceived* himself into a belief that, himself and his followers excepted, the world is given over to a strong delusion. It is all, he says, because men will not appeal to Scripture, and to Scripture only! All this while, the worthy man seems utterly to forget that his own appeal is only one among a vast multitude of similar appeals; and, when he talks of referring all controverted matters to the decision of the Bible, he means, though he may not be aware of it, just nothing more or less than referring them to his own exposition of the Bible. And, because he disregards all other appeals; and rejects all other expositions, but his own, he fancies that he alone gives due honour to the majesty of God’s word. The fact, however, is, that the most laborious and anxious investigator of controversies, and creeds, and interpretations, is quite as true to the majesty of God’s word as the most sweeping denouncer of all human schemes. Nay, he is, generally speaking, much more true to it. He knows, (at least, if he is a Protestant professor of Christianity,) that the *authority* of the Bible is sole and supreme. But then, he also thinks it expedient to ask himself the exact meaning of that proposition; and he has no difficulty in perceiving it to be just this,—that the Bible is the only book of which it is necessary to find out the meaning, in order to be in possession of the method of our acceptance with God; and that when we are clearly in possession of that method, there is no other authority which can absolve us from the obligation to embrace it. He would be very glad, perhaps, if the meaning could be found out without toil, and if all mankind could agree about it. But mankind do *not* agree about it; and it *cannot* always be found out without toil. He, therefore, humbly prepares himself for the labour of discovering the sense of Scripture; and, by so doing, he contributes most effectually towards the mitigation of controversy and discord.

But then comes the question—by what process is the meaning of Scripture to be ascertained and established in cases where men have widely differed in their exposition of Scripture? To iterate that this must be done by appealing to the Bible is, of course, to say that a litigated matter is to be decided without judge, or jury, or witness. Each party, it is true, may wrap himself in a persuasion that the truth and the justice are with him.

\* See Faber, *Introd.*

But it will be to no purpose for either of them to tell the world that he *must* be right,—for that he has himself looked carefully into the text of the law, and has fully ascertained that the law has decided in his favour. He will evidently take nothing by this motion but the pleasure of meditating and declaiming on his own sagacity and integrity, and on the obtuseness or the dishonesty of his antagonist. And this brings us to the very tug of the difficulty: Where is a judge to be found? The Great Founder, and Prophet, and Doctor of the Church is no longer, visibly, among us. We cannot appeal to him, in person, for a definitive sentence on the matters in debate. The Romanist, indeed, will tell us that we have his Representative on earth, and that we are justly punished, by our dissensions, for having deserted the Living Oracle. But, unfortunately for his remonstrances, the Infallibility and the Power of that great Interpreter, are, themselves, among the controverted matters. So that, in the absence of any accessible and authorized tribunal for the determination of our disputes, what must we do but seek for some principle or other which shall stand, to us, in the place of “an Umpire to whom both parties may be willing to submit, or at least, to whom an impartial spectator will allow that they ought to submit?”\* And what Arbitrator can we hope to find so unexceptionable as the voice of Apostolic and Primitive Antiquity? Where shall we look for witnesses so trustworthy and venerable as the ancient Doctors and Expounders of the Church? And who shall tell us, if *they* cannot tell us, what was the unbroken tradition of doctrine and interpretation from the days of the Evangelists down to the establishment of Christianity throughout the civilized world?

The dispute, then, between the Trinitarian, and the modern Anti-trinitarian, being clearly a dispute, *not* respecting the *authority* of Scripture, but respecting the *right interpretation* of Scripture,—let us, next, consider what has already been attempted by our Divines towards the settlement of that dispute, upon the principle above suggested. We shall thus be in a condition distinctly to understand what it is that, on the supposition of their success, they have left to be achieved by Mr. Faber.

The first great work, then, upon this subject, which presents itself to the recollection of every English Theologian, is the celebrated Defence of the Nicene Faith, by Bishop Bull; the object of which was to establish this point,—that the doctrine, embodied in the Nicene Creed, respecting the person and nature of the Son, was, invariably, and from the very first, the doctrine held by all the Ante-Nicene doctors: the four grand points

\* Fab. Introd.



embraced in that doctrine being—1. The pre-existence of the Son: 2 and 3. His con-substantiality and co-eternity with the Father: and 4. His œconomical subordination to the Father.

Next to this, stands the Treatise of the same profoundly learned writer, entitled the “Judgment of the Catholic Church, &c.” with which may be associated the Treatise of Waterland on “The Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity;”—the main purpose of both which treatises is, to establish the necessity of believing that Christ is very God.

The third Treatise of Bishop Bull, viz. “The Primitive and Apostolic Tradition,” &c. is chiefly occupied in showing, that Justin Martyr did not borrow the doctrine of the Trinity from the Platonic schools; and that he was not the first that introduced that doctrine into the Church.

After a long interval, Bull and Waterland were followed by Bishop Horseley, of whom nothing more need be said in this place, than what was said of him by Dr. Parr,—that *he slew Priestley!*

To the exploits of these worthies we have now to add a very valuable performance of our own time, namely, the work of Dr. Burton, entitled “The Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ;” exhibiting a copious collection of the personal sentiments of the most distinguished doctors, anterior to the first Council of Nice, relative to the Nature and Character of our Saviour.

In these works we have a vast body of disquisition, which, supposing it to be successfully conducted, would go a great way towards the settlement of the dispute in question: for it is scarcely credible that the Catholic Church should, for three centuries together, from the days of the Apostles, have held one doctrine, relative to matters of such vital and fundamental importance,—while the leading individuals in that Church were, uniformly, holding and maintaining a doctrine in direct opposition to it.

The object which Mr. Faber has in view, is, in a great measure, distinct from that which the above learned men principally proposed to themselves. He does not appeal to the Fathers as judges and arbiters. He does not even resort to their assistance as advocates. He merely calls them as witnesses. He does not inquire of them, what were their own personal sentiments relative to these high and subtle questions. He only asks them to give their testimony to a *naked historical fact*, and that fact, to state it nearly in his own words, is as follows:

“That, at the respective periods in which those writers flourished, the Catholic Church at large, maintained the doctrine of the Trinity; and that it did so on the express ground of its authoritative derivation from the Apostles.”

From this fact, when once established, Mr. Faber conceives the inference to be quite irresistible,—namely, that the Trinitarian interpretation of God's word, is the true interpretation. For, otherwise, we should be reduced to the necessity of believing that one interpretation was prevalent throughout the Catholic Church in the Apostolic times, and that another interpretation immediately succeeded it, and continued to maintain its ground; the Church, all this while, constantly professing to derive her faith, in regular sequence, from Apostolic authority. But, whatever may be the inference, Mr. F. professes himself to be now concerned with nothing more than the historical establishment of the *fact itself*. He does not even profess, in this work, to busy himself with the question, whether the Trinitarian doctrine is, *in itself*, defensible or indefensible. He does not endeavour, by a metaphysical process, to render it acceptable to human reason. Neither does he labour to recommend it to the hearts of men, by showing its admirable adaptation to the exigencies of their fallen nature. All these are very legitimate, and very momentous departments of Theology. But he has chalked out for himself an entirely distinct region of inquiry; and to that province he very wisely confines himself. The sole question which he has proposed to himself is this,—is there, or is there not, to be found in the writings of the earlier Christians, sufficient testimony to the fact, that the doctrine of the Holy Trinity formed an essential portion of the Christian faith, in the Primitive and Apostolic Church? And to the decision of this question he addresses himself, just as he would address himself to the task of ascertaining, what were, or what were not, the principles of an ancient School of Pagan Philosophy.

In appealing to this sort of umpirage, and in undertaking to settle this particular question, Mr. Faber may be considered as accepting a challenge, *virtually* thrown out by Dr. Priestley: for Dr. Priestley, it is well known, was as loud and confident in his appeal to the judgment and testimony of Antiquity as the most orthodox adherent of the Trinitarian scheme. He is perpetually reminding us, that the opinions of men, especially on momentous and interesting matters, are not liable to great and sudden vicissitudes; and, in the plenitude of his confidence in the value of this maxim, as applicable to his own cause, he ventured, in an evil hour, to put forth the following propositions:—

“ ‘ The true doctrine, concerning the person of Christ, must be allowed to have been held by the Apostles.

“ ‘ They, no doubt, knew whether their Master was only a man like themselves, or, whether he was their Maker.

“ ‘ Their immediate disciples would receive and maintain the same doctrine that they held.

“ ‘ And it *must* have been some time before any other could have been introduced, and have spread to any extent; and, especially, before it could have become the prevailing opinion.’ ”—*Faber, Introd. p. xxxvi.*

We say that Dr. Priestley ventured, in an evil hour, to promulgate these canons; for in so doing, as it appears to us, he has put into the hands of Mr. Faber a weapon sufficient of itself for the utter demolition of the *Humanitarian* system of Scriptural interpretation; or, at the very least, a weapon ponderous and keen enough to hew in pieces all those advocates of that system who presume to appeal to primitive antiquity. And we must avow it to be our opinion, that, in Mr. Faber's grasp, the implement has done its work. It may be true that he has not always wielded it with unerring precision. It may be true that he has dealt with it some feeble and ineffective blows; that he has not always been content with aiming at the vitals of his adversary, but has sometimes wasted his strength in hacking and mangling his extremities. All this may possibly be true, but yet it cannot be doubted that he has left his enemy

“ With twenty trenched gashes on his head,  
The least a death to nature.”

His enemy, of course, will not allow this; for, in theological warfare, one does sometimes meet with combatants who seem to be gifted with a sort of strange and monstrous vitality which no mutilation can extinguish; so that they rise again, with all “ their mortal murders on their crowns,” in perfect readiness for another killing. This, undoubtedly, is extremely troublesome to their antagonists. Their antagonists, however, must be content to take them just as they find them. They must be prepared for the labour of repeatedly routing all their foes, and slaying all their slain. And Mr. Faber, probably, knows this far too well to suppose that his own exploits will leave no future victories to be achieved. He will, therefore, be satisfied with the glory of having so handled his opponents, that, in the judgment of every impartial person, they *ought*, by all means, to be dead and buried.

In a word—we can only say, that if any person can look upon the cloud of testimony which Mr. Faber has produced, and yet retain the persuasion that the Saviour of the World was regarded by the Apostolic and Primitive Church as nothing higher than a mere human being, the son of Joseph and Mary—as one, of whom pre-existence, or divinity, in any sense of the word, can no more be predicated than of any other descendant of Adam—the faculties of that person must be very differently constructed from our own. To our perceptions, his work has completed the demoli-

tion of the *Humanitarian* hypothesis. And this; it should always be remembered, is the object which he principally has in view. His performance is levelled, chiefly, against the school of the Priestleys, and the Lindseys, and the Belshams, and the Channings; and we really are at a loss to imagine what more can be done for its destruction. And if it should appear that the argument of Mr. Faber does not, in all its details, and at every step of it, bear upon the Arian hypothesis, with so destructive and overpowering a pressure, as it does upon that of the modern Socinians—and that some portion of the evidence, advanced irresistibly for the overthrow of the former, passes, almost without apparent injury, by the position of the latter—a moment's consideration will be sufficient to show us, that, from the very nature of the case, it was scarcely possible that this should be otherwise. In the first place, nothing is more notorious than the fact, that the early Christian writers were not always led to speculate, or, at least, not led to express themselves, with scrupulous precision respecting the nature and dignity of the Son of God.\* That they considered Him as an object of adoration, and spoke of Him as God, we hold to be quite unquestionable. Neither can it be reasonably controverted, that their language respecting Him is, generally, such as harmonizes perfectly well with that formulary of faith which was stamped with the authority of the Catholic Church at the first Nicene Council. That the Son, in their judgment, was consubstantial with the Father, and that this was the original belief of the Catholic Church, may be very safely inferred from the general tenor of their writings; but then, it must be inferred by a process of patient induction and comparison. If we take all the passages together, in which they have expressed their sentiments, and pronounced their testimony, on this subject, the whole will form, as it were, a collection of phenomena, which it will be very difficult to reconcile, and to combine into a consistent scheme of doctrine, on any hypothesis but one—and that one hypothesis is, that they considered the Father and the Son as coessentially divine. On

\* This is expressly allowed by Waterland himself. "The first Christians easily believed that Father, Son and Holy Ghost, in whose name they were baptized, and whom they worshipped, were equally divine; without troubling themselves about the manner of it, or the reconciling it with their belief in one God. As men generally believe that God foreknows every thing, and that man is, nevertheless, a free agent, (scarce one, perhaps, in a thousand concerning himself how to reconcile these two positions, or being at all apprehensive of any difficulty in it,) so, probably, the plain honest Christians believed every person to be God, and all but one God, and troubled not their heads with any nice speculations about the *modus* of it. This seems to have been the artless simplicity of the primitive Christians, till prying and pretending men came to start difficulties, and raise scruples, and make disturbances; and then it was necessary to guard the faith of the Church against such cavils and impertinences as then began to threaten it."—(vol. ii. p. 213.) In short, it became needful to fix upon some test, which, like the lance of Ithuriel, should cause Heresy to start up in her own likeness.

on this ground, doubtless, it was that the Nicene interpretation of Scripture was adopted as that of the primitive and Catholic Church. And for this reason, too, it must have been, that the Arians were extremely shy of an appeal to the Ante-Nicene authorities, when proposed to them by Theodosius—that, like Dr. Lindsey, they generally preferred an appeal to Scripture only, (in other words, an appeal to their own transcendent faculty of interpreting Scripture)—and that, like him, they were disposed to rely on their own powers of disputation, rather than the exposition of the ancients.\* All this may be true, but yet it may also be true, that, before the Nature of the Son became the subject of controversial discussion, they frequently delivered themselves in terms comparatively lax and inconclusive—and that they did not always case themselves, from head to foot, in that defensive armour, which is absolutely needful when once hostilities are commenced. And hence, it might occasionally happen, that an Arian would stand erect and unmoved under the weight of their authority, when it would be amply sufficient to lay an Humanitarian in the dust. The precise relation between the Supreme Deity and his mysterious Word, might, perhaps, plausibly enough, be represented, by a skilful disputant, as a matter of doubtful and diffident speculation among the primitive sages and doctors of the Church. But to contend that Christ was ever regarded by them as a mere human creature, seems to us to be about as hopeful an undertaking, as it would be for future philosophers to maintain, that all the astronomers of Europe, previously to the days of Newton, considered the sun as a ball of red-hot iron, suspended in the heavens.

Another source of difficulty in disputing against Arians, is to be found in the flexible nature of their system. It was perpetually assuming a new variety of form. When its antagonist fancied that his cords were firmly wreathed round it, it instantly put on some different shape, and slipped away from his grasp. The multiplicity of the Arian Creeds is repeatedly noticed by the old ecclesiastical writers. Socrates compares them to a labyrinth;† and Athanasius complains that every year produced some confes-

\* *διαλέξει μόνον, καὶ οὐκ ἀρχαίων ἐκδίσει.* See *Socr. Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. c. 10; *Socr.* lib. vii. c. 12.

That this was the humour of the Arians is affirmed by the Bishop Alexander, of Alexandria, in an Epistle to Alexander of Constantinople, preserved by Theodoret, (*Eccl. Hist.* lib. i. c. 4,) and cited by Mr. Faber, (*Introd.* p. xxix. xxx); in which the writer describes them as disdaining all comparison either with the ancient doctors, or the later teachers—as claiming a monopoly of wisdom and sagacity—as arrogating to themselves the merit of doctrinal discovery—as declaring that things had been revealed to them, such as had never entered the thoughts of any other mortal under heaven.

† *Soc. lib. ii. c. 41.*

sion of their faith; that they altered the formularies of their belief as often as capricious testators altered their wills; and that their inconstancy was a cause of grievous scandal to the catechumens, and an occasion of broad and open merriment to the heathens.\* To what purpose, for instance, would it be to press a high Arian with the church's uniform belief that the Son was begotten of the Father, God of God. He would, instantly, admit the proposition to be true:† but then he would also contend that this language would fully correspond to his own hypothesis; namely, that the Son is a sort of divine Virtue issuing from the Father, (*Virtus Paterna*)—though not an efflux or emanation (*ἀπόρροια*) from the Paternal Substance.‡ Again—what would be gained, in debate with such an adversary, by producing authorities to show that, according to the primitive belief, the Son was not generated *in time*. To this averment he might fully assent,—as Dr. Clarke actually did assent. But then he would understand by the expression, no more than this—that it is beyond mortal capacity to imagine a time when the Son existed not—that no human mind can plunge so deep into the abyss of antecedent duration, as to reach the first moment of his existence, and so, to *declare his generation*. The consequence of this unsteadiness is, that it is not always a very easy or obvious matter to ascertain the perfect orthodoxy of a Christian writer, even subsequently to the commencement of the controversy. If any one, for example, in his search for ancient authorities, were to find in one of the Fathers the following description of the Son,—*ἄχρονος γεννηθεῖς, πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων*,—he might probably be tempted to claim that writer, as a valuable witness in favour of the orthodox Trinitarian interpretation. A witness, most undoubtedly, such a writer would be, extremely incommodious to the advocates of the bare humanity of Jesus, and to the opponents of his pre-existence. But the Arian adversary would immediately turn round, and protest that this could be no authority against him: for that the founder of his own sect had actually allowed these very words to be properly applicable to the Son of God.§

\* Athanas. cited in Lardner, b. 1, c. 69, vol. vii. p. 275.

† See Burton, *Ante-Nic. Fathers*, p. 403.

‡ Bull, *Def. F. N.* 115.

§ Epiphanius, *Her.* 69, viii. cited in Lardner, b. 1, c. 41, vol. vii. p. 271. In consenting to use the expression *ἄχρονος γεννηθεῖς, πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων*, Arius goes, if any thing, beyond the Nicene Creed itself; at least, if the words, *πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων* in that Creed, are to be translated “before all worlds:” and he goes quite as far, if they signify, *before all ages*, that is, before there could be any imaginable reckoning or computation of time. So that one cannot but agree with Dr. Hey (vol. ii. p. 104 ed. 1797,) that the difference between him and the Church, on this point at least, need not have been the cause of war and persecution. It must, however, be remembered that the Arians were very disingenuous, very untractable, and very turbulent, and quite as full of the anathematizing spirit, as their orthodox antagonists. See Lardn. *ubi supra*.



That this should be so, is intelligible enough, if (according to the reproach originally cast upon them) the Arians were the progeny of those Valentinian Gnostics, who imagined, to use their own mystical jargon, that the WORD issued out of SILENCE; a proposition, which, expressed in the language of common sense, can amount only to this,—that however *inconceivably* remote may have been the commencement of the Son's existence, there must have been a period when the Supreme Essence,—from whom the WORD derived his being,—existed, as it were, in solitary and SILENT Majesty. They who adopted this notion might be very well content to say that the Son was, ἀχρόνως γεννηθείς,—or, in other words, that human reason could be in no condition to predicate, of his beginning, that it took place *in time*. That this notion was, from the first, considered as indefensible by the orthodox, seems, indeed, manifest from the language of Ignatius, who affirms that the WORD did not (as the Gnostics contended) issue out of SILENCE, but was, in the strictest sense of the phrase, *Eternal*.\* But there is nothing in the above language, used by Arius to express this notion, which might not have easily found its way into the writings of an orthodox, and even a *Nicene* interpreter of Scripture. Should it, therefore, be asked—"if the Catholic church, from the very first, believed the Son to be strictly *consubstantial* with the Father, why did not her ministers and teachers say so, uniformly, with one consent, and in terms too plain to leave the matter open to future controversy?"—the answer to this question is surely obvious enough. They delivered themselves, for the most part, in terms which sufficiently expressed their adoration of the Saviour; in terms which implied that the union between the Father and the Son is far too intimate for any human faculties to limit, though far too mysterious for any human language perspicuously to define. And it might have been well if the Christian world could have remained content with perpetual abstinence from all search after phraseology of a more precise and *technical* description.† But how could it be sup-

\* ΛΟΓΟΣ ΑΙΔΙΟΣ, ὃν ἀπὸ ΣΙΓΗΣ προελθόν. Ign. Epist. ad Magu. p. 134. See Bull. *ibid*.

† Melancthon professed himself content to take refuge in those declarations of Scripture, which enjoin the invocation of Christ.—"Ego me refero ad illas Scripturæ voces, quæ jubent invocare Christum, quod est ei honorem Divinitatis tribuere, et plenum consolationis est." Mel. ad Camer, 1532. If Christians could always have been content to do the same, what waste of ingenuity, what sacrifices of Christian charity, and human blood might have been spared; and all without the slightest detraction from the dignity of the Saviour. For the Humanitarians virtually allow that prayer to Christ would be decisive of the question: and they accordingly engage in the desperate task of proving that all such invocation is unauthorized by Scripture. Lindsey's Apology, p. 135, 3rd edit. 1774.

posed that the earlier Christians should be able to foresee all the fantastic varieties of *doubtful disputation*, which would be engendered, in the course of ages, by the restless curiosity of man? They would be amply justified in saying, *sufficient to the day is the evil thereof*. If heresies arose, it would become the office of the Catholic Church to resist and to correct them. If the enemy could be detected in the work of sowing tares among the heavenly seed, their duty to *the Lord of the harvest* would compel them to expose, and, if possible, to defeat his treachery. If self-willed and wrong-headed men began to *stretch out the line of confusion* over Zion, it would be their business to trace out the boundary between truth and error, with a more broad and vigorous demarcation. To do more than this—to provide, before-hand, for all the possibilities of mistake or perversion, is a task which exceeds the sagacity or vigilance of man. Besides—it may very easily be conceived, that they who entertained the most exalted notions of the Saviour's personal dignity, would willingly forbear the needless introduction of any form of speech, which, while it fortified the citadel of the faith at one point, might, possibly, invite assault upon it in another.

Now, precisely of this description is the phrase *Consubstantial*. It is a phrase which would be very likely to tempt inquisitive or captious minds into a wilderness of perilous speculation. If the Father and the Son—it might be said by one party—be strictly one in essence, it is difficult to explain how the Father could be otherwise than a party to the sufferings of the Son, in the days of his Union with the inferior nature. Again—if you will insist—(another party might object)—upon a community of substance between the Father and the Son, it must inevitably follow that there was some one original substance, which, in the fulness of time, was distributed between the two, and that the period of this distribution was that of Christ's appearance upon earth. For one or other, or for both, of these reasons, the term *Consubstantial*,—(though it had frequently been used by the Catholic Doctors)—is said to have been rejected by the Council of Antioch, sixty years previously to that of Nice.\* It was apprehended—(as some have maintained)—that it might open wide a *great and effectual* door to the heresy of Sabellius, on the one hand,†—or (as others

\* This rejection, however, is questioned by Professor Burton. See his Statement in Faber, vol. ii. App. ii. No. 1.

† That there was something very ensnaring in the term *Consubstantial*, is curiously illustrated by the fact, that, at one time, Eusebius, who was suspected of Arianism, while loudly professing the Nicene orthodoxy, accused Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch, a vehement Consubstantialist, as the patron of Sabellianism. So the two Bishops fell to writing against each other. And, although they both affirmed, *ἐν ὁμοῦσι τὸν θεόν καὶ ἐν ὁμοῦσι τὸν υἱὸν ἵνα ὁ θεὸς ὅλος καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ὅλος*,—and, further, that God is one in three persons or

have contended) to the cavils of Paul of Samosata on the other.\* At all events, it was imagined that it might lead to some pernicious abuse. It can scarcely, therefore, be deemed surprising, if there were some who might tremble at the thought of its public adoption, even after Arius began to rave.† The Orthodox themselves, in short, might, certain of them, dread the Nicene phrase, as a word of potency sufficient to call up spirits from the vasty deep of theological inquiry, whom the Church might find it extremely difficult to exorcise.

For some such causes, as we have now been considering, it probably was, that, in the Ante-Nicene centuries, it was not thought necessary, or prudent, to protect the Christian faith with such an iron frontier of definition, as that which was thrown around it by the Nicene Fathers. And we have adverted to these circumstances—not, most certainly, for the purpose of weakening the argument of Mr. Faber: on the contrary, our object has been, solely, to suppress all risings of dissatisfaction or mistrust among his readers, if, while he is mowing down the *Humanitarian* ranks, the Arians should, sometimes, appear to come off either slightly damaged, or altogether untouched. This is nothing more than what must inevitably result from the very nature and circumstances of the warfare. The position occupied by the Arians, though very far below the truth, is one of proud security, when compared with that of the modern self-styled Unitarian school. It is, indeed, too frequently found, that, when once a man throws himself from the loftiest pinnacle of orthodoxy, he descends, with prodigious acceleration, to the lowest regions, where his faith is in imminent danger of being dashed to pieces. But if he can but cling firmly to some intermediate point, of respectable elevation, he may often look with something like composure, or even satisfaction, upon the havoc and confusion which is going on in the depths beneath him.

But, to return to Mr. Faber. Before he enters on his own

hypostases,—yet, says the historian, with most amusing naïveté, “I don’t know how it was, but they could neither contrive to agree, nor bear to be quiet.” And it is, further, remarkable, that Eustathius, Consubstantialist as he was, was soon after deposed; as some, indeed, affirm, for immoral conduct, or as others maintain, for leaning too much to the Sabellian impiety.—*Socrates, Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 23, 24.* We have seen, even in our own time, certain opinions, which we will not call heretical, but which assuredly bear a strong family likeness to the notions of Sabellius.

It must be observed that in alluding to the Sabellian heresy, we speak of it as it is generally understood. It is well known to the learned reader that the justice of ascribing the Patripassian doctrine, and other absurdities, to Sabellius, has been gravely questioned. See *Beausobre, Hist. Munich. lib. ii. c. vi; tom. i. p. 533—540. Amst. ed. 1734.*

\* See Bull, Def. F. N. p. 29—34.

† Arius is described by Theodoret as—*Κορυθαυτίδωτα, καὶ ἀναφανδὸν ἀνέστρεφτα τῇ δόξῃ.*—*Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 2.*

undertaking, he thinks it expedient to remind his readers of certain peculiarities of the modern Anti-trinitarian school, in their manner of conducting the appeal to Scripture. In the first place, they march into the field with an imposing array of texts, asserting the humanity of the Saviour; a mode of proceeding which can end in nothing but a waste of valuable time. It is just as if one party to a suit at law should insist upon consuming the hours of the Court, by proving a long list of items, every one of which had been distinctly admitted by his adversary. We allow that Christ was a man: nay—we maintain it quite as vehemently as our antagonists. And Dr. Burton has, accordingly,—(perhaps with even an indiscreet excess of confidence)—thought it perfectly safe to abstain from all examination of those texts. We say with an excess of confidence; because it would not at all surprise us, if the Humanitarians were to pervert it into an indication of disguised cowardice; and to affirm that he forbore to produce the texts in question, only because he was afraid to look them in the face! The passages which declare the manhood of Christ, are, next, supported by a reserve, whose office it is, to establish the Son's inferiority to the Father. We may very safely open our columns to the march of this force, likewise; for it can never become master of any position which will prove dangerous to us. We know that the Scriptures represent the Son as inferior to the Father: we only contend that this inferiority is purely the result of a voluntary arrangement or *æconomy*, connected with the derivative Divinity of the second Person,—not of any *essential* difference in the nature of the Father and the Son. But the grand *mancuvre* of all, is, to advance with a formidable collection of Scriptural authorities for the *Unity of God*. And this *mancuvre*, of course, we look upon with still more composure, if possible; than the rest of their tactics. Our only objection to it is, that it *wastes time and patience*. The weapons discharged from this quarter must, all of them, fly far above our heads, and light upon a region where there is not an adversary for them to injure, or a work for them to demolish. All this while, not a single inch of the debateable ground is won or lost. The *Unity of God* is an article which we will join with all, who call themselves Christians, in defending against the embattled hosts of Paganism. But if, unfortunately, there must be *bella plusquam civilia* among ourselves, it surely ought to be recollected that the strife is,—not concerning the Unity of God,—but concerning the precise mode in which, according to the representations of Scripture, that Unity subsists. All this has been repeatedly said;—but all this must be said again, whenever we have to do with opponents, who are so delighted with the noise of their artillery, and so unaccountably

careless of its aim;—who will persist in chaunting their hymns of victory, while the ranks they are assailing still remain untouched.

It has already been stated that the more *direct* and immediate purpose of Mr. Faber's work is the establishment—not of the *abstract* truth or falsehood of any theological system—but merely of an *historical fact*; namely, the fact, that the Trinitarian doctrine was the doctrine of the Catholic Church from the beginning. And this fact he seeks to prove,—not from the personal opinion of ecclesiastical writers,—but from their testimony as to the general and uninterrupted profession of the Church, during the whole of that period. With this view, he takes his first position, at the Nicene Council, in 325: and he accordingly shows—(we must honestly confess, with much wearisome and needless iteration)—that the Synod in question, not only agreed upon the Nicene Doctrine, after laborious examination and debate; but, further, that they solemnly declared this doctrine to be “the Apostolic and blameless faith of the Church, which was originally derived by her from the Lord himself, through the Apostles, and was regularly handed down from progenitors to descendants.”\* Now this may appear a very bold assertion. It would, indeed, be a prodigy of rashness, if the 300 Bishops who concurred in it, were conscious that it was false, or saw reason to apprehend that it could be contradicted. Nevertheless, Mr. Faber does not propose to take the matter on their word alone. He proceeds to examine whether or not they are borne out, in this intrepid averment, by an unbroken series of antecedent testimony to the same effect.

“And if,” he says, “we find their asserted fact regularly contradicted by more ancient testimonies up to the time of the Apostles,—in that case, we are bound to reject it, as one of those portentous falsehoods which have occasionally been uttered.—But, if we find it confirmed by every variety of evidence which we can well imagine,—and if, moreover, we find every objection to such evidence to be altogether futile and un-

\* The words quoted by Mr. Faber are—“Αὕτη ἡ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀποστολικὴ ἀμείνωντος πίστες, ἥτινα, ἀναθεὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου, διὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων, ἐκ προγενῶν εἰς ἐσχάτους, παραδοθεῖσαν, ἡ Ἐκκλησία πρᾶττει.”—*Gelas. Cyclic. Hist. Conc. Nic. prim.* lib. ii. c. 23, —*Labbe. Conc.* vol. ii. p. 224.—*Faber*, vol. i. p. 24.

It is noticed by Mr. Faber, as a curious circumstance, that the Novatian Bishop, Acesius, though a rigid separatist, was summoned to a seat in the Council, and that he fully concurred both in the doctrine established, and in the declaration that *nothing new* had been determined by the Synod. On this the Emperor asked why he should persevere in his separation from the Church: and when the Bishop had explained the well-known reasons of his alienation,—his Majesty replied,—“Fix a ladder, then, Acesius, and climb to heaven by yourself.”—(Ὁ Ἀκέσις κλίμακα θῆς, καὶ μόνος εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάβηθι.) This circumstance is related by *Soc.* lib. 1. c. 10. and by *Sozom.* lib. 1. c. 22. The anecdote may not be without its use and application in all ages. The spirit of the Novatians is not departed. The manufactory of patent ladders, we suspect, is not wholly inactive at this moment.

tenable,—in that case, we must clearly receive it [the foregoing assertion of the Nicene Fathers] as the plain, honest, and unadulterated truth.”

Such is the case which Mr. Faber has undertaken to make out: and nothing can well be fairer than the above statement of it. The process of induction by which he labours to effect his purpose, is much too copious for us to follow in all its detail. To attempt this would be to write another book upon the subject; not, indeed, a book quite so large as Mr. Faber’s—(which might have been compressed into a much more moderate compass, without the slightest diminution of its cogency or value)—but a work nearly as large as Mr. Faber’s *ought* to have been. We must therefore content ourselves with an outline of his undertaking, together with such remarks as may occur to us, in the course of our task.

The first remarkable feature in the case is, that the early Christians were reproached and vilified for *adoring* a crucified malefactor. It is difficult to imagine how this should come to pass, if their language and their usages were such as to indicate nothing more than the veneration justly due to an illustrious Prophet. It is still more surprizing, when we find that, instead of repelling the imputation, they actually gloried in it. When they were accused of incestuous profligacy, and abominable orgies, they indignantly repelled the charge. When they were loaded with reviling and contempt, for lavishing Divine honours on a criminal, they answered,—not by a denial of the fact, that worship was actually rendered to the individual in question,—but by confident and undisguised assertion that he was, by his nature and office, entitled to their devotions. Now this circumstance forms, of itself, an almost irresistible presumption against the surmise, that the belief of the Ante-Nicene Christians, respecting the person of their Founder, bore any resemblance to that which now prevails in the modern Humanitarian schools. On the hypothesis of Dr. Priestley and his colleagues, it is next to impossible to account for certain portions of such works as that of Arnobius, or of Origen against Celsus, or the Dialogue of Justin with Trypho, or even for the celebrated Report of Pliny to the Emperor Trajan. If the early Christians really imagined the Saviour to be a human being, and nothing more than a human being, they never would have spoken of him, to their enemies, as a being above humanity. They would have denied that they ever made him an object of adoration;—they would have protested that their actions were mistaken or misrepresented;—they would have solemnly vowed that their rites and usages were framed with no other view than to honour his memory as a heaven-commissioned teacher and benefactor. But they did nothing of this



kind. On the contrary, their language was uniformly such as to leave their inquisitors under the impression that the author of their religion was, in their persuasion, a being far exalted above all sublunary power and excellence.

Whether their explanations or defences were always conceived in terms which can be victoriously arrayed against the *highest* Arian opinions, is quite a distinct question. And with regard to this point, a captious adversary might, perhaps, give Mr. Faber some trouble. He seems, indeed, to assume it, as an axiom, that a confession of Jesus as the Son of God, amounts, in the phraseology of the Catholic Church, to a confession of the Son's co-eternal and consubstantial Divinity.\* Without presuming to deny that this proposition is capable of proof, we cannot forbear to remark, that if the truth of it might be *assumed*, the contest with every form of doctrine, below the highest orthodoxy, would have been reduced to a process of most comfortable simplicity indeed! This, however, is a position which can hardly be won, or maintained, without a struggle. It was, principally, this very question which imposed on the Church the necessity of explaining the *manner* in which Jesus Christ is the Son of God;† and which has since produced the immortal works of Bull and Waterland. And it is this very point which Mr. Faber himself is labouring to establish. Of the expressions cited by him, for this purpose, in the present chapter, perhaps the strongest is the following, from Arnobius. An angry heathen is supposed to ask the question—"Ergo né Deus ille est Christus?" To which the writer replies—"Deus ille sublimis fuit; DEUS RADICE AB INTIMA;" which last words are rendered by Mr. Faber—"God, radically and essentially." And it must be allowed that language like this savours very strongly of the *consubstantial* doctrine, established about twenty years afterwards at the Council of Nice. But even this expression is hardly sufficient to show that the notion of *co-eternity* likewise entered into the system of the Ante-Nicene faith; for the "*Branch*" might possibly spring from the root of Divinity in the course of *time*; whether immediately before the creation of the universe, or at some period too remote even for the powers of imagination to reach. The whole section, however, from which the words are taken, is quite positive against the Humanitarian doctrine.‡

The fourth chapter of Mr. Faber brings forward the testimony of the Ante-Nicene times to the fact, that Christ was never with-

\* Fab. vol. i. p. 405.

† In Beausobre Hist. Manich. Lib. iii. c. 6, the reader will find a brief and admirable exposition of the causes which forced this duty on the Church.

‡ Arnob. adv. Gentes. b. i. s. 53.

out the adoration of Christians: and this chapter he commences with the following axiom; “the notion of *essential Divinity*, and the notion of *Divine worship*, are reciprocal and correlative.” We are far from disputing the truth of this proposition. But here, again, we must remark, that, if it is to be treated as an *axiom*, it would, in a moment, effectually cut the knot of controversy. This is so distinctly understood and conceded by the modern Unitarians, that they feel themselves compelled to grapple with that most hopeless of all enterprizes—the attempt to prove that, in early times, Jesus Christ was never an object of invocation or devotion. An Arian, however, will unquestionably refuse to grant this postulate. And if Mr. Faber intimates that he is guilty of idolatry,\* he will reply that the charge is utterly unfounded; that he falls not within the danger of the first or second commandment, which merely forbids us to set up images for worship, or to establish a plurality of Gods, at the suggestion of our own unauthorized fancies. ‘The Bible,’ he will say, ‘expressly commands us to adore the Son of God; though the Bible, as we understand it, likewise tells us, that the Son is not consubstantial or co-eternal with the Father; and we may be quite sure, that the Scriptures will enjoin no practice which is chargeable with idolatry. The same God, who has condemned idolatry, has, likewise, called upon us to bow the knee to a Being invested by God himself with attributes of transcendent and ineffable dignity. And nothing can be more safe than the persuasion, that no contradiction can be found in his word. It is, therefore, manifestly beside the purpose to heap up testimony, for the establishment of a fact, which we contend for as urgently as yourselves,—namely, that Divine honours have, in all ages of the Church, been justly rendered to the Second Person of your Trinity.’

It will not, for a moment, be imagined that we are defending these views of the subject. On the contrary, we are unable to see how the Arian system is to shake off the objections of Waterland,—that it involves the worship of the supreme God, and of two subordinate Gods, by infinite degrees inferior to him; or, as he expresses it, the worship of “a Great God, a little God, and a less God.” It may, perhaps, be thought that the highest *Arian* theology is so near to the *Nicene* or *Athanasian*, that the interval is hardly worth contending for *unto blood*. But we apprehend that, on close inspection, they will be found to be just as near as two things can well be, which are immensurably distant from each other! After all, if the Son be merely created or *produced*, and not derived from the substance of the Father, his personal per-

\* Fab. vol. i, p. 65,

fection, whatever it may be, must be inconceivably below the perfection of the Supreme Essence; and, if his existence commenced in time—place the moment where you will—there still must have been an eternity between him and the Father. Our observations, therefore, must be understood merely as expressions of doubt respecting the soundness of Mr. Faber's logic, in *assuming* one main point of the debate between the Arians and the orthodox,—namely, that “the notion of *essential Divinity*, and the notion of *Divine worship*, are necessarily reciprocal and correlative.”

The testimonies, however, produced in this fourth chapter, are, of themselves, enough to pulverize the Humanitarian doctrine. As the investigation proceeds, down go the ranks of the Unitarian battle beneath its chariot wheels, till they are well nigh crushed out of all resemblance to a collection of reasoning agents! Neither can it be denied that the Arian host receive occasional and very serious damage from the onset. Many of the missiles, indeed, fly harmless enough round their temples; either because the weapons go something wide of the mark, or because the enemy have the art of nimbly shifting their heads from the line of danger. At times, however, the attack is such as it must require great dexterity to evade. Dionysius of Alexandria, for instance, in the third century, rebukes Paul of Samosata for denying that Christ was to be worshipped, *σὺν πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι*;\* words which, undoubtedly, seem to imply no less than a perfect co-equality between the three persons. The same thing appears to be, almost *elaborately*, intimated by Clement of Alexandria, some fifty or sixty years earlier; when he says—“Let us offer praise and thanksgiving to the alone *Father and Son, to the Son and the Father, to the Son the instructor and teacher, and, together also with them, to the Holy Ghost.*”† This passage seems studiously constructed to shut out the notion of *inequality* between the three persons; and even an Arian would scarcely contend that any such inequality could have been in the contemplation of the writer. To this, perhaps, we may add the words of Novatian, (A. D. 254,) who ascribes to the Son the attribute of Omnipresence;‡ a property which one scarcely can imagine to be communicable to the most exalted creature. Nevertheless, such is the ductility of the Arian faith, or, at least, of the Arian profession, that we cannot, by any means, feel perfectly confident that it might not, somehow or other, contrive to accommodate itself even to these forms of speech.

\* Fab. vol. i. p. 71. Mr. Faber, however, we presume, is aware that the genuineness of this letter of Dionysius to Paul of Samosata, is by no means free from suspicion. See Dupin, vol. i. p. 152; Engl. Transl. Ed. 1696.

† Fab. vol. i. p. 80.

‡ The power “*adesse omni loco.*” Fab. vol. i. p. 72.

Among the passages produced in this chapter is that celebrated one which has been used by the Papists, to show that the worship of the holy angels, conjointly with the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, was the practice of the primitive Church;—and by Dr. Priestley, to prove that, in the estimation of Justin, the Spirit is not God in any sense, because he speaks of the worship due to the Spirit, in the very same sentence in which he speaks of it as due to angels. Mr. Faber proposes to get rid of the difficulty by printing a part of the sentence parenthetically; so as to separate the *angels* from all connection with the words which affirm, that adoration was due to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.\* The passage will undoubtedly admit of this construction, without any serious violence. But it is impossible to *extort* from an adversary his consent to this modification; and the sentence certainly *reads* more naturally without it. After all, the matter is of no great importance. Justin was a writer by no means celebrated for the precision of his style: and we are greatly disposed to believe, with the Bishop of Lincoln, that he has here (awkwardly enough) introduced the angels purely as the celestial *retinue* of Jesus Christ.† It is not improbable that the words of St. Paul, in 1 Tim. v. 21,‡ may have been floating in his mind; and may, almost imperceptibly, have betrayed him into a mode of expression much more incautious than beseems a writer of controversy or vindication. But be that as it may, one really would imagine that Dr. Priestley must have been under some judicial infatuation, when he thought of pressing this sentence of Justin into his own service. In his anxiety to degrade the worship due to the Son, by the help of this authority, he seems to have forgotten that the same authority must effect a precisely similar reduction in the worship due to the Father. The Supreme God is to be adored in exactly the same degree that the angels are to be adored! But this is constantly the way with writers, who are ambitious of achievements beyond the ordinary powers of man. They resemble unskilful magicians, who summon up their attendant spirits; and then find, when too late, that their familiars become untractable, and work all manner of confusion and mischief to their employers.

In the fifth chapter of Mr. Faber we have the testimony to be elicited from the ancient apologies, the official epistles, and other

\* The passage is thus printed by Mr. Faber, vol. i. p. 91.—Εκείνόν τε, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ ὕπὸν ἐλθόντα, (καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἱπομένων καὶ ἑξομοιωμένων Ἀγγέλων στρατον), σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν, κ. τ. λ.—*Just. Apol.* i. Op. p. 43.

† Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr, p. 53.

‡ Διαμαρτύρομαι, ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν Ἀγγέλων.—1 Tim. v. 21.

public documents, of the early Church. The remarks which we have offered on the preceding chapter are equally applicable to this. They are enough to exterminate the Humanitarians. It would be difficult to find, in the passages here cited, a single sentence relative to the person of the Saviour, to which any one of that school would not instantly refuse his subscription. From Arnobius up to Clement of Rome, they are all at mortal strife with the hypothesis, that the nature of Christ was not more exalted than the nature of any other son of Adam. It must likewise be allowed, that certain of those authorities look forth, with most formidable aspect, on the Arian system. The council of Antioch, A.D. 269—(that very council which is said to have shrunk from the epithet, *consubstantial*)—described the Son, not only as existing before the ages, but as God, not merely by foreknowledge, or pre-appointment, but in essence and *hypostasis*.\* The apology of Dionysius of Alexandria, addressed to the Bishop of Rome and certain other bishops, (preserved by Athanasius,) declares that Christ, being an effulgence from the Eternal Light, must himself be Eternal; and that he was *without beginning*, and always *co-existing* with God.† The strict *co-eternity* of the Son is asserted, though more briefly, yet with equal strength, by Dionysius of Rome,‡ and, before him, by Hippolytus,§ a pupil of Irenæus. All these are expressions which, we apprehend, would be a great deal too much for the digestion of any Arian, even of the highest grade. With regard to some other authorities produced in this chapter,—we question whether they would inflict on him any serious molestation or disturbance. We must, however, leave the reader to satisfy himself on this point, by consulting the volume. It is impossible for us to load our pages with an interminable transcript of quotations.

We next come to the creeds and symbols of the early Christian Church, (c. vi.), and the very sight of them, one might suppose, would be sufficient to turn a modern Unitarian to stone. The

\* οὐ προγνώσει, ἀλλ' ἐυσέβει καὶ ὑπερέσει, Θεός.—*Fab.* vol. i. p. 123.

† Ἀπαύγασμα ὡν φῶς αἰδίου, πάντως καὶ αὐτὸς αἰδὺς ἐστίν.—αἰώνιον πρόκειται, καὶ εὐσεβὴν Αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀπαύγασμα, ἀναρχὸν καὶ ἀειγενὲς.—*Ib.* p. 127. These expressions, it must be remembered, were drawn from Dionysius by his anxiety to vindicate himself from the imputations brought upon him, by some very unguarded language which he had resorted to in his zeal to confound the Sabellians. In order to illustrate the personal distinction between the Father and the Son, he had affirmed, in an evil hour, that the Son was the work (ποίημα) of the Father,—that he was to the Father what the vine-dresser is to the vine, or the ship to the builder!—(*Dupin*, vol. i. p. 152, *Engl. Transl.*) This circumstance is very important, for the purpose of showing how extremely unsafe it is to build up an hypothesis out of materials which were originally got together in haste, with a view to some particular and transient exigency, and collected, perhaps, by injudicious or visionary writers.

‡ εἰ γὰρ γέγονεν Υἱὸς, ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν· ἀλλ' διὰ ἦν.—*Fab.* vol. i. p. 129.

§ Ὁ αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐστίν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς συναϊδὸς.—*Ib.* p. 131.

very thought of putting his name to them would surely be enough to petrify a man, who believed in the *simple humanity* of Christ. We put out of the question the creed which Mr. Faber has collected from the fourth catechetical lecture of Cyril of Jerusalem; for that Father lived about the middle of the fourth century. We also pass by the ancient Alexandrian Creed preserved by Athanasius, which may be objected to as a Post-Nicene authority. But let us suppose the confession of Gregory Thaumaturgus,—the two Latin symbols preserved by Tertullian,—and the symbol handed down to us by Irenæus, (the pupil of Polycarp, who was the disciple of St. John);—let us suppose these ancient formularies to be laid before a scholar of Dr. Priestley, or of Mr. Belsham, or of any teacher who denies the divinity, the pre-existence, and the miraculous conception of Christ;—and then let us suppose that this person should be desired to testify the sincerity of his reliance on *Ante-Nicene* authority by setting his hand to these *Ante-Nicene* confessions;—what might we expect to be the result? It might surely be anticipated that his tongue would cleave to the roof of his mouth, and that his right hand would forget its cunning, rather than that he would utter a syllable, or pen a letter, which should signify his endurance of these “*palmary corruptions*” and idolatries. And yet—(such a riddle is human nature)—it is by no means impossible that,—within the very next hour after indignantly refusing his assent to the heretical documents in question,—the same person might sit down, with undisturbed complacency, to the perusal,—perhaps to the composition,—of a magnanimous appeal to the faith of the Catholic Church in the three first centuries, as attested by Apologies, and public Letters, and Symbols, and Confessions. What might be the feelings or the conduct of an Arian, if such a test were applied to him, we cannot quite so confidently undertake to pronounce. There would be a tedious labyrinth of examination and conjecture to be traversed, before we could arrive at any probable notion of the effect which it would produce upon his nerves, or upon his conscience. Sometimes he might, possibly, wince under the pressure; and, at other times, he might *set his face like a flint*, and protest that his “*withers were unwrung*.” But,—we repeat it,—the withers of the Humanitarian would be galled all over, and at every point: and he would have nothing for it, but to break away from the snare, and to take refuge again in the large and comfortable pastures, where the hand of the hunter should be upon him no more!

In Mr. Faber's seventh chapter, we have an appeal to the liturgies of the ancient Church, and, more especially, to her



doxologies, which may be regarded as a sort of compendious creed. An Arian would, here, find himself considerably more at his ease than a modern Socinian. He would not be greatly discomposed by the Clementine liturgy, which may reasonably be considered as a representative of the most ancient forms of public devotion. The prayer—for instance—used at the ordination of bishops; inserted in this venerable document, concludes with these words—"through thy Holy Child Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour." And again, in the consecration prayer, before the administration of the Eucharist—"It is very meet and right to praise the *true* God before all things: for all glory and worship, thanksgiving and honour and adoration be unto *thee*, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, both now and always." Now any one who professed himself willing—(as some Arians did profess\*)—to describe the Son as ἀληθινὸς Θεός, might listen to all this without any dire commotion of spirit. But, surely, it would make the ears of any Humanitarian to tingle. He would, however, probably console himself with the recollection that the Clementine liturgy is delivered to us in the Apostolic Constitutions, and must therefore be referred to no earlier period, than the end of the third, or the beginning of the fourth century. But we know not how any solid comfort is to be derived from this consideration. Whatever *corruptions* this liturgy may embody, they must, from its very date, be Ante-Nicene corruptions; and the existence of such corruptions the Unitarian *sometimes* loudly questions,—the Ante-Nicene faith having (according to his frequent averment) been uniformly and purely Unitarian! Besides, the early use of doxologies,—(manifestly Trinitarian to every intelligent ear,)—is, of itself a circumstance of weighty importance. For, if the Unitarian will not allow these forms to indicate precisely our Nicene doctrine, he must at least confess it to be very strange, that such forms should occur, with perpetual iteration, in the devotions of a society, to whom Jesus Christ was nothing more than a prophet like Moses or Elias. If the early Christians did *not* regard the command to baptize in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, as *implying* a deep and fundamental doctrine,—why should they so constantly unite those three awful names, in their most solemn offices of supplication, praise, and thanksgiving?

The primitive antiquity of the Trinitarian doctrine, Mr. Faber contends, is further established by what he calls the Discipline

\* Burton, Ante-Nicene Fathers, p. 451. By the expression "true God," such persons would only understand "truly God:" and in this sense Lardner understands Arnobius. See bk. i. c. 64. vol. vii. p. 37.

of the *Mysteries*. The origin of this discipline is traced by Mr. Faber up to the middle of the second century. And, whether the grand secret inculcated were the doctrine of the Trinity, in particular, or the vital peculiarities of the Christian faith, *collectively*,—we greatly suspect that Dr. Priestley and his disciples, had they been among the primitive converts, would have looked exceedingly blank and awkward as the business of initiation proceeded. It is to be feared that they would never have gone through the process necessary to qualify them for retaining their rank among the *Competentes*. They would, probably, have remained for ever in the condition of *Catechumens*!

It may be worth while to look back, for a moment, upon the nature and origin of the practice in question. The whole scheme of Christian Redemption, it will be remembered, is spoken of by St. Paul as a mystery, laid up for ages in the mind of God, and not fully revealed to his Church until the latter days. This notion was, probably, caught up by the early Christian writers. They were surrounded with heathens, the most intelligent of whom were often boasting of the secrets revealed in the great mysteries of Paganism. All this while, the Christians were conscious that *they* were in possession of a secret incomparably more precious than the priests or the philosophers of their time were able to impart. It was, therefore, not very unnatural that they should adopt the imposing term, which had been sanctioned by the example of an Apostle, and apply it to the profounder doctrines of their own faith. But, further than this,—nothing could be more expedient, or rather, more necessary, than the practice of opening the Christian system to their proselytes in a course of gradual instruction. It was, likewise, a prudent measure of precaution, to charge those of their converts who had completed their course, that they should abstain from all allusion to the wonders which had been disclosed to them, in the presence of their watchful adversaries, lest ignorance or malice should distort or misrepresent their statements. Unfortunately, however, all this was done with so much needless affectation of solemnity, that, to us, it almost bears the aspect of something like a pompous juggle, unworthy of the professors or the teachers of a pure and simple faith. The *adept* was not only rigorously forbidden to reveal the “*mystic wonders*” to them that were without—he was even bound to conceal them from the most forward and impatient Catechumen: for the appropriate instruction of the Catechumen was comparatively general and elementary; and to pour the “*awful secrets*” into his ear, would be like “*giving wine to a sick man.*” Instead of imparting health and vigour, it would only “*drive him to frenzy*; in consequence of which, the patient

would die, and the physician would be blamed." "When you were only a Catechumen," says Cyril of Jerusalem, "I did not reveal *the Mysteries* to you; and when, by experience, you shall have learned their sublimity, you will then perceive that the mere Catechumens are unworthy to hear them. But reveal them not in anywise either to the Catechumens, or to those who are not Christians; lest you should thus make yourself accountable to the Lord." But though the Catechumens were not worthy to receive this hidden wisdom, it was frequently found necessary to communicate it to the world at large, without reserve. When the Religion was assailed with calumny and scorn, it would unavoidably become the duty of its champions to disclose the whole truth, as it is in Jesus, in all its *length and height and breadth and depth*. The mystagogue was then compelled to draw the veil aside, and to discard the mysterious phraseology of the hierophant. And hence it was that the words which a disciple might tremble to hear, were nevertheless broadly proclaimed, as it were upon the *house-top*.

What was the *precise* course of instruction given, in the earlier ages, to the *Catechumens*, when they were transferred to the class of *Competentes*, it may not be very easy to determine. Nothing, however, would be more natural, or more prudent, than the practice of reserving for the later stages of the Christian erudition, a full exposition of the relations between the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and of the several offices of each in the œconomy of Redemption. But that the doctrine of the Trinity was, at any time, the sole "palmary secret," seems very far from certain. If, indeed, the testimony of Jerome\* may be accepted, relative to the long-established usage of the Church, that doctrine formed the *chief*, though not necessarily the *only*, topic, in which the proselytes were "illuminated," during the forty days of Lent, immediately subsequent to their catechetical course of discipline. And if this were so, it would be abundantly sufficient for our purpose. If "the holy and adorable Trinity" were but *among* the things delivered in the Christian mysteries, from the earliest times, that circumstance would, of course, add confirmation to the other evidence, relative to the nature of the primitive belief. But, at all events—mysteries or no mysteries—it is obvious that the fundamental doctrines of Christianity must, at some period or other in the course of their preparation, have been communicated to the converts from heathenism. And it is clear enough, that those doctrines were taught in such a manner, as must effec-

\* "Consuetudo autem apud nos istiusmodi est, ut iis qui baptizandi sunt, per quadraginta dies publicè tradamus Sanctam et adorandam Trinitatem."—Jerom. Epist. ad Pammach. adv. error. Joan. Hieros. Op. Tom. ii. p. 167. Ed. Bas. 1553.

tually have repelled Dr. Priestley from all communion with the ancient Church.

The next head of evidence is the unanimous primitive interpretation, of texts now litigated. And in this department of his process, the author has laboured with exemplary diligence and success. It is asserted by Dr. Priestley that these litigated texts did not convey to primitive Christians the modern notions of the Divinity and pre-existence of Christ. What notions the contested passages conveyed to the Ebionites, who were the earliest Humanitarians, it would be vain to inquire; for those ingenious persons did not expound the litigated texts at all. They went a much shorter way to work: *they got rid of them!* They received no part of the New Testament, except the Gospel of St. Matthew, and they mutilated and corrupted that. But, if any conjecture may be formed respecting their sense of these texts, it was, in all likelihood, precisely because they *did* irresistibly convey the modern notions of Christ's Divinity and pre-existence, that the Ebionites rejected the whole body of the Christian Scriptures, except the single fragment which they could mould to their own purposes. With regard to the great mass of the Catholic Christians, nothing can well be more certain than the fact—that they found in the texts in question no doctrine at all resembling that of the *simple humanity* of Christ. It seems not to have been the pleasure of Dr. Priestley to support, by the production of a single instance, his notable averment—that the early believers could discern in the *now* disputed parts of Scripture no traces whatever of our Saviour's pre-existence or divinity. Mr. Faber, on the contrary, has produced a host of instances in support of the contrary proposition. And, moreover, he has not confined himself to authorities from the New Testament. His Appendix exhibits a long list of scriptural passages, from Genesis to Revelations, together with the *Trinitarian* expositions of those passages, from the writings of the Ante-Nicene Fathers.\* To be sure, the expositions which we sometimes meet with in the writings of these ancient worthies, are most ludicrously fantastical; as, for instance, when the *prolation* of the Word is discovered by Tertullian in the passage, "*Eructavit cor meum Sermonem optimum:*"† or, when, in Ps. xcix. 5, "*Exalt ye the Lord God and worship at his footstool,*" the *footstool* is "understood as an emblem of the flesh of Christ, which is to be worshipped on account of Christ:"‡ and, again—when Origen doth gravely illustrate the words of Ps. cviii. 9, "*Over Edom will I cast out my shoe,*" with the following ingenious and fruitful exposition; "the flesh is the shoe of Christ, which the Lord made use of, and sojourned

\* Fab. vol. i. 307—375.

† See Bp. Kaye on Tertull. 549.

‡ See Burton, Ante-Nicene Fathers, p. 292.

in the life of man!"\* *Capriccios* like these, may, perhaps, be thought almost enough to stultify the judgment of any adventurer in scriptural interpretation. But, at all events, they show that the doctrine of Christ's divinity, instead of being unknown before the Council of Nice, had got complete possession of the minds of catholic expositors; so complete, indeed, that they seem at times, to have been ashamed of no extravagance, in their anxiety to maintain that doctrine. It is plainly and literally true, that the very absurdities of these expositors may be arrayed against the affirmation of Dr. Priestley: for, so far is it from being the fact, that they were unable to see what he is pleased to call the modern doctrine, in the texts which appear most obviously to inculcate it, that they contrived to find it where no mortals but themselves would have ever dreamed of looking for it. This consideration, most unquestionably, will not be sufficient to establish their character for judicious interpretation; but it must, at least, be sufficient to show that they were anything but humanitarian and unipersonal commentators on Scripture. After all, however, these whims and fantasies of theirs are but occasional eruptions of folly. Their expositions are, in general, of a much more sound material and texture. They form, altogether, an imperishable monument of the primitive opinions. For it is quite inconceivable that the most venerated masters should uniformly have adopted one scheme of interpretation, while the Catholic Church was steadily following another.

The doctrinal uniformity of the Church in very early times is further attested by the report of Irenæus, Tertullian, Melito and Hegesippus. The three former of these are very awkward witnesses to meddle with. Cross-examination will be resorted to in vain, for the purpose of extorting a syllable from them in favour of the Unitarian cause. But, then, Dr. Priestley flatters himself that something may be made of Hegesippus. And Mr. Faber is so much delighted with the office of *showing-up* the treatment of this witness by Dr. Priestley, that he devotes to it no less than twelve or thirteen closely printed pages of his appendix. The whole affair, however, may easily be exhibited in a much shorter compass.

The Doctor, it seems, in the plenitude of his confidence, chuckles over his adversaries in mood and figure; and the following is the syllogism which is to deprive the orthodox, for ever, of all advantage from the deposition of Hegesippus:—

“Hegesippus, according to Eusebius, was a Hebrew Christian;  
But the Hebrew Christians denied the divinity of Christ;  
Therefore Hegesippus denied the divinity of Christ.”

\* Burton, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, p. 293.

Now, our present purpose does not call upon us to disturb the minor proposition of Dr. Priestley. Whether the ancient Hebrew Church denied the divinity of Christ, or whether they affirmed it—our concern at this moment is only with Hegesippus. It appears then, from the report of Eusebius, that this worthy and pious man had occasion to take a journey from Asia to Rome, in the course of which he had an opportunity of associating with many Christian bishops. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the result of his travels. Go where he would, he had the comfort to find the churches professing the *right faith*; namely, the faith “as it is preached by the Law, and by the Prophets, and by the Lord himself.”\* Still, however, we are unable to learn, from any extant statement of Hegesippus himself, what this *right faith* was—this faith which was conformable to the Law, and to the Prophets, and to the teaching of Jesus Christ. It is necessary, therefore, to resort to other testimony for the purpose of ascertaining this point. Now, the sentiments of Irenæus and Melito, respecting the *right faith*, are known beyond all possibility of mistake, from their yet existing remains; and nothing can be more indisputable than the fact, that their notions of the *right faith* were, upon the matter in question, in direct contradiction to those of Dr. Priestley: and we further learn from Eusebius, that Hegesippus was in full consent with Irenæus and Melito. The inference is irresistible—namely, that the journeyings of Hegesippus were rendered highly consolatory by the uniform agreement of the churches in a doctrine, which is an utter abomination to the modern school of Unitarians.

It would seem, therefore, that, if this statement be correct, the hypothesis of Dr. Priestley, (to use a nautical phrase,) is completely *in irons*. His composure, nevertheless, in the midst of his difficulties, is perfectly admirable. The gods, who rejoice in the struggles of human fortitude and virtue, might look upon it with delight. He does not scruple to admit that all the churches visited by Hegesippus held the divinity of Christ, (a prodigy of candour in one who habitually regarded that persuasion as clearly Post-Nicene): but still, he is in possession of a very simple and obvious solution of the perplexity. The faithful in those days, he informs us, were in dread of nothing but *Gnosticism*. Provided the Church were free from the inroads of that eleven-headed monster, she might justly exult in her integrity. Any faith, in short, was the *right faith*, then, if it was but clear of that fatal pravity. Trinitarian, or Anti-Trinitarian, it mattered not; nothing but the Gnostic infection could vitiate it. What, there-

\* Ἐν ἰσχύϊ διαδοχῇ, καὶ ἐν ἰσχύϊ πάλαι οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς ὁ Νόμος κηρύττει, καὶ οἱ προφῆται, καὶ ὁ Κύριος.—Heges. apud Euseb. Hist. Ecc. lib. iv. c. 22.



fore, he asks, could be more natural than for Hegesippus to proclaim his satisfaction with the churches which he visited, if he found it untainted with "the only heresy which disturbed the Apostle St. John, and, therefore, the other Jewish Christians in general?" And what are we to conclude, as to his own faith, from these expressions of joy, but, merely, that he himself abhorred the impious reveries of those religionists?

The worst of this ingenious and gallant expedient, (as Mr. Faber remarks,) is, that it instantly suggests the following question:—"If the Gnostic heresy were the only perversion which raised the abhorrence of the pure and primitive Church, why is it that Dr. Priestley has compiled a bulky history, the object of which is to prove that the Trinitarian doctrine is the *palmary corruption* of genuine aboriginal Christianity?" To this, as we apprehend, another objection may reasonably enough be added. Of the comprehensive perversion known by the general name of Gnosticism, our information is extremely imperfect. We are utterly destitute of the works in which it was vindicated or explained by its professors, and, consequently, we know it only by the description of its enemies. Thus much, however, appears tolerably certain—that the Cerinthian *head* of that prodigy was known to utter sounds in marvellous unison with the creed of Dr. Priestley. It proclaimed that Jesus was merely the son of Joseph and Mary. It added, indeed, that some other being, or *Æon*, whom they chose to call the Christ, descended on Jesus *at his baptism*; but still it denied anything above humanity to the original nature of Jesus himself. In other words, it maintained, substantially, one leading dogma of the modern Unitarians. If, then, Gnosticism, *with all its eleven heads*, were the grand *μωρολογία* of the ancient Church, what are we to conclude, but that Hegesippus, and the churches which he visited, were filled with abhorrence for a doctrine, similar, in its main feature, to that of the Humanitarians?

On the whole, (to use an illustration of Mr. Faber's, a little varied,) taking the matter at the very best, the case is much the same as if Bishop Horsely and Dr. Priestley were to meet, and after much amicable but fruitless discussion on their respective schemes of orthodoxy, were to part, with mutual expressions of esteem and gratification, at finding that neither party was infected with the pernicious and visionary notions of Jacob Behmen or Emanuel Swedenborg!

It may, nevertheless, be thought that as we approach the apostolic age, the evidence undergoes considerable rarefaction. It will be found, however, that the vital element, even in that high region, is abundantly sufficient for the preservation of life. Ire-

næus, for instance, was born before the death of St. John. Polycarp was his instructor, and St. John was the master of Polycarp. It is true that the year 175 is the earliest date assigned to the writings of Irenæus. But it does not follow that this is the earliest date of his own opinions, or of the opinions which he ascribes to the Catholic Church. The testimony of his old age must be taken to relate to the whole period of his Christian profession. He must be considered as reporting what he had learned from Polycarp, whose martyrdom did not take place till the year 147. Now, Irenæus speaks of Jesus Christ as “our Lord, and God, and Saviour”—as “born of a virgin, and uniting man to God”—as “the Word of God, and as our God.” And this belief he declares to have been universal in all the churches—in the East and in the West—among Iberians and Celts—in Egypt and in Libya, and the central regions of the earth; and he makes this declaration in a treatise against *heretics*. He, moreover, affirms that these are precisely the things which were taught by Polycarp, as the doctrine he had received from the Apostles; and, further, that “all the churches of Asia, and they who succeeded Polycarp, down to the present day (A.D. 175), give testimony to the same.” We will not inquire whether an Arian might, or might not, have sat at the feet of Irenæus, and listened to these things with entire tranquillity and satisfaction. But what would Dr. Priestley, or his colleagues, or his successors, say, if the holy father in question were present to repeat in their ears the testimony which has been preserved in his writings? Would Dr. Priestley say to him what he has said to us; namely, that, early as the period was, there had been ample time for corruption to creep in, and, like a gangrene, to eat out the very core of the aboriginal and apostolic faith? And if he were to say this, what is the answer which he would instantly receive? Would not that primitive and holy bishop have gravely reminded him, that corruption and heresy were one and the same thing; that whatever corruption had then crept in, was to be found, not among the Catholic communities,—not among those who formed their churches on the foundation of prophets and apostles,—but solely among the “absistents” from the communion of the faithful.\* And, upon hearing these words, where would Dr. Priestley be compelled to take his place?—among the advocates of genuine and apostolic Christianity, or among the “palmary corruptors” of it, exposed and scourged by Irenæus?

But we must now pass on to Mr. Faber’s second volume: the first part of which is devoted to the consideration of Dr. Priestley’s very hazardous assertion, that the *Common People*, among the

\* See Faber, vol. i. c. 10, 11.

early Christians, believed nothing of the pre-existence and Divinity of Christ. The first witness called by the Doctor, in support of this proposition, is St. Athanasius; a witness whom, of all others under the sun, one would think, a modern Unitarian would be anxious to keep out of Court. The deposition of an inveterate adversary, however, is, undoubtedly, of all testimony, the most valuable, provided he can but be made to speak plainly in our favour. The production of such testimony is, nevertheless, always a dangerous experiment; and so it has turned out in the present instance. For, all that can be extorted from Athanasius, just amounts to this;—in speaking of the innovation (καινοτομία) of Paul of Samosata, he complains that blasphemies like this were found, to that very day, extremely pernicious to *the many*, and more especially to those who were deficient in intelligence (ήλαττωμένους περὶ τὴν σύνεσιν). And he adds, as a sort of general proposition, that those who are infirm in knowledge, are apt to *fall away*, unless they shall have been firmly persuaded to *persevere in the faith*.<sup>\*</sup> And the passage concludes with an urgent exhortation to guard that faith *which had been handed down*, and to turn away from unholy novelties. It appears, therefore, from this Father, that he regarded the *Unitarian* error of Paul as a calamitous innovation—that, even in his time, it was working confusion in the brains of simple men, who were always liable to *fall away* from the truth, unless they were previously fortified with a strong resolution to adhere to it,—and that, consequently, it was the duty of all Christians to guard themselves watchfully against all perversions of recent growth. So much for the evidence of St. Athanasius; and we heartily wish the Unitarians joy of it.

Dr. Priestley's next witness is Origen; undoubtedly a much more fanciful and unsteady personage than the former. And yet we cannot perceive that a syllable has been extracted from him that can help to keep upon its legs the cause which he is summoned to maintain. The strongest thing said by Origen is this—that “the multitudes of reputed believers are instructed, or disciplined, in the shadow of the word, and not in the *true* word, which is in the opened Heavens.”<sup>†</sup> This sentence, together with the rest of Origen's testimony, is submitted, by Mr. Faber, to a very diffuse examination; in the course of which we have a good deal of very tedious erudition respecting the Christian Mysteries.<sup>‡</sup> The result of the whole, however, appears to be simply this—that all proselytes would be generally reputed, by the world, as be-

<sup>\*</sup> Ὅθεν, οἱ περὶ τὴν γνώσιν ἀδυνατῶντες, ἀποσπώμενοι, εἰ μὴ πεισθῶσιν ἐμμένειν τῇ πίστει.—See the whole passage in *Faber*, vol. ii. p. 21.

<sup>†</sup> Τὰ δὲ πλῆθη τῶν πεπιστευμένων νομιζομένων, τῇ σκιά τοῦ Λόγου, καὶ οὐχὶ τῷ Ἀληθινῷ Λόγῳ Θεοῦ, ἐν τῷ ἀνεώγῳ οὐρανῷ τυγχάνοντι, μαθητεύεται.—Cited in *Faber*, vol. ii. p. 35.

<sup>‡</sup> *Ib.* p. 32—57.

lievers, from the first moment of their admission to the discipline of Catechumens—that, however, all this while, the secrets of the Christian faith were gradually opened to them—that the more general principles of the Gospel were first disclosed—and afterwards its higher and more peculiar doctrines: so that multitudes, who, in general estimation, were numbered among believers, would still see only the *shadow* of the truth, while others, more advanced, would be admitted to a full contemplation of its substance. And this *multitude of babes in Christ*, while feeding upon *milk*, are mistaken by Dr. Priestley for a host of mighty men, full of *strong meat*, and loathing the windy diet wherewith the Trinitarian purveyors were *puffing up* the unhappy persons committed to their care!

After Origen, Tertullian is called into Court. Tertullian, to be sure, has on various other occasions repeatedly and expressly affirmed that the pre-existence and divinity of Christ was believed and maintained by the Catholic and Apostolic Church. But this does not deter Dr. Priestley: for Tertullian, he is confident, will nevertheless be compelled to make a confession—an angry and unwilling confession—that the *majority* of Catholic believers in his time rejected that very doctrine with abhorrence. Unfortunately, however, he is unable to make Tertullian confess any *such* thing. All he can get out of him is to the following effect:—that shallow and unthinking persons, who had been converted from Polytheism to Christianity, were apt to complain, that they were still called upon to worship three Gods. The adjustment of œconomy which prevailed in the Divine Councils was too much for their comprehension or their faith,—and they, accordingly, took fright at it. They were unable to conceive that the number and the arrangement of the Trinity should do otherwise than effect a division of the Unity: whereas, the Unity derives the Trinity from itself; and instead of being destroyed, is actually maintained and *administered* by it. And, since simple and unlettered men must *always* form the larger portion of believers, the prevalence of this misconception is the more easily accounted for.\* The case, therefore, turns out to be—that many persons who had abandoned the worship of *many Gods*, and embraced Christianity, were, nevertheless, startled at a profession of faith which *appeared*

\* Simples enim quique, ne dixerim imprudentes et idiotæ—(quæ major semper credentium pars est)—quoniam et ipsa regula fidei, a pluribus deis sæculi, ad unicum et verum Deum, transfert,—non intelligentes, Unicum quidem sed cum sua 'Ομοουσιον esse credendum)—expavescunt ad Ομοουσιον. Numerum et dispositionem Trinitatis, divisionem præsumunt Unitatis: quando Unitas, ex semetipsa derivans Trinitatem, non destruitur, sed administratur. See the whole passage in *Faber*, vol. ii. p. 59. On the true import of the word *idiotæ* in this passage, see *Bishop Kaye on Tertullian*, p. 530, note (185).

to inculcate the worship of *three Gods*; and that they who were assailed with those misgivings, were to be found,—where any reasonable man would naturally look for them,—among the weaker and more untutored brethren, who must always form the majority of every Christian community.

The nature of the *æconomy* which created such a panic among these sagacious persons, is well known to every tyro in theology. It was no other than the mysterious and voluntary distribution of offices, among the three Sacred Persons of the Trinity. That this should often be difficult of comprehension to rash and unlearned men, is far from surprising: and it is further, no matter of wonder, if such persons should frequently be tempted to take refuge from their perplexities, in some form of Unitarian belief. Unitarians, accordingly, they, many of them, became; but Unitarians, who, most assuredly, would have expelled Dr. Priestley from their communion. Such rigid *Unitarians* were they, that they would hear of no distinction between the Father and the Son. Instead of denying the divinity of Christ, they identified him, both in person and essence, with the Father. They were seduced, in short, to enlist themselves among the *Monarchians*,\* under the standard of their leader Praxeas;—the very *heresiarch* against whom Tertullian composed the treatise, from which Dr. Priestley has produced the above testimony, in confirmation of the *Humanitarian* hypothesis!

The reader will, of course, perceive, that we have given no more than the substance, or rather the mere result, of the evidence of these three witnesses. The task of sifting them has cost Mr. Faber no less than eighty mortal pages, and, we fear, will cost his readers a good deal of patience. He has, however, effectually deprived Dr. Priestley of all advantage from their evidence, though he has, as it appears to us, been something longer about it than he needed to have been.

In Mr. Faber's sixth chapter, vol. ii., he considers the monstrous proposition, that the doctrine of the Trinity was introduced into Christianity by Justin Martyr, and that the notion was imported by him from the Platonic schools. All this has repeatedly been discussed: and who can muster one element of doubt that Justin became a Christian, not by virtue of his Platonism, but in spite of it? If he borrowed any part of his Christianity from Platonism, it must have been much in the same sense that the modern chemists borrowed their science from the mystery and the jargon of the ancient alchemists. The hope of transmuting all metals into gold engaged a succession of acute and

\* The party of Praxeas were sometimes so called from their anxiety to maintain the sole government of God.—Mosh. vol. i. p. 235. Bishop Kaye, on Tert. p. 531.

indefatigable men in a long course of experiments into the properties of material substances; and those experiments, after repeated failure and disappointment, gradually led to the discovery of a vast collection of invaluable truths. But still, nothing could well exceed the absurdity of affirming that Fourcroy, or Lavoisier, or Davy, *borrowed* their science from the nonsense of the Rosicrucians. Much after the same manner, Justin Martyr went through the whole Encyclopædia of ancient philosophy; and he found in it,—at the beginning, the middle, and the end,—nothing but vanity and vexation of spirit. And so, *his* course of experiments brought him at last to the knowledge of the truth. What was the actual event or fact which finally opened his mind to the reception of the truth, is a comparatively unimportant matter. In one part of his writings he ascribes the revolution to the incomparable fortitude with which the Christians supported their persecutions; in another to the instructions and remonstrances of an aged and venerable personage whom he met upon the seashore. These accounts are *different*, it is true, but we cannot perceive that they are at all *contradictory*. The courage and composure of the martyrs may have awakened him to a sense of the value of Christianity, as a practical principle of unrivalled energy and power. The statements of some casual friend or companion may have satisfied him of its theoretical superiority above every other extant scheme of moral science or theology; and he may, naturally enough, have been willing to give dramatic effect to this last mental change, by ascribing his conversion to the wisdom of an aged man with a long beard and a reverend aspect. Whether this was certainly and actually so, it is needless to inquire. At all events, it is very much in the manner of all writers of dialogues; and it is extremely well calculated to exhibit, in an interesting and striking way, the progress of the writer's feelings and convictions. But, whatever may be the real fact, the result is obvious. He forsook Stoicism and Platonism for Revelation—the porch of Zeno for that of Solomon. And where can words be found to stigmatize the perverseness of describing the Christianity he embraced, as the produce of the errors which he had cast away?

Mr. Faber has shown, as many other writers have shown, that instead of borrowing his Christianity, or any part of it, from the *wisdom of the wise*, he is perpetually and urgently insisting that whatever fragments of truth are to be gathered in the former schools, were collected by the heathen masters from the traditions and revelations of the Jewish Scriptures. Whether this notion be tenable, or not, is a question which is just nothing to the purpose. That it was Justin's *belief*, cannot for a moment



be doubted by any mortal who has ever looked into his works. He is, perhaps, fantastic, and even piteously absurd, in his efforts to find out the vestiges of Scriptural verity in the legends and reveries of the heathen fablers or sages. But it was, beyond all doubt, his persuasion, that the best parts of the recondite classical theology, as well as the most bewitching mythological fictions of the olden time, were no better than a wretched mimicry of the awful visions imparted to seers, and prophets, and inspired men. Every thing that was touched by the philosophers and the poets became, in his judgment, a villainous caricature of those sacred realities; and dæmons, as he fancied, were the secret *getters-up* of this vile and unholy masquerade. And, how any individual, advancing grave pretensions to argumentative power, historical information, or common sense, can venture to affirm, that Justin derived any one article of his Christian belief from fantasies which he evidently despised, and even hated,—is one of those problems which do sometimes cross us, in our contemplation of that great enigma—the moral and intellectual nature of man!

That his imagination should be occasionally haunted by the phantoms of his departed speculations, is nothing more than might reasonably be expected; and these apparitions may have led him many a wild and devious chace, in search of resemblances and analogies, between the dreams of Plato and the revelations of Apostles. The same thing has doubtless happened to many an ancient doctor of Christian theology, who had, nevertheless, been delivered from the snares of *philosophy and vain deceit*. Something of the same kind may have happened to divines of later times; and, as Mr. Faber contends, actually has happened to one of the greatest divines of modern days. The very man—the pounding of whose gigantic mortar Dr. Priestley has undergone—the mighty Bishop Horsley, Mr. Faber affirms, is, himself, an example of it. That great writer fancied that he could discover traces of the Christian Triad, “in the mysteries of Orpheus and Pythagoras—in the traditional representations of Plato—in the secrets of the Egyptian priesthood—in the theology of Persia and Chaldea—in the orgies of the Samothracian Cabiri,—and in the worship of the three gods of the Roman capitol.”\* In all this learned labyrinth of speculation, the bishop’s path may have been right, or it may have been wrong. But,—whether it were right or wrong—

\* See Faber, vol. ii. c. viii. p. 222. Mr. Faber here states his own opinion to be, that the Triads of the Gentiles had a totally different source; and that, with a singular mixture of Sabianism and Materialism, they originated from the three sons of Adam, transmigratively re-appearing in the three sons of Noah.” And he refers us to his “Origin of Pagan Idolatry,” b. i. c. 1.

if we would imagine the consummation of human absurdity, we should only have to suppose some future historian of "palmary corruptions" talking of the matter, much after the fashion of Dr. Priestley; and complaining that "till the latter end of the 18th century the Anglican Church of England was a pure and simple Humanitarian Church,—but that, at that inauspicious period, there arose one Horsley—a wrong-headed prodigy of learning,—with a brain horribly stuffed with the circumstance of triads, and other by-gone extravagances—and that from that moment, alas! the Apostolic Church of England was frightened from the aboriginal orthodoxy, by a *phantasmagoria*, conjured up from the depths of pagan erudition." And yet,—monstrous as all this would be—we know not that it would be much more monstrous than the hypothesis, which tells us, that the Doctrine of the Trinity burst into the primitive Church through the *Ivory Gate* which was set up in the cranium of certain Platonizing doctors and catechists! The truth of the matter is, that the ancient philosophy, both classic and oriental, was a sort of limbo, from which the early *Heretics*—not the Catholic Christians—were constantly importing an endless variety of chimerical and abortive fantasies: and their practices, in this respect, were exposed and condemned without mercy by the Catholic Fathers. Irenæus, for example, declares that the *heretics* had contrived to make up a miserable patch-work out of the most worthless rags of philosophy. Tertullian affirms that the philosophers were the patriarchs of all the *heretical* families and tribes: and that the store-house of philosophy furnished the "*seasoning*" which gave their relish to the mixtures and preparations of *heresy*. That the orthodox may, likewise, have been, occasionally, tempted to embellish the surface of Christianity with colouring-matter from the old philosophical laboratory, may possibly be true. But it is also true, that they never resorted to this species of alchemy for the purpose of transmuting its substance.

There is a long chapter in this volume respecting that most intrepid allegation of the Unitarians, that the New Testament furnishes no authority for the adoration of Christ. We cannot undertake to travel over this ground with Mr. Faber. We have space only for the remark, that the whole history of biblical criticism can scarcely furnish a more disgraceful instance of ignorance and effrontery, than the expedient by which the Unitarians propose to evade the force of those passages in the New Testament which bear upon the question. Speaking of it purely as a matter of scholarship, and setting aside, for the moment, the sacred importance of the doctrine it involves, we may safely

affirm, that a much more ignominious blunder can hardly be found, than the attempt to extort from the passages in question the meaning, that the primitive believers did—not invoke Christ—but merely call themselves by his name. A comparison of those passages in which the word ἐπικαλέομαι occurs, in the Septuagint and the New Testament respectively, must set the matter at rest for ever. This comparison is actually made by Mr. Faber to an extent abundantly sufficient for the purpose;\* and the clear result is, that in Hellenistic Greek, when ἐπικαλέομαι is followed by an accusative case, it always implies religious invocation. When the same word is used to denote the *imposition of a name*, the form is entirely different: thus, ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐν αὐτῷ, signifies, “he is called by my name”—or, more literally, “upon him my name has been called, or pronounced;” that is, my name has been *imposed* upon him. So sensible was even Mr. Lindsey of this, that he plainly allows the address of Stephen to our Lord, to have been neither more nor less than a *prayer*: and he disposes of the difficulty arising out of this admission, in a manner which we hope is satisfactory to the conscience and understanding of his followers; he reminds us that Christ was, at that moment, *visible* to Stephen, and might *therefore* properly be invoked by him. Dr. Priestley has a different expedient. If this expression,—he says,—*must* signify invocation, it is not invocation that implies worship, but simply invocation, or address, by way of *appeal*. Stephen *appealed* to Christ from the unjust judgment of the Sanhedrim, just as Paul *appealed* to Cæsar from the iniquity of Festus!

Before we dismiss this work of Mr. Faber, we have one or two words to offer, on the Appendix to his second volume. In No. III. he labours hard to show that there is nothing in Origen which can fairly be held to discountenance the doctrine that plenary adoration is due to Christ; and, in support of this view, he refers to Huet. Origenian, lib. ii. c. 2, quest. 2, s. xxix. Now on turning to Huet, we cannot find that confirmation of Mr. Faber's notions which we were led to expect. It appears evident, from the following words of that writer, that, in his judgment, the worship due to Christ is represented by Origen as something decidedly inferior to that which is due to the Father:—“*Orationem propriè dictam, Deo Patri fundi jubet (Origenes); impropriad et κατάχρηστικὴν, Filio: illi, ut Summo Deo, honorum datori; huic, tanquam Μασίτῃ, qui preces nostras Deo offerat: quia non est auctor—inquit, ex Origenis personâ, Augustinus—indulgendarum petitionum, sed supplicator.*”—(p. 48, ed. 1678.) And this statement seems to be supported by the following

\* Vol. ii. pp. 172. 176.

words of Origen himself:—Μόνῃ προσευκτέον τῷ ἐπὶ πάντι Θεῷ καὶ προσευκτέον γε τῷ μονογενεῖ καὶ πρωτόκῳ πάσης κτίσεως, Λόγῳ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀξιωτίον αὐτὸν, ὡς Αρχιερέα, τὴν ἐκ' αὐτοῦ φθάσασαν ἡμῶν εὐχὴν, ἀναφέρειν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ Θεὸν ἡμῶν.

Other passages undoubtedly there are, in which Origen allows that prayers should be offered to the Son, not merely as the Mediator, but, actually, as the author and giver of blessings. But then, in spite of all this, the commentary of Huet is as follows:—“*Multo magis rogari jubet Patrem quam Filium, et intentioni ac humiliori oratione. Atque id sibi volunt Patres, cum clamitant dixisse illum non esse orandum cum Patre Filium; i.e. non esse orandum, itidem ut Patrem, Filium.*” And, after affirming that this will solve innumerable passages, he adds—“*Orari quidem Patrem, jubet, et Filium, sed diverso genere Orationis.*” Of course the question here is, not whether these opinions are correct, or erroneous, but whether or not they were entertained by Origen. But even if it could be shown that, in his opinion, worship is due to the Son, principally, as executing the office of our High Priest and Intercessor, he would still prove but a miserable comforter to the modern Unitarians. Indeed, we know not that Origen, even according to Huet's interpretation of him, could render much support to the notion, that the divinity of the Son is something subordinate to the divinity of the Father: for, the Saviour may be co-essentially divine with the Father, and yet it may be a part of the sacred *διονομία*, that, until his *mediatorial* dominion is ended, he shall be chiefly addressed in his *mediatorial* character. But, at all events, what can the notions of Origen do for those who contend for the *simple humanity* of the Son? By believers of this stamp, all worship offered to Christ is regarded with the same feelings, to say the very least, with which Protestants regard the worship offered to Angels or to Saints. Whatever services, therefore, Origen may be supposed to render to the Arians, he can never be converted into an ally by Dr. Priestley.

In No. IV. of the same Appendix, Mr. Faber appears to us to speak somewhat too contemptuously of the application of certain Rabbinical figments to the purpose of illustrating John vii. 27—“*Howbeit we know this man whence he is; but, when Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is.*” We here allude to the tradition, that, after the Messiah was born, he would be conveyed away, and miraculously concealed, till Elias came to reveal and to anoint him. Of *the tradition itself*, it is, perhaps, impossible to speak too lightly. The story is as worthless as the legend of the seven sleepers, or the eleven thousand virgins. But still, if some fable of this sort was actually prevalent among

the Jews, it, at least, may be regarded as forming one head of evidence, to show that, in the latter days, they had lost, if they ever possessed, all correct notions respecting the nature and person of the Messiah. And it should be recollected that no less a commentator than Lightfoot has gravely produced this tradition in illustration of St. John. His words are—"non dubitarunt eum in Bethlehemo primò manifestandum; sed occultandum et post aliquod spatium appariturum iterum, sed ignotum unde."—"Fatentur Christum ante sua tempora fuisse natum in Bethlehemo, sed illico abreptum nescio quò, et absconditum et non inveniendum."—Hieros. Beracoth. fol. 5, 1. Midras Echah. fol. 68, 3.—"Concipiunt duplicem manifestationem Messiae; primam in Bethlehemo; et eum illinc occultandum et latiturum; sed tandem se iterum manifestaturum, non noto, unde et quomodo advenerit. In comparitione sua primâ, a Bethlehemo, nihil memorabile ab eo agendum: in secundâ, gentis expectatio. Jam ergo, hi Judæi, quorum hoc verba tractamus, noverint ejus nativitatem, necne, ex actis ejus miraculosis concipiunt, hanc esse secundam ejus manifestationem: atque ideo dubitant an ille sit verus Messias, quia norunt locum (Nazaretham) unde processit, edocti a traditionibus suis Messiam secundò proventurum è loco penitus omnibus ignoto."—Hor. Hebr. vol. iii. p. 120. Ed. 1671.

It may, however, be remarked that, if the Jews believed this strange fiction, they must also have believed that the Messiah, if not God or Angel, was an Immortal Man, or, at least a man of most miraculous longevity. According to one version of the legend, coined after the destruction of the Temple, the Messiah was born on the very day of that calamitous event; and, five years after, was suddenly caught away to the great sea, there to remain 400 years. After that, he was to pass 80 years with the sons of Korah in the Ascent of Smoke; and then, 80 years more in the Gates of Rome. At the expiration of this period of 560 years, he was to appear suddenly, and to rule *to the time of the end*.\* This, it is true, would not prove that the Jews expected a Divinity in their Messiah. But it would show that they expected a Being invested with more superhuman qualities than any Humanitarian has ever dreamed of assigning to the Son of Joseph and Mary.

That Trypho may have believed in some such *humanity* of Christ as the Jewish legend ascribes to him, and that he may have expected his appearance from some unknown region of earth, ocean, or sky, appears highly probable from his words, as

\* See Fab. vol. ii. p. 341, who refers to Raym. Martin, pug. fid. par. ii. c. 7.

cited by Mr. Faber—Χριστὸς δὲ, εἰ καὶ γεγένηται, καὶ ἔστι πού, ἀγνώστος ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐδε αὐτὸς πω ἑαυτὸν ἐπίσταται· οὐδε ἔχει δυνάμιν τινα, μέχρις ἂν ἔλθῃ Ἡλίας, χρίσῃ αὐτὸν, καὶ φάνερον πᾶσι ποιήσῃ. (Just. Dial. Tryph.) It should further be remembered, that nothing but the pressure of their own prophecies, when forcibly urged against them, could extort from the Jews of that day any thing like an admission that the Messiah was to be a divine person.\* And, lastly, it seems irresistibly clear, from the very tenor of Justin's argument, that Trypho and his brethren were not treated by Justin as believers in the Divinity of Christ.† His reasoning appears to us to be manifestly to this effect:—"There are some among our own people who confess that Jesus was the Christ, but affirm that he was a man born of human parents. With such persons I cannot agree; nor could I, even if it were affirmed by great numbers of those who now actually think as I do. But, at any rate, if you contend for the mere humanity of the Christ, you can be in no condition to resist my arguments, even if they should fail to prove the Divinity of Jesus, provided they are sufficient to establish his Messiahship, *on every other ground*. If divinity is, in truth, no attribute of the Messiah, it can be no objection to my reasonings, that they leave you still unshaken in your belief of his mere humanity. In that case, nothing more can be required of me than to show, that Jesus was distinguished by all the other marks which indicate the office and person of the Messiah."‡

And now, finally, is it possible to look back upon all this wilderness of disputation, without having forced upon our remembrance the saying, that verily the Sun doth look upon nothing that is new. In the eighteenth century the creed of Dr. Priestley runneth much after the same form as the Symbol of Islam—*God is one God, and Jesus is his Prophet*: and he telleth us, that this was no other than the creed of all the aboriginal churches. Now, much the same thing was asserted by the Artemonites (at the end of the second century, or the beginning of the third,) with respect to the doctrine of Theodotus the tanner of Byzantium. Theodotus, be it remembered, was one of those who took fright at the Οικονομία. But he fled from it in a direction exactly opposite to that which was taken by Praxeas, and the champions of the divine Μοναρχία. His city of refuge was, not the divine identity of the Father and the Son, but the sole divinity of the Father, and the mere humanity of the Son. And the followers of Artemon had the hardihood to affirm, that no other doctrine but this was known till the days of Zephyrinus,

\* The reader should, by all means, consult Bishop Kaye's Account of Justin, p. 25—30.

† Ibid. 28—50.



Bishop of Rome, A.D. 198; and this they did, with the fact staring them in the face, that Theodotus had been excommunicated for this very doctrine by Victor, who was the predecessor of Zephyrinus. After this, is it possible to imagine that any adventure should be too hard for the descendants of the same school?

Dr. Lindsey,—for example,—is among those who are for deciding every thing by a direct appeal to Scripture; and this, to the utter rejection of all human commentaries and expositions. Not that he shrinks from an appeal to Christian antiquity. He is not afraid—not he—of “*putting the matter as it were to the vote;*” confident that it will be found *undeniably* true that “*all Christian people, for upwards of 300 years after Christ, till the Council of Nice, were generally Unitarians;*”<sup>\*</sup> and under this comprehensive description, he, very gravely, numbers “*what are now called Arians, or Socinians.*” He allows, too, in another place, that Irenæus and Justin Martyr,—Clement of Alexandria and Origen,—had, long before the Council of Nice, contributed to bring into Christianity the Platonic doctrine of a second God, and various other mixtures of Gentile philosophy.† So that, according to his own statement, the primitive *Unitarian* faith was, in comparatively early days, disfigured by the interpolation of a secondary *Deity*. But why should trifling inconsistencies disturb an advocate of the pure, aboriginal, humanitarian faith? The Arians—it is true—were willing to speak of Christ as God of God;‡ they did not object to say that he was begotten of the Father—(not indeed of his *substance* but of his *will*)—before all worlds, or ages; and though they affirmed that he was *produced*, *in time*, they shuddered at the thought of ranking him as a *mere creature*.§ They, therefore, would, most infallibly, have ejected Dr. Lindsey and all his tribe from their assemblies, with contempt and aversion. But what then? The word *Unitarian* is

\* Lindsey's *Apology*, pp. 23, 24, ed. 1774.

† *Ib.* pp. 158, 159.

‡ Burt. *Ante-Nic. Fathers*, p. 403.

§ Burt. *Ante-Nic. Fathers*, p. 451. The creeds of Arianism, it is well known, were manifold. One of these may be seen in Socr. lib. ii. c. 41: another in c. 10 of the same book; respecting which, Sozom. lib. ii. c. 5, mentions, that it was ascribed to Lucianus, a Presbyter of Antioch, who suffered martyrdom A.D. 311; though, with what truth it was so ascribed, the historian declares himself unable to pronounce. This Creed was put forth at the Council held at Antioch A.D. 341, which was composed chiefly of persons inclined to Arianism. But their Arianism must have been of a very lofty character, indeed, if this form was really adopted by them from Lucianus, or forged by them in his name. See Burt. *Ante Nicene Fathers*, pp. 402, 403. Another Arianizing Ecthesis was presented by Eunomius to the Emperor Theodosius, and is printed by Valesius, in his notes to Socr. lib. v. c. 10. The Creed presented to Constantine, by Arius himself, together with Euzoïus, is in Socr. lib. i. c. 26. It would be curious enough to watch the countenance of Mr. Belsham, or Mr. Lant Carpenter, or any other modern Socinian, if any one of these *Unitarian* creeds should be recited in their meeting!

a word of excellently convenient compass: and under its protection, why should not Socinians combine with the believers in one Supreme God, (and two subordinate ones,) so long as the battle is against the great Tritheistic heresy? When that conflict is over, it will be time enough for the high contracting parties to settle their mutual differences. So that, here, we have a masterpiece of theological diplomacy, which unites the innocence of the dove, and the wisdom of the serpent, and the courage of the eagle; and is therefore well worthy of the best ages of the Christian church!

Such is the enterprise and hardihood of Dr. Lindsey. But what is this compared with the intrepidity of Dr. Channing, the great oracle of Transatlantic Unitarianism? This gentleman, it seems, has published a discourse, on the superior tendency of his own persuasion to form an elevated religious character. In the execution of his work, he produces a vile and distorted caricature of the Trinitarian doctrine, which we have not, ourselves, had an opportunity of seeing, but which Mr. Faber—(who, with all his depth of piety and soundness of belief, seems entirely free from any approach to dragon-like religious prudery)—professes himself unable to look upon without *shuddering*.\* Having completed this portrait, Dr. Channing does not hesitate to say of the original, that, “instead of teaching an intelligible God, it offers to the mind a monstrous compound of hostile attributes, bearing plain marks of those *ages of darkness*, when Christianity shed but a faint ray, and when the diseased fancy teemed with prodigies and unnatural creations.” Now, if it had been the pleasure of Dr. Channing to affirm, that this hideous monster had burst forth, full-grown and ready armed, from the head of Constantine, with the obstetrical assistance of the three hundred old women assembled at Nice,—we should, at least, have known how to deal with the proposition. For he then would have said little more than has, in effect, been asserted, or insinuated, by divers of the Unitarian *Illuminati* before him. But that,—with this monster before eyes, roaming over Christendom for full fifteen hundred years, and making havoc of the pure Unitarian faith,—he should venture to pronounce that it had its origin in the Cimmerian depths of the middle ages,—all this does really imply such a magnanimous contempt for historical facts, that we are almost compelled to recall our former exclamation, and to confess that, at last, the Sun hath looked upon something new! At all events, we are impelled to ask, what is it that the preacher means when he speaks of the *dark ages*? How far, backward, according to his powers

\* Fab. vol. i. pp. 289. 293.

of vision, does the reign of *darkness* extend? Is its commencement anterior to that ill-omened hour, when the three hundred evil ones of Nice performed their fatal incantations? Of one thing Dr. Channing may be fully assured,—that the readers and the hearers of this *popular discourse*\* will, for the most part, carry away the impression, that the doctrine of the Trinity is a prodigy engendered during the owl-light of those ages, when the intellect of Europe was under the joint spell of legendary fiction and scholastic subtlety. It is not to be expected that ordinary readers, whose pursuits are remote from ecclesiastical inquiry, should be in full possession of the history of religious opinions. When they hear of the *dark ages*, they will naturally think of some period between the sixth and the fourteenth centuries; and, on the authority of their eloquent, learned, and venerated teacher, they will rest in the persuasion, that the doctrine in question was never heard of, till the moral and intellectual degradation of Europe was completed. And if so, we may surely ask, with Mr. Faber, whether the acquisition, or the preservation, of proselytes, by the help of such an assertion, is likely to afford the preacher much comfort on his death bed?

With regard to the dreadful doctrine itself—which drove Mr. Lindsey from the church—which impelled Dr. Priestley to protest that, if it could be found in Scripture, he would cast Scripture away—which has led Dr. Channing to seek for its nativity in the ages of Stygian darkness,—with regard to the abstract merits of this doctrine, we have only one or two questions to suggest. Does it very materially augment the difficulties which throng around us, at every step of our attempt to comprehend that inscrutable mystery, the essence of God, and the manner of his agency and subsistence? This is a question which, of course, every man must answer for himself. For our parts, we can honestly declare, that a triad of persons, with an entire unity both of nature and of will, exhibits an aspect under which we are just as well able metaphysically to contemplate the Supreme Being, as any other—neither more nor less. If we are asked to explain all the difficulties and perplexities which attend it, we must, undoubtedly, lay our finger on our lips. But, if Deism itself were our Creed, we should still find ourselves open to a multitude of inquiries, which would impose upon us precisely the same necessity. The subject, as it must present itself to any class of believers, is a fathomless abyss, in which metaphysical science is utterly lost. And then, with respect to the mystery of the Incarnation, does

\* It was preached before a congregation at New York, and has since been cheaply printed for popular circulation in England. The fourth Liverpool edition is dated 1829.

there live the man who would venture broadly to assert, *à priori*, that it would be impossible for a being, invested with divine attributes, to manifest himself in the form of a man, exactly after the manner described in the Scriptures, as the Scriptures are understood by the Church of England? If such hardihood and presumption is to be found on earth, we can only say of the persons who may be armed with it—“*my soul come not thou into their secret; to their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united!*” If it is *not* to be found—how pitiable is it, that facts, and testimonies, and canons of criticism, and the plainest principles of reasoning, should all be trampled down by the enemies of the doctrine in question, in the haste and fury of their assault upon it!

Before we dismiss Mr. Faber's work, it may be proper to observe, that there is one fact recorded in Ecclesiastical History, which, at first sight, looks like an exception to the universality of Tertullian's celebrated Canon, that “whatever is first is true, whatever is later is adulterate.” The fact to which we allude is this—that the Mosaic Law was observed by the Hebrew Church of Jerusalem from the period of its foundation, to that of its dispersion in the time of Adrian; that is, by the oldest of all churches—the Church which was planted by the Apostles themselves—the Church which had the Apostle James, the brother of the Lord, for its diocesan bishop—and which once contained within its limits the Catholic Church of Christ. It would seem, therefore, that the same argument which is employed to overthrow the assertion, that the Apostolic faith affirmed the simple humanity of Jesus Christ, must likewise be sufficient to establish the perpetual obligation of the Jewish Law. If that which is first, must be true—it may be said—the abandonment of the Jewish ordinances was scarcely more defensible than the departure from the Trinitarian doctrine. If priority alone can sanction what we now call the Nicene Faith, it must also give authority to the Judaizing practice.

This objection, however, will dwindle into comparative insignificance, when we recollect that the ceremonial law was by no means generally regarded by the Solymean Church as a matter of necessity. The continued adherence to it was, with the majority of the Hebrew Christians, purely the effect of traditional prejudice and custom. Their perseverance in it exposed them to the calamity of being confounded by Adrian with the rest of their countrymen, and of being expelled by him from the city of Jerusalem. And that it had been observed more from habit than from any scruple of conscience, is tolerably clear from the fact, that “they made no scruple to renounce it, in order that they might be qualified to partake in the valuable privileges of the

Ælian colony, from which Jews were excluded. Having thus divested themselves of the forms of Judaism, which to that time they had borne, they removed from Pella and other towns to which they had retired, and settled in great numbers at Ælia. The few, who retained a superstitious veneration for their law, remained in the North of Galilee, where they were joined perhaps by new fugitives, of the same weak character, from Palestine. And this was the beginning of the Sect of the Nazarenes.\* It appears, therefore, that although the practice was, from the first, undoubtedly erroneous, it was not regarded by the Hebrew Christians as entering *essentially* into their scheme of faith. It was not cherished by them as a principle, the observance of which was necessary to salvation. It extended, indeed, to a decided majority of the Church; but the neglect of it was not held to disqualify the minority for Christian communion. It was a consequence of that *vis inertiae* which often keeps men sluggishly faithful to immemorial usage, and which it may often require considerable violence to overcome. The period, however, arrived, when they were awakened to better notions of their Christian liberty; while the bigotted and superstitious remnant of the Nazarenes persisted, with heretical obstinacy,† in their attachment to the ancient usages, after they had been abandoned by their brethren, and rejected by the whole Catholic Church throughout the world. There is, consequently, a manifest and substantial distinction between this case and other cases which involve a change in some vital and fundamental doctrine of Christianity.

Certain other notions might here be mentioned, which are now generally regarded as visionary and unscriptural, but which yet were entertained in very early times; and which may seem to rank among the interpretations of Scripture *first* entertained, and, consequently, to fall within the protection of Tertullian's Canon. These, however, were opinions which floated about, without any important influence upon the great body of the Catholic faith; and which, after a time, were lost or disregarded. The safe and proper application of Tertullian's rule is—not to cases of this description—but, rather, to the purpose of ascertaining the essential and indispensable doctrines of the Gospel. When this is the object, we may always confidently appeal to the earliest expressions of opinion; more especially when those expressions are to be found in documents or writings which profess to declare the sentiments of the Church collectively. Evidence like this, is

\* Horsley, Lett. vii. to Dr. Priestley; and Remarks on Dr. Priestley's Second Letters, p. ii. c. 2.

† Horsley, Disquis. vi. p. 556.

the very best evidence that can possibly be obtained; and at all events, it is entitled to reception with any reasonable mind, until some better evidence shall be produced in opposition to it. No one, for instance, without the greatest violence to his conviction, can bring himself to believe that writers, who solemnly undertake to report the opinions of a vast body of men, with regard to matters of the gravest importance, would presume to represent their own individual reveries as the received doctrines of the fraternity to which they belong. Were they to attempt this, exposure and confusion must, sooner or later, be their portion; and with the knowledge of this inevitable consequence before their eyes, they must be idiots or madmen, if they could venture upon so dangerous an experiment on the carelessness or the credulity of mankind. Neither is a series of apparently incidental and unstudied allusions to the universal belief, to be treated by any sound understanding as the result of artifice or forgery. And whenever we have a regular uninterrupted sequence of this sort of testimony, stretching up to the very origin of any institution, we are in possession of a mass of proof which absolutely commands our confidence, until some adverse testimony shall be produced sufficiently forcible to overthrow it. The burden of producing such adverse testimony, however, must in that case rest upon an antagonist. We hold one extremity of a chain, the other extremity of which, as we contend, is fixed to the throne of the primitive verity. If the gainsayer doubts this, let him, if he has strength for it, smite asunder the first links; and thus sever our faith from that of our ecclesiastical progenitors.

To opinions or doctrines, which do *not* enter deeply into the essence of our religion—the maxims of Tertullian may not, perhaps, be so uniformly and rigorously applicable. Erroneous and overstrained interpretations relative to matters *comparatively* unimportant, may possibly have crept into the Church, even in the earliest days; and, from their very insignificance, may have escaped public detection and condemnation. They were a sort of small heresies, adhering, as it were, to the surface of the faith, without vitiating its substance: and, having no connection with its vitals, they would drop away, in process of time, and leave it free from their incumbrance and disfigurement. But cases like these are by no means of magnitude or weight sufficient materially to impair our reliance on the Canon of Tertullian, in its application to matters absolutely essential to the integrity of the Christian system. With regard to such matters, at least, the tests—“*quod semper—quod ubique—quod ab omnibus*”—may be applied with all the confidence that can attend any process of merely *moral* demonstration.



After all, however, it will probably be allowed, on all hands, that the silence of the Fathers is often quite as valuable as their positive testimony; and sometimes much more valuable. If a scheme of interpretation shall be found to have started up suddenly into notice, at some moment subsequently to the first promulgation of Christianity—or, if it should be found to have, gradually, and almost imperceptibly, won its way into general acceptance;—what is the legitimate mode of ascertaining its claim upon our belief, but to examine the primitive authorities, and to see whether any traces of it can be found there? And if the early Fathers are silent, if their works furnish us with not the slightest vestige of its existence; what can be the inference, but that the phenomenon in question is the mere produce of human subtlety or perverseness, and not a genuine tradition derived from the Apostles? Among the latter class of these supposed cases, is the interpretation which has invested the Bishop of Rome with his tremendous prerogatives. The precise moment of its first appearance, it may be scarcely possible to ascertain. It came up, a man knoweth not how: and it grew like the grain of mustard, till it overshadowed the earth. But that it was *a strange and degenerate plant*, instead of being *wholly a right seed*, may be very safely concluded from the fact, that it was utterly unknown to the original labourers and husbandmen. An instance of the former description is given by Mr. Faber in his *Dedication*. The scheme of Scriptural interpretation, now familiarly known by the name of Calvinism, may be traced back in the Western Church to the time of Augustine. But its appearance at that time was *sudden*. If we attempt to trace it back further, we are, as Mr. Faber observes, completely *at fault*. “Augustine, in the beginning of the fifth century, is the first ecclesiastical writer who annexes to the Scriptural terms, *Elect* and *Predestinate*, the peculiar sense which is, now, styled Calvinistic.” And when, at the close of his controversy with the Pelagians, he propounded his own system, he was charged with advancing a doctrine which, to that day, had been unknown and unheard of in the Church. And how, says Mr. Faber, did he dispose of the charge? Did he attempt to overwhelm his censurers by a mass of citations from the Fathers, beginning from the day when he received the instruction of his catechist, and ascending to the days of the Apostles themselves? On the contrary,—he produces just three witnesses—Cyprian, Ambrose, and Gregory of Nazianzum: all of whom depose nothing to the purpose; and whose depositions, if they *were* to the purpose, could be of very little value to his cause; for Ambrose and Gregory

were his own contemporaries, and Cyprian was not quite so much as a century and a half earlier. The doctrine therefore must have been a discovery of his own—as he once, incautiously, confesses it to have been. Whatever therefore may be the merits, or the demerits, of his system, in the abstract, it is an historical fact, that this system was stared at as a novelty, at the commencement of the fifth century. They who went before him had never dreamed of such an interpretation. If, therefore, his doctrine was, in truth, the doctrine of the Apostles, it must have buried itself in the earth immediately after their time; and there it must have remained, till it was dug up again 400 years afterwards. We have here a negative argument of almost irresistible strength. Whether the terms Elect and Predestinate had been rightly interpreted by the Fathers during the whole of that period, is a distinct question: but that they were *not* rightly interpreted by Augustine is next to indisputable. For it is almost impossible to believe that the mind of the Apostles, respecting such a matter, should have been so soon lost, and so late recovered.\*

We now take our leave of Mr. Faber with feelings of deep respect for his exertions in winding up and completing the evidence necessary for the establishment of the historical fact, that the Trinitarian doctrine of the Church of England is no other than the primitive and Apostolic doctrine. His labours, as we have already intimated, are, in our judgment, successful against the world; but, in particular, sufficient to shake the modern Unitarian system to atoms. Even his adversaries must allow that he has brought with him to his task, unwearied industry, great learning, and a most commendable spirit of fairness; which last quality he has very clearly manifested by the openness and distinctness with which he has produced his authorities: for there is not a single quotation of any importance in his volumes, the original of which is not fully printed in his margin. Of the execution, we feel ourselves unable to speak in the language of unqualified praise. He is, generally, much too wordy and diffuse. There is a grievous want of compactness about his style. A great deal of what may be called its *succulence* might, with great advantage, be squeezed out of it. The fibres and solids would gain infinitely by this salutary process. Another defect of his writing is its occasional indirectness and circuitry. There is

\* According to the Calvinists, Augustine himself cannot have been completely in the secret. For Beza, in his Life of Calvin, (ad an. 1551) informs us, that these difficult questions had never been sufficiently handled by the ancients; and that it was the Genevan controversy which, eventually, brought them out into such perspicuous development, that none but the incurably contentious could remain in doubt!

often so much sparring before the decisive blow is put in, that the spectator becomes weary and impatient, and, consequently, less disposed to sympathize with its victorious effect. These, however, are faults which leave the substantial merit and value of his performance unimpaired; and we hope and trust that a new edition will speedily give him an opportunity of correcting them, should he think our humble suggestions at all worth attending to. We confess, likewise, that when that period shall arrive, we should gladly see his disquisition announced with a title somewhat less portentous than the *Apostolicity of Trinitarianism*!

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ART. II.—*On Political Economy, in Connexion with the Moral State and Moral Prospects of Society.* By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. Glasgow. 1832. 8vo.

POLITICAL ECONOMY, even in its best form, is not a subject which has much attraction for the generality of readers. And this, we think, is to be accounted for chiefly on the two following grounds: First, though it either has, or at least ought always to have, an immediate view to practical results, yet dealing, as all sciences deal, more or less, in general propositions, it is not always applicable to the particular cases of which men are frequently the most anxious to obtain the solution; and secondly, though it treats of that which is so much desiderated and sought after by all viz. *wealth*, it instructs no one how he may individually grow rich, or, at best, gives him but little information in that respect, which he may not more readily acquire from other more convenient and perhaps surer sources.

Although therefore it is an eminently practical science in reference to the affairs of a great nation, and ought to be carefully studied by all statesmen and legislators, it is purely theoretical as it respects individuals, and can be but of little service to them in the conduct of their every-day concerns.

Hence it is, that our merchants and traders have never been very great patrons of the science which teaches them the *rationale* of their own transactions; nor indeed have they ever made pretension to much acquaintance with it, except when they have combined together for the purpose of procuring restrictive regulations on other branches, or some exclusive protection in favour of their own, on which occasions they have seldom failed to back their demands by arguments drawn from their own somewhat narrow views of the subject.

But if this science is not of a nature to commend itself much to the public attention, it seems to be still less adapted to the purposes of general reading, when it is treated in a dry, abstract and almost mathematical manner. If therefore it has failed of exciting much general interest, as it appears exhibited in the writings of Adam Smith, which abound in illustrations and practical application, (and that this is the case, is, we think, abundantly proved by the general ignorance which prevails respecting his doctrines and opinions,) it is no marvel that it should be still less suited to the public taste, in the dress in which it is clothed in the pages of Messrs. Mill and Ricardo, where it is cut and carved out into arithmetical problems and algebraic formulas. In the hands of this school political economy has certainly assumed somewhat of a harsh and repulsive aspect. Although their writings exhibit great originality and acuteness, and have excited in some quarters much attention and curiosity, they are but ill calculated to render the science popular among those who have no previous taste for the study of it. It would be uncandid not to allow that they have thrown light upon some points which were before but imperfectly understood, and that they have so far contributed to improve and extend our knowledge of the subject. But, on the other hand, some of their doctrines are founded on such false and imperfect data,—they have frequently used their terms in such new and unusual senses, and their conclusions have sometimes been so repugnant to common notions, and so directly at variance with experience, that, on the whole, they have impressed upon the subject a character not very favourable to its general reception, and it is to be feared have even in some degree contributed to bring it into contempt. The reader who consults their works, though he is often surprised and sometimes even charmed with the novelty and ingenuity of their views, and the plausibility of their reasoning, not unfrequently finds himself bewildered in a labyrinth of difficulties, and at length grows weary of paradoxes which have nothing in common with the real business of life.

But whether it be owing to the particular mode in which the subject has been treated by these writers, or partly perhaps to this cause and to others combined with it, certain it is, that political economy is in no very great repute even among men who are considerably enlightened upon other subjects. It is therefore with no ordinary feelings of delight, that we hail the appearance of this volume of Dr. Chalmers. It is, we think, admirably calculated not only to rescue this useful science from the obloquy which has been poured out upon it, and to dissipate the prejudices which of late years more especially have gathered round its very

name, but even to place it on an eminence still more lofty and honourable than any to which it has hitherto attained. By considering political economy with reference to its influence upon the moral state and moral prospects of society, Dr. Chalmers has given a tone of the highest elevation and dignity to the whole subject, and thrown into it a degree of interest which it never before possessed. Disencumbering it from all topics of inferior and secondary importance, he has addressed himself at once to those more practical and vital questions which connect the science with the well-being of the community at large, and which, while they affect the condition of each particular class, do at the same time bear upon the general happiness and prosperity of the whole.

In the prosecution of his inquiries he has contrived, with admirable dexterity, to avoid all discussions respecting the meaning of terms, and has so introduced those technical words and expressions, which have been the subject of fierce contention among other economists, that it is impossible either to mistake the meaning which he attaches to them, or to quarrel with the use which he makes of them.

Whatever point Dr. Chalmers takes up, he seldom relinquishes it till he has thoroughly exhausted it. His powers of illustration are quite unbounded. No writer ever dressed up his subject in so many different *costumes*, or took such pains to exhibit it to his reader in every variety of form and shape; and though this is apt to lead him into some diffuseness and prolixity, which is the prevailing character, and perhaps the main defect of his writings, yet the truth, when held up in various points of view, frequently gains the readier admission, and the light will sometimes break in upon the mind through one avenue which finds no access to it through others. Moreover, his style, though not always clothed in a perfectly English dress, is never wearisome, but is so powerful and energetic, and at the same time so full of noble and lofty sentiments, and of splendid and beautiful passages, that it has in it a peculiar charm which carries the reader imperceptibly along.

In giving, however, this general idea and character of the work before us, it is by no means our intention to represent it as a perfectly faultless performance, or as being entirely exempt from error. Its main principles indeed we conceive to be sound and incontrovertible. Nevertheless, in some instances, they appear to us to have been pushed too far; nor do we think the author always warranted in the conclusions which he draws from them. There is, notwithstanding, so much that is both new and important in the general view which he gives of the subject,—all its parts are so well framed and fitted together—each particular

topic is so clearly and distinctly stated, and so beautifully expanded and illustrated, that we cannot but consider ourselves as greatly indebted to Dr. Chalmers for his labours in this department, and we have no doubt that his work will be eminently serviceable, not only in rendering the subject more generally interesting, and widening the circle of its readers, but also in establishing some valuable truths and correcting many common and prevailing errors.

The point from which Dr. Chalmers sets out, and which forms the basis of his whole argument, is the fact, of comparatively modern discovery, that the last or worst description of soil under cultivation, at any given time, yields little or no rent to its proprietor, being barely more than sufficient to remunerate the labour employed upon it, including the profit of the farmer or cultivator's capital, according to its ordinary or average rate at the time being. Such land may notwithstanding be of very good quality, and yield both high wages and high profits, as is frequently the case in new colonies, or if not naturally fertile, it may become so, by the application of Capital, and either from this cause or its concomitant one, the fall of profits and wages, which usually accompanies the progress of wealth and improvement, it may ultimately yield a very high rent. So long, however, as it pays none, it must always mark the extreme limit of cultivation at the time being. This circumstance which seems to have escaped the penetrating eye of Adam Smith, was first noticed by Mr. Malthus and Sir Edward West; and was, by them beautifully applied in explanation of the nature and origin of rent. It has, we believe, been since acknowledged by all subsequent writers, but it has never been so satisfactorily elucidated, nor so thoroughly traced to its consequences as in the work before us.

It is thus stated by Dr. Chalmers:—

“Any land, that is cultivated for food to human beings, must, at least, yield as much as shall feed the labourers who are employed in working it. But it must do more than this. These agricultural labourers require to be clothed and lodged, as well as fed. They must be upheld, not in food alone, which is the first necessary; but in what may be termed, the second necessities of life. The people whose business it is to work up these, may, in contradistinction to the *agricultural*, be termed the *secondary* labourers of a country. It is evident, that the worst of cultivated land must, at least, be able to feed those who are directly employed upon the soil, and, moreover, those who prepare for the agricultural labourers all the other articles, beside food, which enter into their support or maintenance.

“It is obvious, that land of this inferior productiveness must mark the extreme limit of cultivation at the time—as land of still inferior quality could not be broken up without loss to the cultivator.”—p. 2.



But our author has been careful to avoid the error into which Mr. Ricardo and his disciples have fallen. These economists have imagined that the most fertile soils were invariably the first occupied, and that whenever land of an inferior quality was taken into cultivation, the condition of the labourer and his employer became *necessarily* deteriorated. It is to the *necessity* of resorting to the less fertile portions of land that they exclusively ascribe the gradual decline both of wages and profits in the progress of society, whereas, in point of fact, this fall, arising, as it does, from the increase both of population and capital, precedes the cultivation of the poorer land, and is itself the very cause of that of which they esteem it to be no more than the consequence. According to them therefore the labourer is always the best off in the earliest periods, when none but the richest land is cultivated, which is certainly very far from being generally true to the extent which they supposed.—

“ In filling up this sketch, or *histoire raisonnée*, of the conjunct progress of culture and population, economists have given in to certain conceptions, which require to be modified. They sometimes describe the process, as if, at each successive descent to an inferior soil, the comfort and circumstances of the human race underwent deterioration; or as if, under the impulse of a hard and hunger-bitten necessity, men were driven, like so many famishing wolves, to those intractable soils, whence they could only force out a more stinted and penurious fare than before—and that, at a greater expense of toil and of endurance. Agreeably to this supposition even economists and calculators have, by a reverse process, found their way to a golden age at the outset of the world—when men reposed in the lap of abundance; and, with no other fatigue than that of a slight and superficial operation on a soil of first rate quality, richly partook in the bounties of nature. But when all this soil came to be occupied, and the race continued to multiply, land of a second quality must have been taken in—and the conception is, that at every such transition from a better to a worse land, a heavier imposition of toil was laid upon workmen, and a smaller amount of produce was yielded to them in return for their industry. This, certainly, represents to us the species in a course of deterioration, at least, in as far as the comfort of the labouring classes is concerned. They are pictured to the eye, as if goaded on by hard and stubborn necessity at every step of this movement, and going forth, in starving multitudes, from that better land, which is now too narrow for them. At each new stretch of cultivation, a more ungrateful soil has to be encountered, on which it is thought that men are more strenuously wrought, and more scantily subsisted, than before—till, at the extreme limit of this progression, a life of utmost toil, and utmost penury, is looked to as the inevitable doom that awaits the working classes of society.”  
—pp. 3—5.

Now this representation of the case is not, as our author justly

remarks, agreeable to the fact, nor does it accord with historical truth. The descent to inferior soils has been frequently met, and more than compensated for, by the invention of instruments, and the application of capital, whereby industry has been rendered more effective, and the produce increased, or its cost diminished. This too has been brought about as well by manufacturing as by agricultural improvements; for if the *second* necessities of life, as Dr. Chalmers appropriately terms them, (that is, such things as are needful to the labourer besides his mere subsistence,) can be produced cheaper, or with less labour, that portion of his corn or money wages, which goes to purchase them may be reduced, while not only he may be as well off as before, but the general result will be the same, as though a saving had been effected in the cost of producing food. Land of inferior quality, which would not before have repaid the expense of tillage, may in such cases be profitably entered upon.—

“ It follows not, that in the act of descending to an inferior soil men have to put forth a greater quantity of labour for the same return,—because it may have been some improvement in the modes or operations of husbandry, which has enabled them to make the descent, and to make the same labour as effective on the ground which they are now reclaiming from the waste, as on that which they had last brought within the domain of cultivation. When, therefore, we see the wilds of nature further broken in upon, we are not always to imagine that it is from the pressure of a felt necessity, by which men have been forced to submit to a more painful endurance, and to put up with a scantier subsistence in return for it. It may have been the pacific, the prosperous result of some enlargement in the powers of agricultural labour; and in consequence of which, men go spontaneously forth on an inferior soil, because now, for the same work, they earn the same recompense as they did on the soil immediately above it. It is thus a possible thing, that cultivation may be extended, without deterioration to the comfort of labourers; and that along its last possible frontier, there might be stationed as high and well conditioned a peasantry, as ever flourished in any olden or golden period on the lawns of Arcadia.

“ And cultivation may be extended by an improvement in manufacturing, as well as in agricultural labour. It may be conceived, of the land last entered, that in return for a certain quantity of labour, it yields the subsistence of a hundred families—and that the land next inferior to it cannot be profitably cultivated, because in return for the same labour, it yields the subsistence of only ninety families. Now, over-  
looking for the present, the element of profit, one might conceive these hundred families to be made up of seventy belonging to the agricultural, and of thirty belonging to the secondary class,—it being the employment of the latter to prepare, for the whole hundred, the second necessities of life. It matters not whether there be

such an improvement in agricultural labour, that sixty can do the work of seventy, or such an improvement in manufacturing labour that twenty can do the work of thirty. In either way, ninety labourers can do as much as a hundred did before; and whereas, formerly, land must have been able to return for their labour the subsistence of a hundred families, ere it could be taken in, it may now be taken in, though of such inferior quality, as to return the subsistence of but ninety families. By the former improvement, the agricultural labourers necessary for a given effect, became fewer than before,—by the latter improvement, though still as numerous, they would require the services of fewer secondaries than before. It is thus that a step of improvement in manufactures alone can give rise to an onward step of extension in agriculture—and just because a method has been devised for the fabrication of as many yards of cloth, by fewer hands, soils of poorer out-field, than any that had yet been reached, may now be profitably entered upon. An improvement in the form of the stocking machine may, as well as an improvement in the form of the plough, bring many an else unreclaimed acre within the reach of cultivation.”—pp. 8—10.

But although this is quite true, and is very perspicuously stated, yet it is certain that the increase of population (the land itself being limited both as to its extent and capabilities) does occasion a fall of wages, independently of any arising from the cheapness of manufactures. This has been either overlooked by Dr. Chalmers, or he has not allowed it sufficient weight, and hence he has failed to notice the *chief* reason why this share is susceptible of considerable reduction, without a proportionate deterioration of the labourer's circumstances. The fact is that, at all times, the real condition of the labourer depends a great deal more upon the demand for his labour, compared with the means and quantity of employment, than upon the *proportion*, which his wages bear to the produce. This proportion may be small, and his total earnings may notwithstanding be considerable: nay, the one may frequently be the occasion of the other. The increasing demand for produce, which raises its price, necessarily diminishes the share or proportion which goes to wages; on the other hand, it raises profits, enlarges the fund for the maintenance of labour, adds to the means and quantity of employment, and increases the sum total of wages. Their *relative* quantity is less, their *absolute* quantity is greater than before. The labourer is, in reality, better off when he earns only *one-third* of what he produces, in a state of full employment, than when he earns *one-half* of it, with only half employment.

Dr. Chalmers seems to admit something of this kind, (though he does not apply it quite in the way in which we have done,) in

the following paragraph, and which we insert chiefly on account of the remark which he makes upon it.

“The actual and historical process that has taken place, we believe to be as follows: The labourers of our day work harder than before, but live better than before. They at once toil more strenuously, and live more plentifully—putting forth more strength, but withal, drawing the remuneration of a larger and more liberal sustenance. So that while, on the one hand, we behold a harder working peasantry, we, on the other hand, behold them more richly upholden, both in the first and second necessities of life.

“Now, this may be either a deterioration or an improvement in their circumstances. One can imagine a day of slavish fatigue, followed by an evening of gross and loathsome sensuality,—as is often exemplified in the life of a London coal-heaver, whose enormous wage is absorbed in the enormous consumption, by which he repairs the waste and the weariness of an excessive labour. This surely is not a desirable habitude for the commonalty of any land; nor do we read the characteristics of a high or a well-conditioned peasantry in a state of existence, made up, first of drudgery to the uttermost of their strength, and then of grovelling dissipation to the uttermost of their means. They spend one part of their revolving day in the exercise of powers, which are merely animal; and the other part in the indulgence of enjoyments, which also are merely animal—like beasts of burden, who are better wrought than before, and, in return for this, are better fed and lodged and littered than before. They are now in better keep than their forefathers; and this puts them into heart for the greater work that is extracted out of them. Still it is conceivable of the work, that it may be so very extreme, as, on the whole, to degrade and to depress these overdone children of modern industry—and that, in spite of the greater abundance wherewith their senses and their spirits are coarsely regaled, during the intervals of their sore bondage.”—pp. 10—12.

This which is, unfortunately, but the too common effect of hard work, shows how vain is the attempt to improve the condition of the lower orders, by merely adding to their creature comforts. The vessel which carries more sail needs more ballast: so the increase of earthly possessions to the labourer, as well as to others, seems to require an additional moral counterpoise, that is, the implanting of higher and better principles, or it is likely to become more injurious than advantageous both to the individual and the community. But independently of any moral effects, education and civilization, by engendering a taste for the more refined arts of life, as well among the labouring classes as those of a higher grade, must doubtless be reckoned among the causes of the extension of agriculture and the general increase of wealth.

It is, however, impossible that this extension and increase could have been progressive without cultivation being pushed upon the poorer soils: nor would these latter have been resorted

to, unless successive falls had taken place in wages,\* or profits; or both; or unless such improvements had been made in agricultural or manufacturing industry, as had increased the efficiency of a given quantity of labour, and rendered the return from the last or worst land taken into cultivation as profitable as that of the quality immediately above it was, previously to the adoption of such improvements.

Dr. Chalmers has beautifully connected this subject with Malthus's doctrine of population, by showing what indeed that eminent writer had himself long ago shown, but which is very far from being generally understood, or if understood is continually lost sight of, viz. that the tendency of the human race to multiply so as to outstrip the means of subsistence and employment, does in fact put mankind into a condition of straitness and difficulty long before the earth is fully cultivated and peopled. The produce of the soil cannot be made to increase as fast as population *would* increase, if it were unchecked: and hence the constant pressure of the latter upon the means of subsistence, and all the vice and misery which it brings in its train.

The remedies by which it has been proposed to meet the evils of an overflowing population, are classed by our author under two heads, the *internal* and the *external*. The former, the advantages of which he strongly advocates, include every thing of the moral and preventive kind. The latter respect the means of finding maintenance and employment for the continually increasing numbers who are daily and hourly seeking it. To the consideration of the nature and extent of these means Dr. Chalmers next proceeds to invite the reader's attention. He enters into them largely, and *that* chiefly with the view of showing their comparative impotence.

The chapters on the *Increase and Limit of Employment and Capital*, which introduce this subject, we consider as forming the most valuable and important part of the work, since the whole of the sequel is more or less founded upon the principles that are therein contained and developed.

This has always been a dark and intricate corner in political economy, and one that has given rise to perpetual controversy. Dr. Chalmers has explored it with the eye of a master. He has thrown a broad illumination over this hitherto foggy region. We may now find our way with tolerable confidence where nearly all before was bewilderment and delusion.

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\* It is necessary to observe that if the *proportionate* wages are estimated as Mr. Ricardo estimates them, by their relation to profits, they rise as society advances; but taken in reference to the total quantity produced, *inclusive of rent*, their rate is a falling one.

The doctrine relating to this subject, which has been taught by some of our most distinguished economists, our author has clearly shown to be fundamentally erroneous. The prevailing opinion among them is that the demand for commodities always increases in proportion to the supply, and that every augmentation of capital necessarily brings with it an increase of employment.

To a certain extent this opinion seems to have been entertained by Adam Smith himself; for though he fully admits at the commencement of his chapter on profits, that they are dependent upon the competition of capitalists, and therefore fall as capital increases, yet in various other parts of his work he has certainly led his readers to suppose that indefinite parsimony was the high road to wealth, and that whenever fresh capital was accumulated, and fresh products created, fresh markets were always open to receive them. The most celebrated disciples of his school, with the exception of Mr. Malthus and one or two others of less note, have adopted the same view. Some, indeed, have carried this principle so far, as to deny the possibility of a general glut or overproduction.

Their argument, it must be confessed, is a plausible one. Capital and labour being the two main instruments of production, nothing more seems requisite in order to increase the national wealth, than to bring each into presence of the other. That at any particular period there should be an excess of the one or the other seems intelligible enough; but that both should predominate or be superabundant at one and the same time, is not altogether so obvious, and seems on the first view of it almost impossible. And yet that multitudes may be seeking for employment, while capital is lying idle for want of profitable investment, is a fact but too well authenticated to leave its existence doubtful; and it is readily admitted as well as felt by all practical men. Why, indeed, it should so be, has never before been very satisfactorily explained; but Dr. Chalmers has unravelled the mystery, and shown that the great limiting cause before adverted to, which arrests the progress of agricultural improvement, does at the same time oppose an effectual barrier to the multiplication of all other species of wealth, seeing that food enters as a main ingredient into the composition of them all, and that for food some portion of them all must ultimately be exchanged.

“ We may now inquire—What the real power of capital is for the maintenance of a people? There is nothing more constantly affirmed, in the writings of political economists, than the connection between these two elements: ‘ The power of a country to maintain a population, is in proportion to its capital.’ ‘ Increase the capital, and you increase



its power to employ and to remunerate labour.' Capital is the fund, out of which the wages of labour are paid, and labourers are supported. These are so many different expressions for an oft-repeated aphorism in political science. Now, capital is the fruit of accumulation; and one might be led to imagine, from such representations, as if the frugality of merchants were the primary fountain-head, whence issued forth all the comfort and subsistence of labourers. At this rate, indefinite parsimony would be followed up by the indefinitely-augmenting power of maintaining labour; and, through the medium of personal economy, an unobstructed highway would be opened to increasing and successive enlargements in the amount of the population, or in the general sufficiency of their circumstances. This is the unequivocal impression given by the reasonings of Dr. Smith, on the subject of capital, and the methods of its increase. There are checks to this progress, which he has either altogether overlooked, or at least forborne to dwell upon, and bring prominently forward. The rationale of a country's advancement in wealth and economic prosperity, has thus been misconceived. The limits, placed by nature and necessity in the way of this advancement, have not been sufficiently regarded; and more especially has it been thought, that there was a creative and an emanating power in capital, which could overleap these limits, and form a guarantee against all the evils that have been ascribed to redundant population.

“ And on this subject, too, we might learn a lesson at that place in the science, where so many other of its lessons are to be gathered—even at the margin of separation between the cultivated and the uncultivated land. We have already seen, that cultivation cannot be speeded forward beyond this margin, at a rate faster than the improvement in the powers of labour enables the land of next inferior quality to feed the agricultural labourers and their secondaries. If, by an undue increase of population, the cultivation is forced a greater way than this, then the land last entered on is not able to repay its cultivation, and distress is felt in the country because there are too many men. But as surely as there might be too many ploughmen, so there might be too many ploughs. If, in virtue of the excessive number of ploughmen, all cannot find employment, without forcing an entrance upon soils that would return inadequate wages for the labour, so, in virtue of the excessive number of ploughs, all cannot find employment, without a like return of inadequate profit for the capital. Nay, profit forms such a fraction in the price of most articles, that a large fluctuation of price might not only diminish profit, but annihilate it, or even, by the conversion, as in algebra, of positive into negative, might transmute the profit into loss. It appears, from this instance, that just as agriculture might be overladen by an excess of labour, so might it be overladen by an excess of capital. And at the extreme boundary of cultivation, might there be distinctly seen the operation of that check which opposes the indefinite advancement of both. Diminish the wages of agricultural labour beneath a certain rate, and ploughmen will cease to be multiplied. Diminish the profit of agricultural capital beneath a certain rate, or, still more surely, annihilate profit, and ploughs will cease to be multiplied.

Both the population and the capital are here brought alike to a stand; and, at the point now specified, both are alike impotent for the purpose of enlarging the wealth of the country. The boasted power of capital for the maintenance of labour is, in this instance at least, found to be an illusion. There is no virtue in the excess of ploughs to maintain the excess of ploughmen. Nothing but an adequate return from the soil can uphold either; and for want of this, each excess must at length disappear,—it being as true of the capital as of the population, that it is heavier than the land can bear.

“Now, what is true of agricultural, is true also of manufacturing capital. If, as we have found already, there may be too many manufacturing labourers, so may there be too many manufacturing implements of labour. On the former taking place, there is work done by human hands, without the return of an adequate human subsistence; and so a diminution of the population. On the latter taking place, there is work done by pieces of machinery, without the return of an adequate profit to their owners: and so a diminution of their capital. What is true of the living, is true of the inanimate instruments: both might be unduly multiplied. As there might be too many men, so might there be too many machines—too many power-looms, as well as too many weavers at hand-looms—too many cotton-mills, as well as too many cotton-spinners. There is a check to the one, in the lessening of wages; and in every way as sure a check to the other, in the lessening of profits. They have not looked far onward, who speak of the power which lies in capital to employ and to maintain labour. They have looked only to the first step in the process—that at which the capitalist enlists workmen into his service; and for one year, or one term, can pay them liberally and well. They have not looked to the second step—that at which the return is made by them who purchase and use the commodity that has been thus manufactured. If this return be not an adequate one, the capital is not replaced; and, after a single revolution of the economic cycle, it again starts in diminished magnitude, and with a proportionally diminished power for the maintenance of labour.”→ pp. 78—82.

The consequence of all this is, that national saving is confined within much narrower limits than individual saving. There is no way by which individual capitalists can augment their wealth except by parsimony, or converting a portion of their profit into additional capital, to be employed in the maintenance of additional labour, and to become the source of additional production. And to a certain extent this may be done *generally*; but if it be carried to excess, although the capital itself may be augmented, it will yield no greater amount of profit than before; and if it be pushed still farther, the last portion of capital thus accumulated will be altogether swallowed up and destroyed.

It has been seen, that the limit to the employment of additional capital upon the land, is a return from the soil adequate to the maintenance of the cultivators according to the rates of wages

and profits at the time being; and the limit to the employment of additional capital in trade or manufactures, is a corresponding increase of agricultural wealth, such as will augment the disposable amount of food, which forms its natural market and equivalent. But Dr. Chalmers should certainly have noticed, that a mere increase in the *quantity* of food will not effectuate this. Such additional quantity might indeed be an advantage to the labourers, by awarding to each a more liberal allowance than before. But this is not enough. In order to enlarge the market, there must be moreover an increase in the *value* of the food, such as will enable its holders to put more labour into motion, and dispose them to exchange the additional quantity for more of the other products of labour.

“It might be safe and profitable for one capitalist, or a certain fractional number of them, to accumulate. But a general accumulation cannot take place, save at the expense of the general revenue of capitalists. It is true, that, so long as agriculture is in progress, there might be yearly additions to the returning or replacing power, by which as large, or a larger revenue, might be afforded to a still enlarging capital. But when the progress of agriculture becomes slow and difficult, or, most of all, when it touches upon the extreme limit, then the impotency of accumulation on the part of capitalists must be severely felt. Each new investiture, in fact, will then be followed up by an adverse reaction or recoil upon themselves. As they grow in capital, they will decline in revenue. There is no escaping from this consequence, after that the returning power has become stationary. Every addition to capital, causes just a permanent yearly abstraction of the same amount from revenue; and the same return, on a larger prime cost, is all which the capitalists reap for their pains. Society obtains their enjoyments at a cheaper rate, when, by an overdone competition among capitalists, each strains at becoming richer than before. But if there be no increase in the wealth of customers, capitalists cannot persevere in such a walk of speculation, without impoverishment and ruin to many of themselves.”—pp. 88, 89.

“The domain of cultivation is, no doubt, gradually widening with the improvements that are ever taking place in the methods of agricultural labour. But when capital makes a rash attempt beyond this boundary, it is sure to be absorbed. The landlord will not continue to employ, on a land that brings no return, agricultural labourers, who might, for the sum he is yearly spending in the shape of unproductive capital, be serving him in the capacity of disposable labourers. Neither will the tenant persist in cultivating land which yields him no profit. There is no escaping from the conclusion. Accumulation, or the conversion of revenue into capital, has its limits in this as well as in every other division of the business of society. In other words, capital is hemmed in on all sides by a slowly receding boundary, which it cannot overpass; and beyond which, if it attempt to enlarge itself, it is broken into surges at the barrier by which it is surrounded.”—pp. 104, 105.

The effect of this on the general rate of profit is very important, and Dr. Chalmers thus remarks upon it.

“This brings into view a most important element, which hitherto has scarcely been admitted into the consideration of profit. We are abundantly familiar with the idea, that the rate of wages is dependent on the average standard of enjoyment among labourers. But we have not been so accustomed to think of the rate of profit, as depending on the average standard of enjoyment among capitalists. Nevertheless, it is actually so. It is a question with every individual capitalist, whether he shall spend the whole revenue of the current year, or how much of it he shall reserve, for the purpose of vesting it in trade, and so giving additional extension to his business, or finally, whether he shall expend more than his revenue, and so trench upon his capital? This question turns precisely on the balance between two appetites of his nature—between the appetite for eventual gain, and the appetite for present comfort. Should the latter prevail, *and prevail generally*, capital would be kept down, and profit be sustained. Should the latter prevail, and also prevail generally, capital would be augmented, and profit be depressed. It does not affect this conclusion, that the highway to fortune, on the part of the individual merchant, is to save as much, and spend as little, of his revenue as he can. It is true of every single capitalist, that he is all the richer by saving than spending; and that, under any given rate of profit, or with any given habit on the part of capitalists. But it is not true that capitalists collectively will become richer by saving than by spending; for, on their general habit, the rate of profit immediately and essentially depends. Could they effectuate a combination amongst themselves, they might uphold, at their general and collective pleasure, the rate of profit and interest in the land. But they are not able to achieve so extensive a concert, nor would its members be individually faithful in their observation of it; and this is not the only instance in which the good of society is secured by the impossibility of combinations. Meanwhile, nothing can be truer, than that just as the wages of labour depend on the collective taste and will of labourers, so the profits of stock depend on the collective taste and will of capitalists. With this view, profits are what capitalists in the aggregate choose to make them, And however little the rate of profit may have been associated in the minds of economists, with the standard of enjoyment in the middle classes of society—yet, ultimately and efficiently, this is precisely the element on which it turns.”—pp. 90—92.

But though the capitalists have undoubtedly the same power of maintaining the rate of their profits by ceasing to add to their stock, that the labourers have of maintaining the rate of their wages by abstaining from marriage and multiplication, yet Dr. Chalmers has not remarked that, in respect to the exercise of this power, they stand on a very different footing. The *particular* and the *general* interest of the labourer go hand in hand together, while the *particular* and *general* interest of the capitalist are opposed to each other. If the labourers could enter into a general

agreement on the subject, they would have every motive for adhering strictly to it; their own individual condition would be improved by it. Each would reap the benefit of his own prudence and foresight, at the same time that he was contributing to the welfare of all the others. Not so the capitalists. The general benefit to all would be a particular disadvantage to each. Were it possible for *them* to combine together for the like purpose, they would have a secret inclination to violate the compact. Each would wish all the rest to be bound by it, and himself to be at liberty to pursue an opposite course.

The resemblance between population and capital, both in regard to the limits of their increase, and to the facility wherewith they recover any great and sudden defalcations, was long ago noticed by Mr. Malthus, and it forms the subject of a distinct chapter in the work before us, in which the Author has illustrated it by contrasting together the condition of England and Ireland, and showing the evils under which both countries respectively labour, the one from excess of population, and the other from redundancy of capital.

“ If the disease in Ireland be a plethora of population, the disease in this country is more like to a plethora of capital. If there, the mendicity be among the living instruments; here, if I may be permitted such an image, the mendicity is among the dead instruments of labour. If there, immediate labour be wretchedly remunerated by a low wage; here, the low profit makes a wretched remuneration for antecedent labour. The phenomena on this side of the water indicate as surely that capital has its limits, as the phenomena on the other side indicate that population has its limits. The annoyance one feels in the competition of porters for employment, is not more decisive of the one, than the annoyance he is exposed to from the competition of steam-boats or hackney-coaches is decisive of the other. The noisy clamour of beggars on the street, does not tell more significantly of an excess of population, than the signs of unoccupied houses, and the flaming advertisements of commodities at prime cost, and the incessant cheapening of articles to the bankruptcy and ruin of their owners, tell by another sort of clamour of the excess of capital. Between the two elements, in fact, there is a marvellous and multiplied accordancy. Both are subject to incessant checks from the want, each of its own proper aliment; the one from an insufficient wage, the other from an insufficient profit. And though both are greatly short, at present, of that magnitude which they may yet attain in the course of ages; both may press at all times on a slowly retiring limit—nor is there room in the world for the indefinite extension of either.”—pp. 135, 136.

Dr. Chalmers next proceeds to inquire into the possibility of over production. This is evidently but a corollary from what precedes—we might indeed have almost said a repetition of it.

Nevertheless his mode of unravelling the intricacies of the question, and of tracing to their source the errors of some of our modern economists on this point, is so masterly, that we cannot refrain from inserting the following extracts, which appear to us to set this matter completely at rest.

“ But it is now time for addressing ourselves to the argument of our more recent economists, for the impossibility of a general glut, in the terms which they themselves have employed in propounding it. Their reason for there being no such thing as over-production, or for a general glut being impossible, is, that any partial over-stockings of the market which may accrue, arise, not from an excess of commodities upon the whole, but from the excess of certain commodities, and so a wrong or mistaken distribution of them. They ground their proposition on the indefiniteness of human wants, or rather of human desires, in virtue of which, they affirm, there can be no excess in the supply, if known only what the desires specially are. The mal-adjustment in the market, according to them, has arisen, not from the desires of men being oversatiated with too many objects, but from these desires not being met by the right objects. If, for example, there be an excessive quantity of cotton goods in the market, they become immoderately cheap, and purchase less than they otherwise would of all other commodities, which of course are in reference to this one commodity immoderately dear. This must proceed, it is argued, from an excess of labour employed in the preparation of cotton goods, and a corresponding deficiency of labour in the preparation of the other articles which come into exchange with them. Had a certain portion of labour, then, been transferred from that quarter, where it has been in excess, to those quarters in which it has been deficient—the equilibrium would have been restored, and the cotton goods been exchanged, with all others, at a fair relative value. At this rate, there would have been no glut of any one commodity; and yet the quantity of commodities, on the whole, would have been as large as ever. On these grounds it is contended, that there can be no glut arising from over-production in the general, but only from a miscalculation as to the real state of the demand; and so a disproportionately large supply of certain articles of merchandise, with a corresponding defect and diminution in the supply of others.”—pp. 151, 152.

“ The reasoning in behalf of this doctrine we hold to be wrong, even though we should admit the supposition whereon it rests—which is, that the object proposed, in every presentation of commodities for sale, is to obtain other commodities in exchange for them. Although this were true, still there is one sense in which, notwithstanding the nicest possible adjustment, in the way of proportioning the respective articles to the respective demand for them, there yet would be a glut. There might be an over-population of the country, and so a glut of men—who, with the best possible accommodation of their industry to the taste and the wants of those who hold the materials of human sustenance in their hands, may still find the products of their industry to be too abundant, and therefore too cheap for their obtaining an adequate maintenance in



return for them. The escape from this conclusion is, that still the glut is resolvable into a mistake in point of proportion, food being in defect, and all other commodities in excess; and that so a rectification would be brought about, were a portion of the capital transferred from the preparation of the latter to that of the former—or, speaking generally, from manufactures to agriculture. But this goes on the presumption that food can be raised by turning capital to this object, just as indefinitely as houses, or ships, or steam-engines, can be multiplied in the same way. *The state of matters at the extreme margin of cultivation is not adverted to. It is forgotten why, in the present circumstances of the country, that is the margin; and why it cannot, without loss, be carried further onward or downward than it actually has been.* The ulterior land would not, in the present state of agricultural science, feed both the primary and secondary population who should be employed on it. At least, it would not do this, and also remunerate the capitalist for his outlay. Nay, there is the utmost hazard, or rather certainty, in such a state, of lighting upon soils so ungrateful, as to convert profit into loss, and so diminish the capital. It were well if this check to indefinite enlargement could be fully kept in view; for a recklessness to limits, and necessary laws on the part of the *savans* in political economy, might induce a corresponding recklessness on the policy of statesmen, and even on the general habits of society. There are certain recent doctrines in the science, which, beside being unfounded in themselves, have precisely this effect. In particular, the position that there is no limit whatever to the means of productive and profitable employment, is really tantamount to the position, that there is no necessary limit on the numbers of the species. If work can thus be augmented indefinitely, then might workmen be augmented indefinitely. It is under the influence of some such maxim as this, that a delusive confidence is encouraged, and relief for a straitened and over-burdened community is always sought for in the wrong quarter—in the enlargement of work, rather than the limitation of workmen—in the increase of produce, when nothing will effectually or permanently keep the country at ease, but a check on the increase of population.”—pp. 159—161.

The next subject inquired into by Dr. Chalmers is that of foreign trade;—how far it adds to the wealth of a country, and is a source of maintenance to the people. There is nothing more certain, though it still is apparently a stumbling block to many, that the importations of every country must, on the long run, balance its exportations; for though each country may send to any other one in particular, either more or less than it receives from that other, it cannot send to all the others collectively more than it receives from them all collectively. It hence follows that the fabricators of exportable goods, whilst they are labouring in the service of the foreign customer, are in reality as much upheld and maintained by the wealth of the home customers as those who are employed in producing commodities for the exclusive consumption of the home market,—

This, though not a new, is a very important truth, which cannot be too widely diffused; for there is no mistake more common than that of supposing that what is expended on foreign luxuries is so much drawn away from the maintenance of the home artisan, and appeals are constantly made to the public in behalf of the latter, founded on this belief. Cases indeed may arise, in which it may be desirable to give encouragement to particular branches of industry; as, for instance, when they are labouring under any peculiar or severe depression arising from unforeseen or accidental causes. But it must never be forgotten, that unless there be an increase in the sum total of expenditure, whatever is spent more upon one, is spent less upon others. The same remark applies equally to all charitable donations and subscriptions of every kind, which are a fund drawn away from the maintenance of one set of individuals, who are frequently a productive set, in order to feed another set of individuals, who are for the most part unproductive, and seldom give any equivalent in exchange for the subsistence they derive from the benefactions of their more opulent and fortunate brethren.

But though the power of exporting with advantage is limited by the power of importing with advantage, and the latter again by the surplus revenue which can be devoted to the consumption of what is received from abroad; yet Dr. Chalmers appears to us to have overlooked a material circumstance in relation to trade, both foreign and domestic, which has, we think, led him to under-rate its importance.

It is by no means the case, as he represents it, that the *whole* of what is expended in foreign productions, is deducted or diverted from the demand for home commodities. It may happen, and indeed almost always does happen, that when new openings are made for trade, there is a general extension of the market; and whenever such is the case, more scope is given for the employment of capital. This, which seldom fails to elevate the rate of profit, enables cultivation to be pushed upon poorer soils, and increases the surplus produce, which in its turn gives a new impulse to trade and manufactures.

The briskness and general increase of demand which usually follow the opening of new channels of trade, could scarcely be otherwise well accounted for; and something of the kind seems to take place in the home market whenever new articles are fabricated, which owing to their superior utility, or from the mere force of fashion, come to be in universal and high request. For such commodities a new demand may spring up, without occasioning a perceptible diminution of it, in any other quarter. The effect produced is every way similar to that which took place

towards the termination of the middle ages, and which is noticed by Dr. Chalmers. At that period the general change of taste among the great landlords, which led them to reduce the number of their dependants and retainers, and to exchange more of their surplus produce for manufactures, had a powerful effect in encouraging the production of this species of wealth, and considerably enlarged the *arena* for the employment of capital. It is probable that all increase of demand originates in some such change in the mode of expenditure. When more revenue is devoted to the acquisition of any particular commodity, that is; when a higher price is paid for it, the purchaser has no doubt less to spend on other things: but to counterbalance this, just in proportion as his powers of purchase are diminished, so are the powers of the seller increased; consequently the greater demand and the higher prices paid for such commodities do not in the least diminish or contract the general amount of demand, nor occasion any fall in the prices of other things.

It appears then, that although both the home and the foreign trade are limited by the surplus produce, yet they are themselves instrumental in increasing that surplus, and extending those very limits by which themselves are bounded. Dr. Chalmers admits, indeed, that something of this kind did take place at the period above mentioned: but he is of opinion that as soon as it had produced its effect, there was for ever an end of it; whilst we have the fullest conviction that this sort of reflex action is *always* more or less in constant, though silent, operation, and that it only calls forth our observation, when on extraordinary occasions it gives visible signs of its existence.

If then some have ascribed too much to trade and manufactures, Dr. Chalmers has, we think, gone as much too far the other way, and ascribed too little to them. The source of his error appears to us to be this.—He has regarded all *such* produce of labour as forming no part of the national revenue, but being merely that on which revenue is spent. He has represented what he very aptly denominates the *returning* or *replacing* power, as consisting *entirely* in the produce of the soil, or rather in that portion of it only which constitutes food. All other human productions, according to him, have their counterpart in this produce, and are resolvable into it. But surely the case is not so.—The surplus food of the country, even including that which goes to the maintenance of what our author calls the *secondary* labourers, can never be equal in total value to all the other property of every description which is annually produced in it. A very large portion of the wages of labour, probably more than one half of them, is resolvable, not into food, but into other things; and when

it is considered to what a prodigious extent fixed capital enters into the composition of a large number of commodities, and consequently how much their price is made up of the profits upon that capital, the proportion of food into which they are resolvable must frequently be comparatively very small. In numberless instances the produce itself constitutes a portion of the wages, or is immediately convertible into them, independently of any exchange or exterior demand whatever. The tailor, the shoemaker, the hatter, the coal merchant, &c., may partly remunerate their workmen in their respective productions, viz. clothes, shoes, hats, coals, &c. and partly in each other's, after having effected a mutual interchange among themselves. Dr. Chalmers makes no account of this; though to us it seems a very important matter, and one which materially affects the case, especially as it relates to taxes, as we shall presently have occasion to show. Nevertheless it does not impugn his main doctrine respecting the limiting principle of all portion—for however small the proportion is, of *other things*, which *must be* exchanged for food, the absence of a sufficient quantity of this *absolutely necessary* aliment will put as effectual a stop to production, as if the whole of them were resolvable into it.

But the particular view which our author has taken up respecting the nature of *revenue*, and which is the same as that originally propounded by the economists of the school of Quesnay, has unavoidably led him to the adoption of their grand conclusion on the subject of taxes,—namely, that they fall entirely upon the land.

This seems to be the most vulnerable part of the work, and it is perfectly curious that our author, who includes in *his* idea of wealth all that is useful or delightful, whether material or immaterial, should, on this particular subject, have arrived at the same result as a sect who excluded from *their* idea of it, every thing but the surplus produce of the soil. This too is the more remarkable, as the opinion of the French economists upon this point may be clearly traced to their own narrow view of the nature of riches, and has always been considered by those who have adopted a more liberal definition as constituting one of their capital errors. The notion which they entertained, and which gave rise to their views respecting taxation, was founded upon the supposition that the manufacturer, during the process of his occupation, consumed in subsistence a value equivalent to that which he produced, and that consequently he did not add to the aggregate amount of wealth, but merely, as it were, continued or prolonged the existence of that which was in being, antecedently to his own labour, and independently of it. Such labour was, therefore, in

the estimation of these ingenious authors, *unproductive of wealth*. They did not consider that had the same amount of subsistence been consumed by a soldier or a menial servant, no such product as that which issued from the hands of the other sort of labourers would ever have been fabricated or seen the light, and that consequently the consumption of subsistence by the one set of individuals or by the other, would make the greatest imaginable difference in the total quantity of commodities annually produced and consumed. Moreover, they left totally out of sight the *increment* of value produced by the artificer over and above his consumption in the shape of *profit*, and which, even upon their own showing, ought to have been included in the sum total of the national wealth. Such however was *their* view of the matter, and they drew from it the inference, that all taxes in whatsoever way raised, or on whatever objects imposed, must ultimately fall upon the soil. As the manufacturer gives his *all*, in exchange for subsistence, should any portion of it be taken from him he has less to exchange for that subsistence. The loss is consequently *theirs* from whom he derives it. Whatever share he is compelled to pay to the state, in reality belongs to them, and would otherwise have been given to them. A tax upon him is a tax upon them. They are the *real* while he is only the *nominal* or *apparent* contributor.

It is quite unnecessary for us to enter into the refutation of an error founded upon such false assumptions as those which we have just noticed, but as Dr. Chalmers has arrived at the same conclusion by a totally different route, it becomes incumbent on us to examine into the validity of the argument, whereby he has sought to revive a doctrine which has been so long since exploded.

The ground whereon he rests it, is the controul which the labourers and capitalists respectively have over those elements of price, wages, and profits, whereby they have the power of shifting the burden of taxation from off their own shoulders to those of the landlord. Now, admitting that they have this power in its fullest extent, (though we know that practically it can be exercised in a very limited degree, for the reason which we have before stated; viz. the impossibility of combination for the purpose) these classes do, notwithstanding, contribute very largely to taxation, and this, we doubt not, we shall be able fully to prove to the satisfaction of our readers.

And first, as to the labourer's share.—It is allowed on all hands that as the wages of labour are (or at least would be, if left to find their natural level) proportioned to the demand for labour at the time being, a tax on necessaries, or any tax affecting the labourer's *ordinary* expenditure, must occasion a corresponding

rise of wages—Such taxes must therefore fall upon his employer. But it must not be forgotten, that there is a large class of commodities which do not in any way affect the labourer's ordinary expenditure, viz. all such as do not consist of the first and second necessities of life, and which, for the sake of distinction, are usually denominated luxuries.

The taxes which are laid upon this description of articles, can have no influence whatever in determining the rate of wages. They can, consequently, have no effect in raising them, nor can their repeal lower them. Those labourers, therefore, who are in a condition to purchase and consume such objects, must necessarily by their expenditure contribute to the public burdens. Now this is in reality, the condition of all who have no families to maintain. *Their* wages are not lower than those of their own class who have families. *They* have always a surplus, which they may, and which for the most part they do employ in this way; and though for each individual it cannot be large, the number of individuals makes up for the smallness of their contribution, and the aggregate amount must be very considerable. Whatever raises wages increases this surplus; whatever depresses them diminishes it; but be its amount greater or less it constitutes a taxable fund, which indeed, can only be reached indirectly, that is, through the medium of taxes upon luxuries, but which when it is so reached, cannot be evaded, or got rid of otherwise than by saving or directing the expenditure to other objects.

Then as to the employers of labour.—They have no doubt the power which Dr. Chalmers contends they have, of reimbursing themselves for a tax which affects their profit, by contracting their capital and raising its rate. But this power they might equally have exercised independently of the existence of the tax. If then on its imposition they do exercise it, the tax is no less a deduction from their profit; since the very same contraction of their capital, which before would have raised their profits, is now only sufficient to maintain them where they were, or restore them to the point from which they have fallen by reason of the tax. But even admitting that they suffer no diminution in respect to the *rate* of their profit; the capitalist must notwithstanding bear the burden of the taxes, which fall upon those commodities in which they realize their profit, and from which they likewise can only escape either by saving or otherwise disposing of their income.

Dr. Chalmers says:

“Many are the instances in which it is quite palpable, that the first incidence, and the ultimate effect of a tax, lie on different persons. Perhaps the most frequent and familiar example of this is, when a tax on commodities falls at first upon the manufacturer or the dealer; but



he indemnifies himself by raising the price, and so transfers the burden of it to the purchaser. He shifts the imposition away from himself to another; and the question is, whether there are not whole classes of men, who, though they do pay taxes ostensibly, do not, in fact, substantially and really, pay them at all. If a merchant, in particular, can escape from the tax laid on the commodity in which he deals, can he not equally escape from all attempts to reach him by taxation in some other way? If, by raising the price of his article, he can indemnify himself for a tax upon commodities, has he not the same resource against a tax upon profits, or a tax on any of the objects of his expenditure?"—p. 266.

This question we are ready with our author to answer in the affirmative. We have always been of opinion that all taxes upon commodities are ultimately reimbursed to the capitalist by a rise of price, and must always fall upon the purchaser. We do not see any more than Mr. Perronet Thomson, (whose remark on this point is cited by Dr. Chalmers,) how a man should be able to indemnify himself for a tax levied upon him under one name, and not be able to indemnify himself for the same tax, when it is levied upon him under another name. But in the following conclusion which Dr. Chalmers draws from it, we are far from agreeing with him.

"If it can be proved, that all taxes, affecting the status of the capitalists, are made up for to them by higher prices; and that all taxes, affecting the status of the labourers, are made up for to them by higher wages—this would seem to conduct us to the old doctrine of the French economists, though by a different process from theirs, that all taxes fall ultimately on the net rent of land. The common imagination is, that this is a doctrine which has been long exploded. The reasoning may be exploded, but yet the doctrine may be true notwithstanding, and may be established on the foundation of other reasoning."—pp. 267—268.

Now all this is founded upon the notion, which we hold to be utterly inadmissible, that the proprietors of the soil are the *sole demanders* for manufactured commodities, and that whatever is consumed by the other classes, is only so much which is thrown back, or allowed them, by these, their sovereign lords and masters.

Either Dr. Chalmers or ourselves must lie under some great misapprehension as to this matter. We fully admit his limiting principle, as we have already stated, and are quite ready to allow that all other produce must be proportioned to that of the land. It is nevertheless true, that to a considerable extent, all producers are likewise the consumers of each other's commodities, and that consequently, although their profit may be as to its *rate* exempt from taxation, their *expenditure* is not equally exempt from it. If in consequence of a tax of 2*l.* laid upon any particular commodity, its producer can raise its price from 10*l.* to 12*l.*, it is no

doubt true that after payment of the tax, he will remain with 10*l.* in his pocket as before. So far he is unaffected by it. But if he goes to market in quest of any other commodity in the like predicament, he must pay 12*l.* instead of 10*l.* for it. In other words, he gets but four-fifths of what he got before for the same money. The increment of price which he receives for what he sells, goes to the state; the increment of price which he is obliged to pay for what he purchases, falls on himself. He cannot shift the burden on any one else. Nor is the result different, if the commodity which he consumes is one of his own fabrication, and is subject to the payment of a similar tax. In such case one-fifth of it must go to the public treasury, and there will remain but four-fifths for himself. We do not see how the tailor or shoemaker, or other trader, albeit their profits are untaxed, can on that account escape from the taxes which are laid on the tea and sugar which they consume.

But Dr. Chalmers has taken it into his head, that the power of consumption on the part of all the other classes of society, is by them derived altogether from the landlords or mortgagees upon the land. Now although the disposable population do certainly draw their subsistence from the soil, and are so far dependent upon the holders of its produce, yet in order to procure it, they are not under the necessity of parting with the whole of what they produce, but only a portion of it. The remainder goes into other channels; and considering the extensive use of machinery and fixed capital, which is now every where employed in production, this remainder must constitute a very considerable portion of the whole. We hold it, therefore, to be an utter mistake in our author, to imagine that the power on the part of the labourer and of the capitalist to augment their respective remuneration, exempts them altogether from contribution to the taxes on luxuries; seeing that, as respects the former, such taxes either when laid on or taken off, can have no effect in altering the rate of their wages, and that as respects the latter, the exercise of the power in question would, *but for the tax*, have raised their profits still higher.

Judging, however, that taxes are chiefly injurious, by restraining the employment of capital upon the land, and thus arresting the general progress of wealth, Dr. Chalmers proceeds to examine how far they are attended with this effect; and in his remarks relating to this part of the subject, the difference between us is but small. We agree with him, that taxes which are laid either directly on rent or on luxuries, can interfere but little with cultivation, but that those which are levied on wages, or profits, or the necessaries of life, must in some degree tend to narrow it.

The soil must needs be of richer quality, when in addition to the accustomed rate of wages and profits it has to bear the burden of a tax. Such taxes, in the estimation of our author, fall upon the landlord with twofold force; first, by enhancing the price of commodities generally, and secondly, by depriving him of the additional rent which would have otherwise accrued to him by the extension of agriculture. He, therefore, recommends their abolition and the substitution of a direct tax on rent. This, however, involves the important question on which we are at issue. In our view of the case, the change proposed by Dr. Chalmers would be throwing the burden wholly upon the landlords, and exempting all the other classes of consumers. According to his notion, it would resolve itself into another and more eligible form of imposing the burden on those, on whom, in any case, it is sure ultimately to fall.

But, though we differ from Dr. Chalmers so materially, respecting the ultimate incidence of taxes, we entirely concur in the view which he takes of the question of tithes, excepting indeed that we doubt whether their abolition would reduce the price of grain a single sixpence, or confer even a temporary benefit on the consumer. It would alter neither the *immediate* supply nor the *immediate* demand, and the future increase of the supply which it would naturally promote, would be very speedily counterbalanced by the increase of population. We do not however the less ardently desire to see this provision for the church changed into some other equally secure and less objectionable one. In their present form tithes are a perpetual source of strife and contention between the incumbent and his flock. If the former attempt to enforce what is his due, an outcry is forthwith raised against him. He is hunted down as a monster of rapacity. The consequence is obvious. He is in most cases defrauded of a portion of his income, being compelled to submit to the loss of it in order to preserve his influence.

But apart from the consideration of this inconvenience, which is one of no small magnitude, and which cannot fail of being a matter of deep concern to every right minded man, tithes have this peculiar disadvantage attached to them, that being levied on the *gross* produce, they have a decided and in many cases must have a powerful effect in repressing cultivation, and confining it within narrower limits. Many a plot of ground, which would probably have been reclaimed from waste and have yielded a profitable return, has been suffered to lie neglected, because the cultivator would have been compelled to give up to the tithe owner a portion of what properly constitutes the repayment of his outlay, and which ought to go to the reintegration of his capi-

tal. Nor is this all—When the inferior qualities of soil can not be touched, the superior ones already under culture are less forced than they otherwise would be, and the church, the landlord, and the community lose the additional produce which, but for this circumstance, would have been created and distributed among them.

“Tithes, as at present levied, are in the very predicament of those taxes which restrain the progress of agriculture. Like them, they oppose a barrier to the entrance of the cultivator on poorer soils than the last which has been occupied; and like them, too, they prevent the superior soils from having so deep and thorough a cultivation as they otherwise should have had. Under this system cultivation is not so extensive, because prevented from going forth on so poor an out-field as it might; and neither is it so intensive, because prevented from doing its uttermost on the land already under process of husbandry. Without the burden of tithes, fresh land might be taken in, so long as it is able to feed its agricultural labourers and their secondaries, and yield to the tenant a remunerating profit. But, with this burden, the land is required to do all this, not from its whole produce, but from only nine-tenths of its produce. And so the cultivation is sooner arrested, having now to make an earlier stop, at land from which more is exacted, and therefore at better land. Cultivation makes its last effort at the point where it ceases to be profitable; and this will be all the sooner, when required to do, with nine-tenths of its produce, that which, in a natural state of things, it would have been left to do with its whole produce. At this rate, the cultivation will stop short at land at least a tenth better than that to which it might otherwise have stretched itself. We can offer no computation as to the extent of intermediate soil, between the natural and the artificial limits, which is thus left uncultivated; but certain it is, that, in virtue of tithes, the operations of husbandry must be confined within narrower boundaries.”—pp. 311, 312.

According to the Ricardo theory, inasmuch as tithes fall on the land which pays no rent, they enhance the price of corn to the consumer; and it is on this account, and not from any supposed *temporary* benefit which would arise to the community, as Dr. Chalmers seems to think, that the advocates of this doctrine are desirous of seeing them altogether done away with. Their error is a natural inference from the original fallacy which has been so ably exposed by Mr. Perronet Thomson. There is a *given* population to feed, a given quantity of corn *must therefore* be grown, recourse *must therefore* be had to as much land, whatever its fertility may be, as will yield this quantity, and *consequently* the last or worst quality of soil *must* govern the price of the whole. As Archimedes would have moved the world, could he have procured a fulcrum *ab extra*; so, grant to these ingenious reasoners but their first postulate, and all the rest follows as a

most logical deduction from it. The superstructure is beautiful, but the foundation is of sand. Corn is not grown because there is a *given* population to feed, but because it yields the ordinary return to capital employed in that particular manner. The previous condition of its growth is such a demand as will yield this return,—and this, we know from experience, the mere existence of starving numbers will not create. It is the grand error of this system to have confounded the cause with the effect. It puts the cart before the horse, a circumstance which, it has been somewhere happily remarked, is of no moment, *until* it becomes a question whether the speed of the machine shall be most accelerated, by the yoking on of an additional horse, or an additional cart. But in fact this question does arise at every turn and corner of the subject, and the error is the more unlucky, as it serves to foster a prevailing delusion, and give force to a base and unprincipled clamour, against an order of men who have as sacred a right to their property as undisturbed possession, immemorial usage, and the universal acquiescence of ages can well confer.

The only party who really suffers by the tithe is the one who is rarely heard to complain, viz. the landlord. Were the tithes abolished, he would receive so much additional rent; and, on the land which had before yielded none, the tithe would become such. The remark of Dr. Chalmers respecting taxes on wages, profits, or the necessities of life, and which is true of them only to a certain extent, applies in its fullest extent to tithes, namely, that they fall on the landlord with twofold force, first in the shape of deduction from his rent, and secondly in the loss of what would otherwise accrue to him by a more widely extended and deeper cultivation. A judicious alteration of the present tithe system is therefore in every point of view “a consummation devoutly to be wished.” We say with our author, that—

“We would both maintain the church, and relieve the agriculture; and so at once enlarge the room, and, through the medium of religious instruction, keep up that wholesome influence on the habits of the peasantry, which best serves to mitigate the pressure arising from the recklessness and brutality of a neglected population. The clergy, in particular, should rejoice in the church being exonerated from the odium that now lies upon it—should be the first to hail and to help forward the consummation of a measure, by which the hierarchy of England might be extricated from a position so obnoxious, as that of even appearing to stand in the way of the nation’s wealth, or the comfort of its families. The reformation of the present system were an incalculable blessing to the church of England; and that, not merely because it would disarm the hostility of statesmen and economists, but because it would do away the topic of a thousand heart-burnings in every parish of the

kingdom. And, in like manner, as we have pled, not for the abolition, but for the commutation of taxes; so would we plead, not for the abolition, but the commutation of tithes."—p. 321.

It must however be acknowledged, that owing to the peculiar nature of tithes, and the object they were originally designed to serve, the difficulties which lie in the way of securing to the church any other more suitable provision than one which has been established under such sanctions, without endangering or altogether destroying its property, are of no ordinary kind. There is no enlightened clergyman who is not satisfied that his own individual interest would be promoted by a change; but when he has to consider that the question respects a species of property of which he has but the usufruct and the administration during his life, without the absolute disposal of it, he may well pause before he concurs in any new and untried schemes, lest he be the innocent instrument of introducing evils greater than those which are sought to be remedied. Those who are bent on change of any kind, are very apt to see nothing but the bad that *is*, and the good that *may be*. The good that *is*, is kept out of sight; and the bad that *may be* is unknown. It is on this account that changes are seldom found to fulfil the expectations even of their projectors and advocates.

When we stated, in our general remarks on this work, that our author had wisely abstained from entering into any discussion respecting the meaning of terms, we should in truth have made an exception in respect to the chapter on productive and unproductive labour, which is the next that claims our attention. We could wish it had been spared, as well for the sake of uniformity as because it is comparatively unimportant. It turns altogether upon a question of nomenclature, and one respecting which we do not think our author has taken the most correct view.

When Adam Smith designated lawyers, physicians, and statesmen, and even the sovereign himself, as *unproductive* labourers, he evidently had not the smallest intention of undervaluing or casting any disparagement upon their services. So far from this being the case, he expressly states that among this class are to be found some of the gravest and most useful of mankind. But having defined *wealth* to consist of material objects, he could not in consistency include among *productive* labourers those whose services, however important or necessary in other respects, did not realize themselves in such objects. *Quoad hoc* they are *unproductive*, and this is all that is meant by the term when it is thus applied to them.

Those who maintain the contrary opinion, and Dr. Chalmers appears to be of the number, are of necessity obliged to extend



the term *wealth* to immaterial qualifications; and as among these it is quite impossible to draw any line, it sometimes leads to a confusion of ideas, which it ~~must be confessed~~ does sometimes border upon the ridiculous.

But the reader shall have our author's sentiments on this topic in his own words. Contending that there is no real distinction between these two descriptions of labour, he says—

“One man's labour ministers to my enjoyment, through the medium of a tangible commodity; another man's labour ministers to my enjoyment without this intermedium. The confectioner, whose delicious morsel I swallow, is a productive labourer: the musician, whose delicious tune I listen to, is an unproductive labourer. And yet, what economic injury is sustained, though I should pay the one as much for his performance, as I pay the other for his preparation? The gratification to me is equal, or rather greater in the music than in the eatable, seeing that I preferred it.”—p. 334.

In reply to this, we might very fairly ask, which would most enrich a country, to stock it with eatables, or to fill it with musical tunes? But in fact the question does not respect enjoyment, unless indeed *enjoyment* and *wealth* are synonymous and convertible terms, which we hold they are not. We enjoy the society of those who are dear to us,—the beauties of nature,—the warmth of the sun,—the freshness of the evening breeze,—and a thousand such like and other things which it is vain to attempt enumerating, so great is their extent, and so endless their variety. But who ever conceived the idea of applying to enjoyments of this kind the name of wealth?—or, who ever thought of saying that a man returned from the playhouse or the opera as rich as he went thither, because in exchange for the price of his admission he had obtained a corresponding quantity of sight and sound? “The *terminus ad quem* of all labour,” says Dr. Chalmers, “is the enjoyment of those who buy its products, whether these be material or immaterial.” True,—the *terminus ad quem* is the same in either case, but the *modus quo*, or instrument, is not the same. When this instrument is a material one, we give to it the appellation of wealth, because it is visible, tangible, transmissible, and is always susceptible of a definite valuation. When it is immaterial, we do not denominate it wealth, because it is invisible, intangible, intransmissible, and in the great majority of cases is not susceptible of a definite valuation. To affirm that there is no distinction between them because each in its own particular way ministers to our use or gratification, seems to us much as saying, that because a man shall sometimes take exercise on foot and sometimes on horseback, walking and riding are therefore the same things.

It is scarcely worth pursuing the subject further. Our author has fallen into the common error of all who adopt the same view. They labour to show that there is no distinction in the *end* to be attained, while the only distinction which has ever been contended for respects the *means*, the very great difference between which in the two cases renders some classification necessary; and surely there is none so palpable nor so well defined as the one laid down by Adam Smith.

Neither can we admit the following assertion of our author:

“It makes no difference to the wealth of the country, whether the consumers incline more to those gratifications, which come through the vehicle of a tangible commodity, or to those which, without such intervention, yield the same, and perhaps a superior enjoyment.”—p. 335.

It appears to us, on the contrary, to make all the difference in the world. The one species of gratification calls forth the employment of a productive capital, the other does not. It was the very change of taste from the one sort to the other that occasioned that remarkable increase of general wealth alluded to by Dr. Chalmers in the former part of his work, and which not only furnishes an answer to this latter assertion, but shows at once the necessity of clearly distinguishing between these two sorts of labour.

The remaining chapters of the work comprise the following matters, viz.—The Law of Primogeniture; Emigration; The Poor Laws; and Education; besides remarks in the Appendix on Machinery, Home Colonization, the National Debt, Profit, Free Trade, the Corn Laws, and the reform of our Financial System.

On these several subjects we coincide in the main with our author, always however excepting what relates to taxes and finance.

We entertain no doubt whatever that the law of succession which has so long prevailed in this country, has not only been favourable to the growth of opulence, but likewise more serviceable to the cause of liberty than has commonly been supposed. If the land of the country were broken down into small allotments, it would doubtless diminish the number of that class to which Dr. Chalmers gives the name of *disposable*, and the taxable fund of the nation would be impaired. Moreover by its tendency to increase the number of residents within a given space of territory, it greatly aggravates the evils incidental to density of population, of which Ireland, in which this system is unfortunately carried to an extreme, affords a melancholy example. But on the other hand, very large and overgrown properties are by no

means so favourable to general demand, as when they are divided into a greater number of more moderate ones. Excessive incomes are often wastefully and improvidently spent. A much larger portion of them usually goes towards the maintenance of simple unproductive labour, and consequently a smaller portion is exchanged for other goods: in other words, they are expended in a way much less favourable to industry, and less conducive to the gradual development and increase of a country's resources, a circumstance to which we think our author in his remarks on this subject has not paid sufficient attention.

Although emigration is but as the drawing off of the superfluous or unhealthy blood from the human system, and can afford but temporary relief; yet in times of unusual pressure, it may be resorted to with advantage; and we agree with Dr. Chalmers in thinking, that as a subsidiary remedy, it might become most serviceable, if properly combined with a scheme for the reformation of pauperism, which, after all, is the grand evil requiring cure.

To a compulsory provision for the maintenance of the poor our author is a well known and decided enemy. In the present work he repeats all his former objections to such artificial modes of relief; and especially deprecates the introduction of the poor law into Ireland.

On the subject of the national debt, Dr. Chalmers has advanced a new and somewhat whimsical opinion, namely, that it is defrayed by the public, or rather according to his theory, by the landlords, twice over,—first, in the enhanced price of commodities which it occasions; and secondly, in the perpetual annuity entailed upon them, in order to compensate the national creditor. We have no doubt that the expenditure of the state, when it is defrayed by loans, instead of taxes, has the double effect of increasing the demand at one end, and diminishing the supply at the other; since what would probably have been accumulated or converted into a productive capital, is not only kept back from this particular application of it, but is furthermore unproductively expended. That this tends to raise the rate of profit there can be no doubt: but that it does so to the full extent of the entire sum borrowed, is hardly credible. Can it for a moment be imagined, that the twenty or thirty millions annually borrowed during the late war, were by the sole operation of such borrowing, added to the profits of our merchants and traders, and all this too at the expense of the landed interest?

It appears to us, that the rise of profits during the late war was occasioned by a combination of causes, of which that alluded to by Dr. Chalmers, though one of them, was not by any means the most

important one. Had the government expenditure at that period been defrayed wholly by taxes instead of loans, (which, however, we must admit would have been attended with some difficulty, much more indeed than our author seems to be aware of,) the vast increase of unproductive consumption would, notwithstanding, have occasioned the same degradation in the value of money which then took place, and which, while it is going on, is always advantageous to the productive classes. The benefit which they derived from the general fall in the value of money at that period, was moreover heightened and increased by the *depreciation* of the currency, or the greater fall of that particular part of it which consisted in paper.—Not only did the bullion prices of labour and goods keep advancing, but the paper prices kept advancing at a still greater rate, until both attained their maximum, and as all fixed payments were estimated in this latter medium, the advantages to the merchant, the trader, the farmer and the manufacturer were prodigious.

As these two distinct causes, the general *degradation* of money and its *depreciation* are frequently confounded together, and the confusion has given rise to some very wild theories on the subject of currency, it may not be amiss to take this opportunity of entering into a more particular explanation respecting the difference between them. The value of money, its command over labour, and the mass of commodities, is very different in different countries, being generally the least in those which are the richest. Among the latter, such as are in possession of great natural or artificial advantages, whereby they are enabled to produce commodities, which are in great request in other countries, necessarily draw to themselves and retain a larger proportionate share of the precious metals, which raises the general scale of their prices, and maintains them at a higher comparative range, a circumstance which gives them a great command over the labour and produce of those other countries. The high price of labour in America is the natural consequence of her large exports of cotton and tobacco; and in England it is mainly occasioned by her extraordinary manufacturing skill and power, and not as is commonly supposed by taxation. Whatever alters the state of these comparative advantages, such as the increase or diminution of foreign trade, and the increasing or decreasing skill of other countries, occasions a corresponding exportation or importation of the metallic basis of the circulating medium in each, and at the same time alters the general scale of prices throughout.

The value of money is further liable to vary, owing to the increase or decrease of the quantity annually or periodically yielded by the mines; and again from the fluctuations in the

general state of the demand and supply of commodities. From these, which may be termed the *natural* causes of the variations in the value of money, the public annuitant or the recipient of any fixed and unalterable money payment cannot escape. The money comes into their hands with this liability of fluctuation attached to it, and which is inherent in every thing else produced under the sun, and which is an object of demand. So far then as profits during the war were raised by the operation of any of these causes, they had no just ground of complaint. But when they were furthermore paid in a depreciated currency, or in paper, which was not worth the gold which it professed to represent—when not only the gold given them was less available in its purchase of other things, a circumstance to which they were always liable, but a *less quantity* of such gold was given them, and this too under the plea that its value had risen, when its diminished command over labour and commodities plainly indicated that it had fallen—it must be confessed that a great injustice was done them. Such, however, was to them the result of the bank restriction act, an act which originated in the excess of paper, which had been previously issued to relieve the exigencies of the state, and the necessity for which would have been quite uncalled for, had the money been raised either in the way of loan or by a tax, which it no doubt would have been, had the subject been in those days properly understood. Now, it was the object of Mr. Peel's bill to remedy this, to restore the *nominal* currency to its proper value, and put it on the same footing as the *real* currency, which it ought always to have been. The fall of prices to the extent of the difference between the paper and the gold at the time of passing it, is all that can in fairness be ascribed to the operation of that bill. Beyond this, the fall has been occasioned by the general rise in the value of the currency, a circumstance originating in the extinction of the large war expenditure, followed up by the increasing accumulation and competition of capital, and the increased production of commodities, and aggravated perhaps by the improved skill and industry of other countries, and the falling off of the supplies of metal from the mines. All this would equally have occurred had there been no depreciation or restoration of the paper currency, no suspension of specie payments, and no return to them—no Mr. Pitt and no Mr. Peel.

What do those, therefore, want, who clamour so loudly about the necessity of enlarging the currency? Do they wish to see the restriction act revived? That were to defraud the national creditor *de novo*. Do they ask for the extinction of the bank monopoly and the establishment of competition banks in the

metropolis and throughout the country? In that case, for every note issued by the latter, one of corresponding amount must be cancelled by the former, or the gold will forsake our shores, and the temporary rise of prices be succeeded by a more ruinous and lasting depression. It is, therefore, quite idle to talk of relieving the national distress by resorting to expedients, which would either involve us in a national bankruptcy, or would introduce evils of still greater magnitude than those which it is intended to remedy, and which, after all, they would fail to remedy. The currency, like every thing else, has its boundary which it cannot over pass, at least for any length of time, nor without being productive of more or less mischief in proportion to the attempts that are made to exceed it.

But to return from this digression to the more immediate subject which gave occasion to it. It cannot be denied that a rise in the money prices of commodities, when brought about by natural causes, is favorable to the developement of industry and the increase of wealth. It has indeed been contended by some, that an increase of the circulating medium, arising either from the augmentation of metallic money, of paper money, or of credit, raises every thing, (fixed incomes excepted,) and consequently leaves the relative proportions of all eventually the same as before. Of what advantage, it has been asked, is it to the producer to sell his commodity nominally ten per cent. dearer, if he must himself pay ten per cent. more in wages and raw material? Of what disadvantage is it to the landlord to pay ten per cent. dearer for what he consumes, if he receives ten per cent. more rent, which he is sure to do, at the expiration of the current lease. But whenever the currency is enlarged the effect on commodities is almost immediate, whereas on wages and on rent it is slower and more remote. During the interval, profits are raised and a corresponding impulse given to production. Nor is this rise of profits, which diminishes the proportion of wages, injurious to the labourer. To him it is fully made up by increase of employment. This was eminently the case at the particular period referred to. Throughout the war the demand for labour was great and continued. Not only men and women, but likewise children, found ready occupation, and though each got a smaller share of the value and quantity which was produced, yet as more was really produced in a given time, and all were in full work, the family in the aggregate earned a great deal more. This we apprehend to be the real secret of the extraordinary prosperity of the productive classes during the war.

In regard to the variations in the value of money, as they affect



the prices of labour and of commodities, Dr. Chalmers seems to have inverted the order of precedence. He says :

“ The various expedients so much resorted to, of loan and anticipation, have all of them the obvious and certain effect of advancing, for the time, the money price of labour; and this advance in the money price of labour must, we think, tell directly on the money price of all that is purchased by labourers.”—p. 501.

Now it is not the price of labour which moves first and that of commodities afterwards, but the prices of commodities which move first and that of labour which moves afterwards. From not having paid attention to this circumstance, which experience has, we think, put beyond all controversy, our author has been led to ascribe the extension of agriculture during the war *exclusively* to the rise of prices without a corresponding increase of taxation. That the national creditor was, during that period, paid in money of a lower value, or that his fixed money income went less far in its command both of labour and of the produce of labour generally; is what we have before admitted to be true; and that this helped to raise profits, and encourage the employment of a larger capital; we are quite willing to allow. But the chief effect, we hold to be more immediately owing to the cause we have just noticed, viz. the continued rise of the prices of commodities, *antecedently* to the rise of wages. So long as this was going on, (which in fact it did during a succession of years, with very little interruption) it could not fail of being a source of great prosperity to the capitalists; and must be reckoned among the main causes of the rapid increase of wealth during the whole of that memorable period.

At the termination of the war the movement became a retrograde one—commodities fell first and wages afterwards—the consequence was, a long and protracted state of glut, the conversion of profit into loss, the throwing of multitudes out of employment, and the extinction and destruction of a large amount of capital, which has, notwithstanding, still continued to be disproportionate to the demand for it.

In the appendix the true principle of profit is correctly stated and explained, and the error of the Ricardo school refuted.

But in the note on rent, though there is nothing particularly to object to in it, our author does not enter so thoroughly into the explanation of its nature and origin; as we should have expected from one who must be well acquainted with Mr. Malthus's luminous tract on that subject, and which he has subsequently embodied in his *Principles of Political Economy*; the only work which, in fact, contains the true doctrine of rent, as the ingenious

essay of Sir Gilbert West, which appeared about the same time and which has often been referred to, is neither so correct nor so comprehensive.

The causes of rent are there stated to be three, viz.

1. The power of the earth to yield more food than is necessary for the maintenance of its immediate cultivators.
2. The quality peculiar to food, when properly distributed, to create a demand for itself proportioned to its quantity.
3. The comparative scarcity of fertile land, either natural or artificial.

The specific error of Mr. Ricardo was not so much that he took a wrong view of rent, as that he took a partial one. He adopted exclusively the third of these causes, and threw the other two overboard; and treating this as the *sole* and *primary* principle which was but a *consequential* one, it vitiated all his conclusions. The various gradations of soil, which this cause involves, though they account for the generation of rent, at an early period of cultivation, and are necessary to its formation in the actual state of things, are in reality not necessary to the *possible* existence of rent; for had the surface of the earth been of an uniform quality, the operation of the other two causes, without the aid of this third, would have been sufficient to have engendered rent, so soon as it had been cultivated throughout: only that in that case, rent would have borne a nearer resemblance to those common monopolies with which it has been frequently confounded.

The distinction then between the peculiar monopoly of the land, (if indeed this term can with propriety be applied to it) and all other monopolies, natural or artificial, is one of the distinguishing characteristics of rent, and it seems to have been equally misunderstood by Mr. Ricardo and Mr. Perronet Thomson.

In the case of an *artificial* monopoly, the result of a patent or a secret, the quantity of the commodity brought to market is dependent solely upon the caprice of the producer. The high price is obtained by his limiting the supply.

In the case of *natural* monopolies the supply is limited by causes independent of the will of the producer, and the high price is occasioned entirely by the competition of the buyers. It has therefore no assignable limit. It is in all cases an excessive one, that is, excessive in relation to the cost, and might admit of considerable reduction without in the least diminishing the quantity produced. Not so the produce of land. *Its* price is always a *necessary* one; necessary to the production of the actual supply, necessary to the cultivation of that quality of soil which yields the last portion of this supply. What the price is at any given time is determined by the state of the demand at the time. If it falls,

land is thrown out of cultivation, and the total quantity of produce is diminished; and if it rises, poorer land may be taken into cultivation, and the total quantity of produce is increased. Whenever, too, it is so increased, that is, whenever the additional quantity produced is not the mere result of a more abundant harvest, but originates in that wider and deeper cultivation which is the natural consequence of a higher price, there must be a corresponding increase in the number of demanders. These could not possibly have existed antecedently to the new produce. It has therefore raised them up, and they on the other hand have a power of demanding it. If they had not, it would be an over-supply, and its price could not be what it is. Its *profitable* production is, therefore, at all times the evidence of its proper distribution.

But though a rise in the price of corn is necessary in order to secure an increased supply, whenever the state of the demand requires it, yet this rise, unlike that of other monopolies which are without limit, has its maximum; for by no possibility can it ever go beyond that of the labour which it can maintain. As a given quantity of corn can only feed a given number of men, it can never command more labour than theirs, nor consequently can its price ever reach beyond the price of their labour. This is a boundary which, in the nature of things, is impassable, and which must ever remain so, so long as food is necessary to the support of life.

Of these several important circumstances involved in the existence of rent, viz. the progressive rise and limit to the value of food, the necessity of the actual price to the actual supply, and the essential difference between property in land and other properties, which give rise to monopolies, the author of the *Wealth of Nations* was certainly ignorant. We are, therefore, but little enlightened on the subject of rent, when the opposers of Mr. Ricardo's system refer us back for an exposition of its true principles to the doctrine of Adam Smith. They are to be found only in the writings of the author who originally discovered and brought them into notice, and to them we refer the reader for further elucidation on the subject.

Dr. Chalmers is of opinion that the use of machinery does not in the least diminish the funds for the maintenance of labour,—and, in the long run, this may be the case. Nevertheless if its introduction were not slow and gradual, which it in fact always is, its substitution for human labour might be severely felt by the working classes, since its *immediate* effect is, certainly, to throw them out of employment.

On the subject of free trade and the corn laws, our author ad-

vocates the most liberal system of policy. He is, however, quite alive to the effect which the free admission of corn would have in raising the value of money, and increasing the burden of the national debt, a circumstance by the way, which is quite left out of sight by those who are so clamorous for the abolition of the corn laws. This Dr. Chalmers proposes to meet by a proportionate compensation.

As we by no means assent to our author's doctrine respecting the ultimate incidence of taxes, so we cannot coincide with him in the propriety or justice of their commutation into a general income tax, and still less into a territorial impost. We have already expressed our opinion that indirect taxes do not fall exclusively upon the landlords; but that the capitalist, whenever he realizes his profit in taxed commodities, and the labourer, whenever he expends his wages on taxed luxuries, do each of them defray out of their own proper and respective funds, the taxes which are laid upon those articles.

To convert indirect taxes into direct ones, in the way in which it has sometimes been proposed to do, is obviously to exempt all such from any share of the burden, which at present very fairly falls upon them. Such a commutation is, in our opinion, not only unnecessary, but it would be unjust: and we cannot but regret that our author should have lent to any such scheme the sanction of his great name, convinced, as we are, that if attempted to be carried into execution, it would turn out to be extremely oppressive and injurious in its operation, and might lead to incalculable mischief.

With the exception of these special points, which relate to trade, taxes, and finance, and some few others of minor importance, we have the advantage of coinciding with Dr. Chalmers, and think he has fully wrought out the main conclusion which it was his professed object to establish. His work may be considered as forming a beautiful corollary to the propositions of Malthus, among which are to be included, as well those which lie scattered generally throughout his publications, as that more prominent and remarkable one which forms the chief argument of the celebrated essay by which he has more especially earned to himself a title to everlasting fame. The limitation of cultivation to the soil which can maintain the cultivators,—the tendency of capital to accumulate more rapidly than the means of employing it advantageously,—the natural and permanent fall of profits owing to the competition of the owners of this capital,—and the facility wherewith it recovers any deficiency, and repairs the breaches that are made in it, all these are doctrines which may be found in the writings of this distinguished author, and they

form the groundwork of the volume now before us. But if Dr. Chalmers can lay no claim to the original discovery of these principles, he has nevertheless the signal merit of having collected and linked them together, shown their mutual connection and dependence upon each other, and formed them into one consistent whole. The inference which he has drawn from them when thus united is both momentous and highly interesting; and it forms the completion of his views on the subject. His conclusion is to this effect,—That, inasmuch as the limit which retards and checks the progress of population, does at the same time oppose an insurmountable obstacle to the employment of more, at any particular time, than a given amount of capital, it is as vain and fruitless endeavouring to force the one, by multiplying commodities for which there is no demand, as it is to force the other by encouraging to marriage, when the market is already overstocked with labour; that each has an impetuous tendency to overpass that boundary, which, from time to time, is marked out for them by a power more slow-paced than themselves; and that if we would mitigate or correct the evils incident to this incessant struggle, we must not waste our strength in perpetual and hopeless efforts to extend that boundary; we must not rely on our attempts to bring up food and employment to the level of population and of capital. There is before us a much *more excellent way*. The true course of procedure is rather to resort to all practicable and legitimate measures for the confinement of population and capital within the limits of food and employment. It is only by engendering in the youth of both sexes habits of prudence, of foresight and self-denial, implanting in them the desire of bettering their condition, and teaching them to exercise a controuling influence over their conduct and passions, that we can hope for any remedy or alleviation of the evils incident to excessive numbers.

Nor can this be effected solely through the intervention of a *mere* moral agency. Unless principles of a more exalted character and a more powerful influence are allowed to be mixed up with those instructions which have for their object the advancement of the earthly interests of mankind, the latter are likely to be thrown away or perverted to bad purposes. As well might we expect a harvest to spring up out of a stone pavement, as for the seeds of morality to thrive vigorously in any but a religious soil. It is therefore our highest interest, as well as duty, to assist faithfully and strenuously in diffusing throughout the land the blessings of a *Christian* education; and to uphold and cherish those Religious Establishments, whose more especial province it is to superintend and to direct the operations of religious discipline. All

this, will doubtless sound like old wives' tales in the ear of those who have been stunned with the Babel clamour against religious orders and institutions; and the *enormous* wealth which the folly of past ages has heaped on an insolent priesthood! Nevertheless, we must not wax weary of reminding the public, that the day is at hand, in the light of which these inordinate riches will be found to shrink, on the whole, into a mere pittance;\* and in the interval we must, in spite of all *incredulous hatred*, proclaim our belief that if ever the spirit of grudging should prevail, and strip the religious orders of that pittance, the day of its power will be the most calamitous that ever rose on England. For in that case to what quarter can we look with any hope of relief from the evils which beset us on every side; evils with which human power alone is unable to grapple, and which seem to be interwoven with the very frame and constitution of society.

We feel the most perfect conviction that—

“Through the medium of Christian instruction, a rightly organized church will do more for the economic comfort of the families of the land, than all the other schemes of philanthropy and patriotism put together.”  
—p. 319.

“We hold that a church establishment is the most effective of all machines for the moral instruction of the people; and that, if once taken down, there is no other instrumentality by which it can be adequately replaced.”—p. 328.

The evils of life have at all times attracted the attention of philanthropists and philosophers. They form a problem which admits of no satisfactory solution, and they will probably ever remain an inscrutable mystery to us. Why a system should ever exist which renders them necessary it is vain to inquire. But such a system being in existence, it is demonstrable that they could not be got rid of without leading to others of still greater magnitude. It seems wisely ordained that food shall exist in limited quantity, and that man shall earn it by the sweat of his brow. Had it been otherwise, and that subsistence could have been at all times procured by whomsoever needed it in unlimited abundance, or that eating and drinking were, like walking or riding, simply a matter of convenience and amusement, there would have been no effectual or definite check to population, and men would have swarmed like insects, until for want of sufficient space to dwell in, they would have become an intolerable nuisance to each other. A mere lack of clothing and of the other *second* necessities of life would, on the one hand, neither have operated powerfully enough to have kept down the numbers of mankind within moderate and comfortable limits, nor, on the other, would

\* A commission is now actually appointed to enquire into the revenues of the church.



it have afforded a sufficient stimulus to have occasioned the production of any considerable quantity of wealth. Nothing short of an iron necessity, an inexorable *sine quâ non*, is adequate to these important purposes. It is the limited quantity of that which is essential to life which does this.—Food, *under the particular circumstances in which it is now produced*, sets the whole machine in motion, and regulates its action. Man must eat in order to live. Hence the multiplication of the species is confined within limits which are conducive to the sum total of the general happiness and comfort. But he must also work in order to eat. Hence he must either produce food himself, or failing to do so from want of the proper means, he must produce something else whereby he may earn it of those who are in possession of more than they can themselves consume, and who are willing to part with it in exchange for other things.—This is the real secret of the existence of all other descriptions of produce, and the cause of that endless variety of commodities which constitute so large a portion of the wealth of the civilized world.

“Those,” says Adam Smith, “who have the command of more food than they themselves consume, are always willing to exchange the surplus, or what is the same thing the price of it, for other gratifications. What is over and above satisfying the limited desire, is given for the amusement of those desires which cannot be satisfied, but seem to be altogether endless. The poor, in order to obtain food, exert themselves to gratify those fancies of the rich; and to obtain it more certainly, they vie with one another in the cheapness and perfection of their work. The number of workmen increases with the increasing quantity of food or with the growing improvement and cultivation of the lands. Hence arises a demand for every sort of material which human invention can employ either usefully or ornamentally, in building, dress, equipage or household furniture, for the fossils and minerals contained in the bowels of the earth, for the precious metals, and the precious stones.”\*

This peculiarity in the nature of food, which renders it a commodity “distinct from all others and pre-eminently valuable,” is calculated to call forth both our admiration and our gratitude. It has been beautifully illustrated by our author in the following extract, with which we shall conclude our notice of his work.

“There is a certain point, beyond which, if human beings were multiplied, a serious inconvenience must be felt, from the mere crowding and compression of their excessive numbers. This is obvious enough, should it take place within the limits of any separate locality; but it would be as sure and severely felt, if, in virtue of a production of food *ad libitum*, it did take place over the whole surface of the globe. The human species would then become as sordid and miserable, as those

\* Wealth of Nations, Bk. 1, chap. XI.

maggots appear to be who swarm on some mass of hideous putrefaction. The herrings that accumulate and condense in the western bays of our island, are said to push the outskirts of their shoal upon the beach. And better surely that there should be such a limitation in the powers of the land, and such an utter impotency in human art to multiply beyond a certain point the means of subsistence, than that the great human shoal should be protruded at its extreme margin into the sea, and serve for food to the fishes there waiting to devour them. Rather than that this goodly earth of ours should be turned into a human ant-hill, it is better for man that he should have uncumbered fields—that he should have open and spacious solitudes, to which he might make occasional escape from its more crowded receptacles, and might, on the ample domain of nature, company with nature's elements, and inhale their freshness. It is no interest, and ought to be no care of his, that the terrestrial space on which he walks, should be so over-peopled; or that, for the mere sake of numbers, human beings should multiply to suffocation. The number of His derived and dependent family, is the care of Him who sitteth on high—and most nobly hath he provided for it. He who hath the command of infinity, hath enriched its mighty tracts with innumerable worlds; and, without overburdening the one we occupy, He finds accommodation and space for the innumerable myriads of creation. Better far, than that, from the vomitories of human mechanism, there should go forth indefinite subsistence for indefinite multitudes—better far, that this should have its fixed and impassable limits; and that men with the glorious arch of heaven above their heads, and with an ample platform beneath them, should walk forth in largeness and liberty, the privileged denizens of nature.

“There is an optimism in the actual constitution of the land, as in every thing else that has proceeded from the hand of the Almighty. Had its fertility been limited to the maintenance of agrarian and secondary labourers, we should have had no disposable population; and neither science nor civilization would have arisen, to bless and to adorn the companionships of men. Had its fertility been unlimited, or could the powers of human art have extracted, without measure, the necessities of life from any quarter of nature, the species would have lived in greater sordidness and misery still, on an earth laden by its wretched, because its overcrowded generations.”—pp. 471—473.

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**ART. III.—*Death-Bed Scenes and Pastoral Conversations.* Second Series. By the late John Warton, D.D. Edited by his Sons. London. Calkin and Budd, Pall Mall. 8vo. pp. 543. 1832.**

WE are not about to whisper to the late Dr. Warton's sons, executors, and representatives, the ungracious advice "*Solve senescentem;*" for the goodly steed which they have taken upon themselves to bestride does not as yet betray a single symptom of the infirmities of old age. His action, indeed, is as vigorous, his paces are as steady, his courage is as high, and his bottom is as sound (if we may thus persist in our metaphor of the *manège* without fear of riding it to death) as when he first took the field, nearly a lustre and a half ago. Still, nevertheless, there are signs and tokens which induce us to wish that he would change his course. *Toujours beau chanter souvent ennuye*, says the French Proverb: and he is after all assuredly the most skilful musician who is best aware of the fitting moments for occasional change of time and of movement, or even for the introduction of a discord. Now Dr. Warton has so repeatedly

" Turn'd and return'd *in not* a different way,"

weaving and counterweaving the same interminable texture—*dum vetus in telâ deducitur argumentum*—that we should most gladly see him throw the shuttle, of which he has proved that he possesses so nice a mastery, in search of some fresher figure and some newer pattern.

Of Death-bed Scenes in Ancient Literature, the best known and the most remarkable are those of Cyrus and of Socrates. The account of the last moments of the former of those great men, even if it were not altogether at variance with received History, carries with it much internal evidence of fiction. No man labouring under a sickness which is to be mortal, and after three days refusal of food—*τῷ δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ σῖτον μὲν οὐ προσίετο . . . ὥς δὲ καὶ τῇ ὑπεραίᾳ συνέβαινε αὐτῷ τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ*—can be supposed to retain strength enough to make a set speech which shall occupy more than half a dozen octavo pages; and on that ground alone we might feel confident that his *παῖδες καὶ παρόντες οἱ φίλοι* never heard one syllable of the discipline upon which the Persian monarch informed them that his conduct had been framed, of the sound advice which he delivered for their own future guidance, of his theories regarding Death and Sleep, and of his instructions for his laying out and burial,—all these matters belong to the imagination of Xenophon. On the other hand, we as confidently believe that we do really possess the substance, if not the very

words, of the conversations held with the great Athenian Sage during his imprisonment, down to the very moment in which he poured out his last libation and drank the fatal cup. And it is needless here to offer a eulogy, which might seem vapid, misplaced, and impertinent, upon those almost divine speculations, which confessedly have never been equalled in purity, piety, or loftiness, by any other product of merely *human* intelligence.

In later days, if we look only for a picture of manners, we have little doubt that we shall find one very accurately drawn in that wild Runic composition, the Death-Song of Ragnar Lodbrog. No one will suppose for a moment that we mean to avouch the truth of that personage's history, nor that we entertain the slightest belief that he really delivered the words attributed to him by the Northern Scald. Nevertheless, we are convinced that the feeling which pervades that terrific Ode genuinely represents the spirit with which the Scandinavian warrior of those days and the North American Savage of our own would encounter a death of refined and lingering torture. The recital of their battle-deeds, of the rivers of blood which they had shed, of the banquets with which they had glutted the eagle and the vulture, of the glory which they bequeathed to their posterity, and the vengeance which they expected at their hands in return, of the opening scenes of immortal bliss, varied according to the tenets of the particular mythology of each, which then floated before their eyes; all these are the natural themes suggested by their past modes of life: and the *Ridens morior* is probably the latest meaning which would quiver on the expiring lips of either the Iclander or the Iroquois.

The narratives of approaching death which are to be found in the Biographies of Izaak Walton, and in Bishop Burnet's unique and unrivalled account of his communications with the Earl of Rochester, are beyond all praise; and a few other pleasing specimens will, perhaps, offer themselves to the recollection of every reader. But, on the whole, Christianity has not been fortunate in similar relations. For a while the Monastic writers deluged the World with legends; every Death-bed presented an actual and often a visible struggle between the Powers of Light and of Darkness for the departing Soul, which winged its course from the mouth of the Sinner or the Saint, as it happened, under the semblance of a Raven or of a Dove, accompanied by the yelling of Dæmons or the strains of celestial harmony; fetid with the fumes of sulphur or redolent of the gales of Paradise. The dawn of the Reformation tendered much to dissipate these shadows, even among the Romanists themselves; and it then became a Court fashion, especially in France, that every person of distinction should be reputed to make a goodly end; and, whatever

sent at the moment of his departure, testified that they saw a dove fly out of his mouth, pass through the roof of the chapel, which opened for its egress spontaneously, and finally penetrate the empyrean.\*

When Probus, Bishop of Reatina, was seized with that illness which proved mortal, all the physicians of the neighbourhood were summoned to consultation. The patient's pulse announced that life was fast ebbing, and that Art could not hope to check the receding current. The good Bishop, however, to the last moment more attentive to the comforts of others than to his own, as the day advanced, insisted that his medical friends should adjourn to the Refectory; and he was accordingly left in his couch with a single little boy as his attendant. This child, who survived in man's estate at the time at which Gregory was writing, used to relate that no sooner had the company withdrawn, than he saw two men enter the chamber, whose raiment and faces glittered with insufferable brightness. Astonished and terrified at the vision, the boy cried out lustily; and the Bishop, starting at the noise and perceiving the cause of alarm, endeavoured to assuage his fear by an assurance that the shining strangers were no other than the martyrs St. Juvenal and St. Eleutherius. Far from being comforted by this explanation, the lad took to his heels, and announced to the Doctors and the Divines above stairs the marvel which he had witnessed. They hastened to the Abbot's chamber; but the Saints had vanished, bearing with them the soul of their devout friend, which they had been commissioned to fetch.†

The dying hours of a lady named Galla were marked with yet higher distinction than those of Bishop Probus, and her story was confirmed to Gregory by the witness of many grave and trustworthy persons. Galla was of noble birth and connections, and having been early married, was left a widow during the first year of her nuptials. The Physicians assured her that her complexion and temperament demanded a renewal of the marriage bond; and that unless she consented once more to become a bride, the heat of her constitution would exhibit itself by the germination of a beard; an event which occurred according to their prediction not long afterwards. *Sed sancta mulier nihil exterius deformitatis timuit, quæ interius sponsi cælestis speciem amavit, nec verita est si hoc in illâ fœdaretur quod a cælesti sponso in eâ non amaretur.* Having consecrated herself to a recluse life in St. Peter's Nunnery, she passed many years in continued acts of devotion and charity. At length she was afflicted with a cancer; and one night while lying awake, with two candles burning before

\* *Dialogi B. Gregorii II.* iv. 10.

† *Id.* iv. 12.

her bed—*quia videlicet amica lucis non solum spirituales sed etiam corporales tenebras odio habebat*—she saw St. Peter standing between the lights; and moved more by affection than by fear, she boldly asked, “What is it, my Lord? are my sins forgiven?” The Saint nodding with a benignant smile, answered, “They are forgiven: come with me!” Galla’s next request was that she might be permitted to take with her a nun to whom she was much attached. St. Peter, however, named another nun as her immediate *compagnon de voyage*, giving her assurance that sister Benedicta, for whom she wished, should not be more than thirty days in following. All which matters occurred even as the Apostolic vision declared; *quod factum nunc usque in eodem monasterio manet memorabile.\**

The spirit of sister Roniula, a Roman nun, took its departure in company with two Choirs of celestial Psalmodists, who sang in the street before the door of her cell; and the attendants could plainly distinguish the voices of different sexes joining in the antiphony.\* Sister Tarsilla had a more beatific vision than any we have yet recounted; and no soberly pious mind can regard without pain and shrinking the daring falsehood or fanaticism of her legend. *Sicut nobilibus fœminis virisque morientibus multi conveniunt qui eorum proximos consolentur, eâdem horâ exitûs ipsius multi viri ac fœminæ ejus lectulum circumsteterunt. Tunc subito illa sursum respiciens Jesum venientem vidit, et cum magnâ animadversione cepit circumstantibus clamare, dicens, “Recedite, recedite, Jesus venit!” cumque in eum intenderet, quem videbat, sancta illa anima e corpore est egressa.* Her reward, it is added, was fully deserved; for when her body was washed for burial, the skin of her knees and elbows was found hard and horny as that of a camel, through the perpetual exercise of prayer.†

The gift of tongues was sometimes bestowed upon those about to die, as was evinced in the person of a cow-boy belonging to Valerianus, a distinguished inhabitant of Rome. During a pestilence which raged in that city, the boy became infected; and after lying for some hours as in a trance, on recovering his senses he requested to see his master. On the arrival of Valerianus, the boy assured him that he had been in heaven, and that he had there received information respecting those of his companions in the household who would die under the pestilence, specifying by name such and such individuals. For Valerianus himself there was no present fear. As a proof of his celestial visit, the boy, who was known to be illiterate, declared that he could address any man in his own language; and, to the admiration of all who heard him, he conversed in both Greek and Latin with as much

\* *Dialogi B. Gregorii II.* iv. 13.

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† *Id.* iv. 15.

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‡ *Id.* iv. 16.



facility as if he had been taught those tongues from earliest youth. Two days afterwards he expired, having first torn his hands and arms with his teeth, in a fit of delirium. All the persons whose death he had foretold speedily followed him.\*

Count Theophanius, when dying, was gifted with prescience respecting a trifle, which, small as it was, enabled him to console his wife. As he lay in his last agonies, a very heavy storm was raging, and the Countess bitterly lamented that it would be quite impossible that she could venture out to attend his funeral. The sick man bade her dry her tears; for that no sooner should the breath have quitted the body than the weather would turn out fine—*cujus protinus vocem mors et mortem serenitas secuta est.*†

One or two examples, of a more fearful character, are interspersed with these comfortable demises. We read of a boy, five years of age, whom his Father had spoiled by indulgence, and who was sadly addicted to profane swearing. In his last illness this unhappy child saw Evil Spirits approaching him; buried his head in his Father's bosom, calling for help against the Blackmoors (*Mauri homines*), who were come to take him away; and then with a fearful oath upon his lips gave up the ghost.‡ Another wicked boy, in Gregory's own convent, struck by a contagious disorder, lost the use of his lower extremities, and urgently begged the Monks who were praying by his bedside to desist, and no longer to protract his agonies by struggling against a Dragon who had already swallowed his head, and but for their intercession would put him out of pain at once by devouring the rest of his body. The good Fathers intreated him to make the sign of the Cross; but he replied that although he felt the inclination, he was hindered by the pressure of the Dragon's scales. Undismayed by this declaration, the Monks redoubled their prayers, till the sufferer exclaimed, "Thanks be to God, you have chased away the Dragon! Pray now for my sins; for I am ready to be converted and to abandon my former evil courses." Time was given him for repentance; nor did he die till after he had undergone very salutary mortifications.§ A Monk of Thongolaton, in Isauria, with whose sad history we shall conclude our citations from Pope Gregory, had much harder measure dealt to him; and for a sin which, at least in Protestant estimation, scarcely demanded a punishment so severe. He had lived long in high esteem among his brethren as a strict observer of discipline, and they were gathered round his deathbed, accordingly, in the hope of hearing words contributing to edification. But alas! the dying man was oppressed with consciousness of secret sin.

\* *Dialogi* B. Gregorii II. iv. 26.

† *Id.* iv. 18.

‡ *Id.* iv. 27.

§ *Id.* iv. 37.

Hunger, it seems, had often proved too strong for devotion; and when he appeared to fast, he had in reality fed himself from a private cupboard. "*Quando me vobiscum credebatis jejunare, occultè comedebam, et ecce nunc ad devorandum Draconi traditus sum, qui caudâ suâ mea genua pedesque colligavit: caput verò suum intra meum os mittens spiritum meum ebibens extrahit.*"\*

Little apology can be requisite for having thus dwelt upon these ridiculous fables. It should be remembered that they are delivered by no less authority than that of a pen once deemed infallible; that they formed part and parcel of a Religious Creed which asserted the damnation of the incredulous as the certain consequence of their rejection; and that this same Creed still numbers many followers, who blindly consider them to be no less veracious than the Gospels themselves. These matters are too often forgotten; and doubtless we shall not altogether escape the accusation of *illiberality* for bringing them to recollection. But the days which have witnessed the denunciation of the *Burning Turf* still retain vestiges of the spirit which prevailed in those of Gregory the Great; and, paradoxical as it may appear, nothing is more true than that the extremes of superstition and of infidelity may co-exist in the same Country and at the same hour.

It is with widely different feelings that we at length turn directly to the Death-bed Scenes of Dr. Warton. The present Series consists of Six Chapters, respectively headed—I. The Souths.—Aged Converts. II. Mrs. Bolton.—Happy Old Age. III. Mr. Greathead.—Hopes and Fears. IV. Mrs. Brown.—Contentment. V. The Catechumens.—Confirmation. VI. Mr. King.—Sectarianism. We may here premise that the last two of these Chapters, occupying considerably more than half the volume, are *not* Death-bed Scenes, and have not the very remotest connection with the general title. They are admirable in themselves; they please us perhaps beyond any former production of the same pen; and, moreover, they are strong vouchers that their writer himself perceived the advantage of some such change as that which we have ventured to recommend at the commencement of this Review.

The second chapter re-introduces us to Mrs. Bolton (whom no reader of the former volumes can have forgotten) when she has passed the great limit of fourscore years; and there is scarcely a page or even a line in it at which the heart does not glow and the eyes fill with involuntary but most delightful tears. We have seen the very counterpart of this excellent woman, at even a more advanced period of life, and we recognize the truth of the portrait in

\* *Dialogi B. Gregorii II. iv. 38.*

every touch. It is the work of a skilful artist, and his skill is not the less deserving of applause because (as we do not doubt) he has had a noble original for the subject of his pencil. Even the denunciation of Cards, in which we think Dr. Warton somewhat too pointedly agrees, and which is far from meeting a response in our own bosoms, is conveyed with charity, and Mrs. Bolton speaks of the amusement as not necessary to her own happiness, more than as decidedly censurable in others. We know not whether George III. played whist, but we do know that of all Princes who ever filled the British throne *he* was the least likely to sanction by his authority any amusement unbecoming a Clergyman; and we may appeal, in support of our assertion, to his Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the introduction of Routs at Lambeth Palace during an early period of his reign. On another occasion, when a Divine, venerable alike for his Piety and his Learning, of morals the most unblamed, of suavity the most attaching, of principles the most exalted, was to kiss hands on the tardy attainment of a richly merited dignity, some officious meddler had whispered to the King that the newly preferred Dean was a Whist-player. George III. who possessed singularly extensive knowledge of private life among his subjects, and who happened to be acquainted with the reasons which made the relaxation especially desirable in this instance, did not forget the hint, but he employed it in a manner which sufficiently disappointed the malignity of the informer. He congratulated the Clergyman in question when he appeared at the first Levee after his preferment; and added, in the hearing of the whole Court Circle, that he hoped he would still enjoy his Rubber.

But we return to Mrs. Bolton; her love of children is among the most natural touches in her character; it is a sentiment which never fails to accompany a cheerful old age, and which affords the strongest possible evidence that Dr. Warton has drawn from life. Her aspirations after another world must not be told in any language but that which has been so feelingly attributed to her.

“ ‘All fear of futurity,’ Mrs. Bolton answered, whilst her eyes sparkled, ‘may unquestionably be overcome, but not without a firm faith and trust in God’s covenant through Jesus Christ. None, probably, who know what his holy law requires, would venture to stand upon their own merits, but on *his* they may. And it is to be hoped, that some persons have had this faith and trust in full perfection during their whole lives, and consequently, having been always convinced of God’s mercy towards them, were never tormented with painful fears at all; and the same persons, no doubt, might have hailed the approach of their latter end with a certain degree of joy, although their duty would have taught them to wait with patience for their appointed time. The anticipation of unchequered happiness, and the delightful thought of re-

joining our dear friends, might well make us all even to long for our great change, when it cannot be far off, and the chief purposes of our existence have been fulfilled. But the constant dwelling upon these ideas, Dr. Warton, tends, I believe, to increase our confidence, that God will certainly accomplish his ultimate promises; and at any rate a reflecting person, in the course of a long life, has seen God's goodness in so many instances, that his faith and trust in it must needs be greatly augmented towards the end. It would be difficult, my dear Sir, to persuade *us* old people, that God will desert us at last after having blessed and supported us so long. I wish to speak humbly, as I think humbly, of myself; but I will tell *you*, my dear Sir, without scruple or affectation; the Gospel being my pole-star, I have very comfortable hopes of the next world, and they grow stronger and stronger every day.'

"The intuitions of the good, after the experience of years, are more satisfactory than the very demonstrations of the ablest of men. I listened to Mrs. Bolton, as to one who stood on the confines of Heaven, and already caught the delicious breeze wafting therefrom, and was infallibly assured of its existence and its bliss."—pp. 89, 90.

"Hopes and Fears" is a tale of darker character; and although considerable power is displayed in it, and the *diablerie* is, for the most part, kept in tolerable subjection, it seems to us (and we may hope it seems so truly) far more the product of Imagination than many of its brethren. Mr. Greathead, whose life has been spent in the pursuit of gain, not always by justifiable means, and in the uncontrolled indulgence of vicious passions, is overpowered with the terrors of approaching death, and fancies that the Devil is grimly sitting at the head of the bed waiting to pounce upon his departing soul. This frame-work, as will be perceived, resembles some of the Monkish tales which we have already mentioned; and it unfortunately brings to mind also the grotesque impling which Sir Joshua Reynolds has introduced, with little regard to good taste, in his Picture of the Death of Cardinal Beaufort. We hasten by the spectre itself in order that we may arrive at the valuable application of it made by Dr. Warton.

"This, no doubt, was dreadful to everybody; but I observed nobody, to mark how they were affected. My whole attention was riveted upon the man himself alone. As he spoke, he writhed his body about, and betrayed all the sensations of one around whom a thousand devils were crawling on every limb. His eyes darted rapid looks of abhorrence and terror. 'Be silent!' at length I said with solemnity, and with my finger uplifted authoritatively; 'Be silent, I enjoin you, that you may hear what I, the minister of Christ, have to say for your direction and comfort.' In an instant his perturbation was wonderfully calmed; he expected something, I presume, like a magic charm at once to expel the king of terrors from his post, and drown him for ever in the Red Sea. His face was fixed on mine with an incessant, undeviating, and anxious gaze. 'We see no spectre ourselves,' I continued, with the same slow

solemnity; 'none of us see anything unusual to alarm you; but it is very possible that *your* eyes may see something which ours do not.'

" 'Aye, aye, Dr. Warton,' he interposed, '*that* is it; he shows himself to *me*, and not to the rest of you—his errand is to *me* alone.' 'So it is,' I resumed; 'and the errand is a gracious one, although delivered by so fearful a messenger. God sends him, or creates the fancy in your mind (it matters not which, it is just the same); he sends him to hasten your repentance for the past, and to redouble your cares for the future. There is a world in futurity to be peopled with countless millions of beings, like *him* whom it hath pleased God that you should see, or imagine that you see, and whom you equally fear and abhor. But what should be the effect of your fear and abhorrence?—To throw yourself without a moment's delay upon the divine mercy; to seek reconciliation with God in the way that he has appointed; and thus, if it be not too late, to disappoint this wicked minister of darkness and torments of his expected prey. Who knows but that a merciful God, appeased by your tears of contrition, and by your prayers for help and pardon, may dispatch a mighty angel of light from his blest abode, the gracious minister of salvation, to replace, with his heavenly guard, this ugly, terrific fiend, whom you so justly dread. It is but the usual goodness of God to the penitent sinner, who desires to recover himself from the snare of the devil, and asks for strength from above to do it.'

" 'Ah! it is too late, Dr. Warton—it is too late!' he cried, interrupting me. 'This fiend is not sent to warn, but to take me!' 'I hope not,' I said immediately; 'I trust not, if you begin sincerely to repent.' 'Ob! I repent, Dr. Warton,' he replied with eagerness, 'I repent with sincerity, I am sure. I never saw my wickedness so clearly, or deplored it so strongly before. But it is too late, it is too late!' 'If your own heart does not deceive you,' I said, 'it is not yet too late. The purpose of this direful messenger has been accomplished, if you are now really touched with a deep and awful sense of your sins; if you now feel confident, that, with the usual blessing of God upon your endeavours, you would not in any case, should your life be spared, relapse into them again. But still I will not ask God to withdraw him, till God himself see fit. Evil as he is, he has been the minister to you of good. He has given you a lively picture of his kingdom, in which the fire is never quenched, the worm never dies. You start back, as well you may, with horror from the precipice overhanging the gulf in which such beings dwell with everlasting burnings; you repent that your passions and appetites ever beguiled you to the brink of such a precipice; you would fly now from Satan to God. If this be no transient feeling, no mere momentary terror of the divine vengeance, to disappear with the disappearance of this frightful spectre, but a permanent principle, the beginning of wisdom, and the seed of righteousness, to spring up and bear fruit under the cherished influence of God's holy spirit, the gracious object is answered; henceforth you may wake or sleep in peace. This being, I promise you, will haunt you no more.'"—pp. 128—131.

"Mrs. Brown," or "Contentment," although admirable in itself,

is far too palpably artificial for the situation which it occupies. No old blind and deaf alms-woman ever harangued so much at length, and in terms so finished and elaborate, as are attributed to this good lady; and there is a want of verisimilitude in assigning to such a person thoughts and expressions which Cicero and Seneca, if they had been Christianized, need not have blushed to acknowledge. No passage which we recollect in Ogden himself is more striking (and we believe Dr. Warton's main thought to be wholly original) than the following account of Prayer, which Dr. Warton extracts from Mrs. Brown for the benefit of a rather querulous overhearer.

“ ‘ But,’ I said, ‘ this is one of the questions which I intended to ask you; whether your thoughts do not continually run into the form of prayer, and how you feel during the time and afterwards. I often tell people, both the sick and the well, that they ought to be much in prayer, and that they ought to be delighted with it; they agree with me, perhaps, about the duty, but doubt about the delight of it. They may be comforted too with praying, as with the performance of any other duty; but delight in it is another thing. Tell me, therefore, if you please, my good old friend, what is the course of your own experience; you will oblige me greatly.’ ”

“ Her reply to this question began in the most impressive manner; the thought appeared to be, though not quite new to me, yet wonderfully striking and great. ‘ If,’ she said, whilst her lips quivered, ‘ some being, whom I could not resist, were to say to me, “ You shall pray no more,” the shock would lay me flat on the earth; and, if my senses ever returned to me, the horrible sound would still strike upon my ears, and unhinge my mind, and afflict my very soul, till I could bear it no longer.’ Thus far she went, and then her feeling stopped her utterance. I was myself almost lost in admiration; but, to help her, I said, ‘ It is very true; you have put the matter in the most convincing light. There are multitudes of men who take no delight in prayer; there are many who neglect it without any sensible pain; but tell them that they shall pray no more, and, I am sure, amazement and dismay would seize upon them. They who neglect it most probably intend, some time or other, to have recourse to it, as their final resource. But, when a final resource is suddenly and unexpectedly cut off, nothing remains but flat despair. This is true of everything, but how much more of prayer, which is our main link with heaven.’ ”

“ ‘ Aye, Sir,’ she resumed, but still agitated, ‘ *that* is the very thing. He who forbids me to pray, would break the link and separate me from heaven. It would be the same as to say, “ You shall have no more communion with God; you shall never lift up your hands to him again; you shall converse with him no more; you shall live, whilst you live, as if there were no God—no providence, no eye of wisdom or goodness, watching over you.” At once, Sir, all peace and comfort would desert me, and be strangers to my breast thenceforth for ever. I should be desolate indeed. All would be a wide waste around me. I should be



doubly blind; both body and soul would be destitute of a single ray of light.

“She stopped again from feeling and energy, not for want of ideas or words. She was prolific and eloquent in the description of her own probable forlorn state without prayer; and this was an abundant proof in how great a degree prayer was the habit, the support, the consolation, the delight of her existence.”—pp. 202—204.

“The Catechumens” or “Confirmation,” is an account of the proceedings of a sound and diligent Parish Priest before the administration of that rite by the Bishop to the young among his Flock.\* And here again, in the outset, Dr. Warton paints from the life. Every one who has been engaged in a similar task must have painfully observed the strong contrast exhibited on such an occasion between the two sexes.

“The difference, indeed, between *them* (girls) and boys was striking enough; whether it were, that the mistresses of schools took more pains with their pupils than the masters did, both in respect to religion and in the great points of behaviour; or, which is very probable, that there is something in the female nature, disposing it to a more cordial reception, and a more tender and lively feeling of religious truth, as well as to every external order and decency of life. Be this, however, as it may; the young ladies always appeared to be fearfully and tremblingly alive to their situation, and they were soon affected even to tears; whilst at the same time there was a simplicity and modesty about them, and a proper respectfulness towards *me* which were extremely pleasing, and could not but engage my regard and esteem. The boys, on the other hand, with exceptions, no doubt, were too often bold and confident, though with less knowledge; they were very little awed by my presence, until they had compelled me to rebuke them with severity; they came, apparently, without any due sense of what they were about to undertake; it was in their eye, most probably, a mere form, without any useful end in view, to which it was necessary, however, by the constitutions of the church, that all indiscriminately should submit; the only thing, therefore, that seemed to keep them in any tolerable degree of order was, the danger of a rejection, and a fear of the shame that would follow it; yet they brought so much levity with them, that the slightest mistake of one of their companions in answering a question, produced a titter immediately, or even a downright laugh, throughout the whole band.”—pp. 217, 218.

No more salutary correction of this petulant and unbecoming spirit can be furnished than that which Dr. Warton has provided in his address and exhortation. Grievous indeed is it to state the result which presents itself to his ripe judgment and full experience. “I was not often very sanguine in thinking that I had

\* We take this opportunity of mentioning an admirable little Catechism preparatory to Confirmation, recently published at Warrington by the Rev. Charles Dodgson, Incumbent of Daresbury in Cheshire. It deserves to be far more widely circulated than it is likely to be as issuing from a remote Provincial Press.

done them any permanent good. For the present at least they were abashed and awed into decency and propriety.”—Is the fault in the nature of the male animal, or in the received system of training him?

The second portion of this Chapter relates to sundry cases of conscience, as that of the aged woman who had never yet been confirmed, and who, being a fit recipient, was unhesitatingly presented with a certificate;—of an equally aged and no less worthy man, who wished for a second Confirmation, because “the first had been done so long ago;” and who was easily convinced that his request was unnecessary;—of a respectable upper servant, who had grown grey in his master’s service, and had obtained deserved confidence by his integrity; one only omission disturbed his employer; that he never received the Sacrament; and on his pleading that he had not been confirmed, an interview with Dr. Warton was appointed. Mr. Hill, the Catechumen, perceived after a very few words the necessity under which every Christian man lies of obeying his Saviour’s commands by partaking of His body and blood.—But he was most anxious to escape previous Confirmation. “It will be a strange sight, Sir,” he said, “to see a man of my age going to be confirmed with a multitude of children! All eyes will be upon me. I shall be quite ashamed I am certain. They will point at me and ridicule me without doubt. I should take it as a great favour, Sir, if you could excuse me!” Dr. Warton first shewed him in reply that the power of excuse was not vested in a Clergyman’s hands; and then gently but with firmness rebutted his scruples. The good man left him with a conviction that whatever remarks might be offered upon his appearance at the altar must redound to his honour instead of exposing him to scorn and contempt.

Two or three other cases which would suffer irreparable injury by abridgment, lead us to that of Mr., Mrs. and Miss Wynne, which is plainly the writer’s favourite. The father and mother are altogether worldly; bringing their daughter to be confirmed, because it is a form which custom has established, and because nobody’s daughters come fully out into the world until they have submitted to it. At the same time they trust that Dr. Warton, whom they know “not to be a Methodist,” will not frighten Emily by making too much of the matter. Dr. Warton, however, in spite of these admonitions, frankly and fearlessly represents the importance of the rite to the young Lady, who, fortunately for herself, had received, from an excellent Governess, those lessons of early Piety which her Parents were neither able nor willing to bestow. The conversation soon becomes general, and one by one the sophistical arguments, arising out of custom and necessity, by

which Mr. and Mrs. Wynne endeavour to palliate faulty practice, are overthrown and abandoned. The following may be accepted as a specimen of the line of argument adopted. The point in discussion is the employment of Sundays in high life.

“ ‘ We have come to church, ever since we have been here, with the greatest regularity,’ exclaimed Mrs. Wynne in triumph; ‘ I hope that pleases you, Dr. Warton.’ ‘ It pleases me very much,’ I replied, ‘ and is also generally useful in the parish. But, I am sorry to observe that we are making this question too personal, so as to increase the apparent harshness and severity which you lay to my charge.’ ‘ Never mind,’ she said, fancying herself, no doubt, unassailable; ‘ never mind, Dr. Warton, our own case concerns us most; and you have full liberty from me to go to the bottom of it.’ ‘ First, then,’ I resumed, ‘ it must be mentioned, that I have never seen you at church in the afternoon.’ ‘ It would be highly inconvenient to us to come in the afternoon,’ she replied, not quite so confidently. ‘ We *contrive* to come always in the morning, be it convenient or inconvenient to us; but we cannot *contrive* it in the afternoon.’ My look showed that I was not satisfied; so she continued. ‘ People *will* call upon us, Dr. Warton; and sometimes we are *compelled* to go out ourselves to call upon our friends.’ ‘ *Compelled* is a strong word, my dear Madam,’ I said sardonically; ‘ you surely do not mean that any positive violence is used, either to make you receive some, or visit others.’ ‘ It would be rude,’ she replied, ‘ to deny ourselves to visitors, or to send them away in a hurry; and, if we would keep up our acquaintance, we *must* visit *them* in return.’ ‘ On Sundays, my dear Madam?’ I said: ‘ Are there not six days for civilities, and one for religion?’ ‘ We *cannot* spend every moment of it in religion;’ she answered rather petulantly; being pressed, no doubt, by the argument. ‘ Alas!’ I said, mournfully, ‘ we *will* not. But see, we slide back to the same fallacy, that our acquaintance must be kept up; that we cannot refuse to receive visitors without rudeness; that we cannot dismiss them in time to go to church; all which means, that we must live as the world lives. The question is, whether the world is in the right, and we can only justify ourselves by appealing to the practice of the world. This is all in a circle; the reasoning is palpably bad. Scripture says, “ Be not conformed to this world;” but we think all wrong that is not in conformity with it. If we cannot deny ourselves so far as to come to church on a Sunday afternoon, how little likely are we to assume courage enough to pluck out an eye, or cut off an arm! But this self-denial is the very essence of the Christian character, and there is no hope without it. Yet none of your men of the world ever think of it. Their only maxim is self-indulgence. Were you to talk to them of taking up the cross, would they not cover you with ridicule? Yet, unless they do it, they are lost. Let them show me where it is written, that the pleasing and being pleased is the sole object for which God sent us here, and the only road to heaven.’

“ I spoke this with great earnestness, and then paused; but they were quite mute. So I summed up the investigation of the fashionable mode

of passing the Lord's day thus :—' If there were nothing else to condemn the world before God, this is more than enough to condemn it,—that they profane his own day, which he has commanded us all to hallow. Not only do they not frequent the divine ordinances of the day as much as they might, (by which voluntary neglect they put themselves out of the way of numberless opportunities of receiving divine grace, and being advanced in Christian holiness,) but they absolutely profane the day; at least, 'bating the morning-service, they spend that day very much as they do any other. They dine abroad; they give great dinners at home; they seek the throng of company in the public drives, with the whole pomp of their equipage, whilst the sun is up; and when he is down, some fashionable lady holds an assembly at her house, where it is their glory to be seen. The whole establishment, even the servants and the horses, all break the Sabbath; but these by compulsion. The master and mistress are guilty for all, because they act by their own free will.' "

—pp. 344—347.

Mr. King, the Hero of the concluding Chapter on Sectarianism, is a gentleman of independent property acquired in business. His habit was to attend the morning service in his Parish Church, to remain at home in the afternoon, and in the evening to resort to a Dissenting Chapel. Latterly, in consequence of a course of sermons on the moral duties preached by one of Dr. Warton's Curates in the *afternoon*, this more than questionable Churchman had absented himself even from the morning service, and his so doing occasioned the conversations which Dr. Warton here recounts. In the outset the Doctor takes pains to correct the false and vulgar notion which his antagonist (as it may be convenient to term him) had imbibed at the Sectarian founts, of the comparative superiority of preaching to praying. He then turns to matters of doctrine, reasoning with him out of the Scriptures, explaining what is meant by imputed righteousness, and showing how a free gift, free so far as the giver is concerned, may still have conditions annexed to it on the part of the recipient. The whole Dialogue is a fine specimen of the Aristotelic method of argument applied to Christianity; and Mr. King, whether he replies or is silent, is led almost insensibly, by a series of nicely graduated questions, to the very brink of a precipice, over which his opinions are ultimately cast headlong.

This discussion nevertheless brought Mr. King to Church, but it was only for a short season; he was *preached out again* on his very first re-appearance by a Sermon from Dr. Warton himself in support of Universal Redemption. The second scene in which he is introduced is an attempt to establish a Bible Association in Dr. Warton's Parish. His coadjutors are a neighbour, Mr. Harris, of principles resembling his own, and a Mr. Barker, an enthusiast *belonging to an adjoining Parish*, but always ready to

proffer his service as an ubiquitous Chairman, Orator, or President. We must be copious in our extracts; for never was any conversation more dramatically portrayed, never was any course of argument conducted with greater skill to a more triumphant issue than that at which Dr. Warton arrives.

“ My visitors being all seated, Mr. King opened their business. ‘ We thought it a matter of respect and duty, Sir, to wait upon you about a branch Bible Society, which is much wanted in this, and the surrounding parishes; and this gentleman, Mr. Barker, who has had a great deal to do with business of that sort, has been so kind as to accompany us.’ ‘ I am glad to see you, Mr. Barker,’ I said immediately; ‘ but I am ashamed to confess, that I was quite ignorant that any person of your name resided in our parish.’ ‘ I am not a resident here, Sir,’ he replied, ‘ and it is therefore no wonder that my name is not familiar to you.’ ‘ Upon my word then, Mr. Barker,’ I exclaimed, ‘ I must tell you candidly, that I am not a little surprised, (and I showed my surprise in my countenance,) that you should come into a parish, with which you have no connexion, to talk with the rector of that parish about the distribution of Bibles amongst his own poor. And I am surprised at *you* also, gentlemen, that you should bring a perfect stranger to me upon an affair of that kind; you know very well that I have not desired such assistance; for, in fact, I do not want any. But, if I wanted assistance ever so much, I should never have thought of going out of my own parish for it. I have no wish to offend you Mr. Barker; but does it not strike you in an instant, that there is an apparent want of propriety, and decency too (if you will excuse me) in the step which you have taken?’ ‘ It may seem so to you, Sir,’ he replied, ‘ and to the world; but the thing is too important to admit of entering into minute and trifling circumstances of etiquette. As the spread of the Bible should overleap all boundaries, but those of the world itself, so it swallows up every other consideration, which must needs appear in the comparison, mean and little. Mr. King, however, will explain to you, Sir, the immediate cause of *my* share in the present undertaking.’

“ Upon this I turned from Mr. Barker to Mr. King, and said, ‘ Mr. King, how is this?’ ‘ Why, Sir,’ he answered, ‘ myself and Mr. Harris here, have been round the parish to every gentleman of property and respectability in it; and there was not one, who did not decline to preside at the intended meeting; so, Sir, we were compelled to look elsewhere.’ ‘ Did the gentry of this parish,’ I asked, ‘ merely decline the presidency, or refuse altogether to have anything to do with your projected society?’ Mr. King and Mr. Harris eyed each other askance, and after a short silence Mr. Harris confessed that they objected to the thing altogether. ‘ And did they assign any reason, Mr. Harris?’ I asked again; ‘ you, I know, will be fair and open enough to tell me if they did; and also, what the reason was.’ This appeal to his candour produced the effect expected from it; he replied immediately, ‘ I must confess, Sir, again, that they appeared to be unanimous in saying that the application ought to have come from the rector; and some added,

besides, the conviction which they felt, that if the rector had considered such a society to be necessary, he would have established it, or proposed it long ago.' 'Thank you, Mr. Harris,' I said; 'thank you for informing me of this fact so readily, and without any tergiversation; but then I am astonished at two things; first, that you should have begun at the wrong end; and secondly, that you should be still proceeding in this affair, when you have ascertained the sense of the respectable part of the parish, in point of wealth and the disposition to do good, to be entirely against you.' 'If *you* would take the lead, Sir,' he answered, 'we have no doubt that many will join us of those who have for the present refused; and we should have come to you, Sir, in the first instance, with the greatest satisfaction, if we had not had the very strongest reasons, as we thought, for supposing that you would scout our proposals at once.' 'Then pray, let me ask,' I said, 'what has procured me the honour of this visit now?'

"A silence ensued,—Mr. Harris and Mr. King were very reluctant to let out any more secrets; so Mr. Barker being more inured to the artifices of Bible Society transactions, and spurred on by a zeal not to be daunted by any fear of being accused of disregarding the civilities of life, took up the conversation, and said, 'We are come here, Sir, in consequence of an interview which we have had with the bishop of the diocese. These gentlemen, whose conduct is so praiseworthy in endeavouring to bring the pure word of life, without note or comment, into the cottages of the poor, not having found, as they have told you, a single person here, of authority, to promote and organize so Christian a work, applied to *me*, although of little ability for so great an undertaking; and I have obeyed the invitation, trusting in a mightier strength than my own. But first, Sir, as the bishop has some property in your parish, and happened to be in the neighbouring town, we waited upon him, at *my* suggestion, and proposed to him the glory of patronizing the sacred cause so becoming his episcopal cloth.'"—pp. 407—410.

The Bishop, however, was equally impregnable with the Laity. He—

"did not see the glorious career that was before him. He entrenched himself, Sir, within little petty forms and ceremonies, when the question concerned the universal diffusion of the Word of God. He asked us whether we came to him with *your* authority; and when he found that we did not, he declined listening to any of our arguments; pleaded urgent business, and sent us away."—p. 412.

Dr. Warton's next inquiry is as to the necessity or expediency of establishing a Bible Society in his Parish.

"'Here, Sir,' replied Mr. Barker,—'not to dwell upon the grand and godlike object of the parent-society, which is to preach the Gospel in all the languages of the world, and to turn men from gross darkness to a marvellous light,—*here* is an exact account, Sir, of the state of your parish with respect to Bibles.' I took it into my hands, and whilst I was glancing my eye over it, I inquired how it was obtained. 'It was



obtained, Sir,' he answered, ' by sending trusty persons to every house, to investigate the matter with the closest and utmost possible accuracy.' ' So then, Mr. Barker,' I said, ' you, a gentleman not belonging to us in any way, have sent persons into *our* parish to act the part of inquisitors in every private family; and these inquisitors have furnished you with a report, whether true or false you cannot know, but of course you will call it accurate; and on this report, stating a great lack of Bibles, you ground your pretence for a still further interference with us. Well, Sir, this is undoubtedly a most extraordinary transaction; I will not venture to call it by its proper name, as I feel it. And pray, did you direct your inquisitors to tell the poor people, that their spiritual interests and the welfare of their souls being entirely neglected by their natural guardians, the bishop of the diocese and the resident ministers and gentry, you had beheld with compassion, from a neighbouring parish, their forlorn and destitute condition, and had stepped in to relieve it with an unparalleled generosity and charity?' "

This *accurate* list, however, was proved to be full of errors—and Dr. Warton then explains *his* mode of distributing Bibles. They were neither hawked about, nor forced upon the profligate by whom they would be immediately transferred to the pawnbrokers; but each of the 400 children who stayed long enough in the National School to be able to read with tolerable ease, carried a Bible into its family. Every poor person who required a Bible and gave proof of being disposed to read and to profit by it, was sure of receiving the desired Book. Ostentatious expedition was carefully shunned, and the utility worked by the gift was not at all measured by the numbers given. Mr. Barker thus vanquished as to the point of local expediency was compelled to change his ground, and to maintain himself upon more general principles.

" ' Be there or be there not, Sir, any necessity for a Bible Association here, which I will not dispute any further with you, I am confident of this, that every parish in the realm ought, as a matter of bounden duty, to furnish their contingent, whether great or small, but great if their means admit of it, to the magnificent spiritual work which is contemplated by the parent institution. And as for myself, Sir, though a non-resident, I feel myself so imperiously called to contribute what little ability I may have to the furtherance of this work in your parish, that all consideration of human opinions to the contrary must be totally set aside; a call, Sir, which applies to every other parish as well as to this, provided it be within the scope of my bodily powers.' ' Oh! Sir,' I said, ' if you have a *call*, there is no contending with you; and I shall cease to wonder at anything which you may do. But I must confess that, in my own case, if I were prompted by a supposed *call* to do a thing which the world might consider to be a violation of decorum, I should begin to suspect the *reality* of the call; or, in other words, to doubt the validity of the principles upon which I was about to act. You will find this, Sir, if you try it, to be a great and most excellent maxim for the regulation

of human conduct. History will tell you, Sir, what has happened in the world in consequence of the neglect of this maxim. Hurried onward by an imperious call, which disregarded persons, seasons, and things, men have rushed into the most enormous crimes. I am sorry, Sir, to have heard you use that expression. If you are under the influence of a call, you are beyond the reach of any reasons and arguments which I at least can produce. This smacks indeed, I *must* say, of the conventicle; and I can now readily account for your zeal in the pursuit of measures which are hostile to the Church."—pp. 419–421.

The charge of hostility to the Church was denied with vehemence:—

" ' We have all but one object; to unite in this glorious cause, forgetful of every private difference, and to give the right hand of fellowship to each other, Tory and Whig, churchman and dissenter, making one grand combined effort for the salvation of mankind from pole to pole. This is the beauty, this is the perfection of the plan,—that it places men of the most opposite principles by the side of each other, and inspires them with the true Christian spirit of union and harmony, amity and love.' "

" Upon this effusion of Mr. Barker's they all raised their sunken crests, and applauded the sentiment, and re-echoed it again and again: I coolly inquired, if it were, indeed, their practice, in pursuance of this object, to join heart and hand with men of every denomination? ' Yes,' said Mr. King; ' it has been well and truly said by Mr. Barker, that it is one great excellence of the Bible Society to bring men of all denominations together, and to soften down their asperities with respect to each other.' ' So then,' I rejoined, ' you would be glad to see even Atheists and Infidels amongst you; for this liberal latitudinarian principle excludes none, I presume.' ' Let them come, Sir, said Mr. Barker; ' and we will make Christians of them in the end.' ' How, Mr. Barker?' I inquired; ' Do the forms of doing business in your committees admit of a statement of the proofs of the being of a God, or of the evidences of revealed religion, for the benefit of your unconverted colleagues? If they did, I should think that Atheists and Infidels would keep aloof from you. But it is notorious, that many of that description are active supporters of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Do they come, think you, with the hope of being converted, or with what view?' "

" Here they all hesitated to answer; but at length they agreed, that, whatever the views of those people might be, their assistance was not to be refused, and their money might be turned to a good account. ' But, as to the *fact*,' I inquired again, ' do you find that now and then an Atheist, or an Infidel, is actually and imperceptibly, as it were, Christianised, by sitting at the same board with you, or by the routine intercourse of your society?' Mr. Harris confessed, that as yet he knew of no instance of the kind. ' Then,' I said, ' *your* assertion, Mr. Barker, that you would make Christians of them in the end, is likely to be but of remote accomplishment; or rather it was the mere ebullition of your own sanguine temper; or perhaps a third conjecture might be formed, namely, that it is your excuse for uniting with Atheists and Infidels in

an affair of religion, which cannot but lose somewhat of its sanctity, when such unholy people meddle in it. But let us now put the question in another view. I ask you, whether a Christian ought to abhor Atheism and Infidelity?' He could not deny it. 'I ask you again, whether he ought to feel complacently towards the professors of such tenets, whom all the wise and the good, since the Christian era, have declared to be unfit for human society itself? Of Atheism, indeed, every age has pronounced its reprobation, both ancient and modern.' He was staggered, and remained silent. 'I infer,' I said, 'from your silence, that he ought not; indeed such a feeling would be an evident sign of a lamentable laxity of religious principles in himself. I ask then, thirdly, whether it be a desirable effect, which you state to be the result of Bible Society meetings, that they bring persons of all denominations together, and soften down the asperities of each towards the other? Is it desirable, that our horror of Atheism and Infidelity should be diminished; which can scarcely fail of being the case, if we give the right hand of fellowship to those who profess them? Remember that action and reaction are reciprocal and equal; and that it would be idle to argue, that you expect Atheists and Infidels to change their opinions with respect to *you*, by associating with you, whilst your own opinions and feelings undergo no change by *your* associating with *them*.' —pp. 425—428.

After all, the proposed meeting took place in a barn, lent by a new comer; and the carpenter's bill for fitting up, not having been covered by the subscription, was defrayed by the Parent Society, which nevertheless failed in its object.

We regret that want of space prevents us from continuing our extracts from the remainder of this highly valuable Chapter. Every conversation in it demands close attention, and there is scarcely a strong-hold of Sectarianism which is not in some part of it assailed and demolished. We must content ourselves, however, with a single passage. Mr. King changed his residence for a distant part of the Kingdom, and an accidental interview, after his removal, gave Dr. Warton an opportunity of expressing himself respecting a somewhat prevalent error.

"When he was seated, I inquired first about various circumstances relating to the town, in which he had set up his staff, and then about the officiating minister of his parish. 'Aye, Sir,' he exclaimed, 'there you may see a fine example indeed! Never did anybody so properly encourage peace and harmony as he does. Why, Sir, he gives the right hand of fellowship to all, just as much as I would do: every day almost he may be seen walking arm in arm with one or another of the ministers of the several chapels.' 'Indeed!' I said, but not with surprise; for it was no novelty to me to hear of this species of *liberality* amongst the regular clergy, although it is surprising enough that they themselves should so far forget their stations and duties. This is not one of the least evils which Bible Societies and Missionary Societies have entailed

upon our order. 'And you admire him for this, it seems,' I continued. 'I do,' he replied decisively; 'he deserves it.' 'Then you would not have admired St. Paul,' I said. At this he began to muse; so I went on. 'You know, I presume, that St. Paul's conduct was totally different.' Now, no doubt, there flashed upon his memory some of the strong expressions and terrible wishes, which St. Paul uttered against his adversaries, and all who troubled the Church by the introduction of doctrines differing from his own. He was evidently staggered; but at length collecting himself, he said, 'St. Paul was in the Spirit, Sir, and knew the truth. Our minister claims no such infallibility.' 'But are you aware,' I asked, 'that when he was ordained to his ministry, he embraced the doctrines of the Church of England as true, and pledged himself to maintain the truth of them against all others; and, in short, to do his utmost to expel all others from amongst the flock entrusted to his charge?' 'I have never read the ordination service, Sir,' he answered, not a little disturbed. 'But your curate has,' I said coolly, 'although he appears to have forgotten it. However, you shall see what it is yourself this moment, that when you return you may be able to remind him of it.'

"Mr. King did not seem to know how to take this, and was exceedingly confused. Meanwhile, I reached a prayer-book from my shelf, which contained the ordination service, and pointed out to him the following passages. In the house and more immediate presence of God himself, the bishop addresses the persons about to be ordained, most solemnly and most awfully, thus: 'Consider with yourselves,' he saith, 'the end of your ministry towards the children of God, towards the spouse and body of Christ, and see that you never cease your labour, your care, and diligence, until you have done all that lieth in you, according to your bounden duty, to bring all such as are committed to your charge, unto that *agreement* in the faith and knowledge of God, and to that ripeness and perfectness of age in Christ, that there be no place left among you either for error in religion, or for viciousness in life.' Afterwards, to bind them the more firmly by their own asseveration in the audience of the people, he questions them thus: 'Will you be ready, with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines, contrary to God's word, and to use both public and private monitions and exhortations, as well to the sick as to the whole, within your cures, as need shall require, and occasion shall be given?' To which each candidate answers, 'I will, the Lord being my helper.'

"Next I showed him the references in the margin to St. Paul's striking charges to Timothy and Titus, and to the elders of the church of Ephesus; in one of which, all who, after their own lusts, heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears, are so terribly condemned. Then I read an extract from a note of Dean Comber's at the bottom of the page, in which he truly says, that this declaration of the candidates is as sacred as an oath; that if they do not intend to keep it, they lie not to men, but to God; and that if they be negligent to keep it, it is equal to perjury.

“ Mr. King was now astounded and speechless, nor did he recover himself during the pause which ensued, whilst I replaced my Bible and prayer-book on the shelf. So I resumed thus: ‘ When living here, Mr. King, you were compelled, I think, to resort to a neighbouring parish for something agreeable to your taste in religion, on account of the wonderful agreement and unanimity amongst the rest of us to abide by the faith of the Church. But where you are now settled, I imagine, there is so little of agreement and unanimity, and so much of variety and diversity, that the most perverse lust or appetite may find enough in some corner or other to gratify it. Now, I ask you seriously, Mr. King, whether this is a state of things to be desired? I ask you seriously, whether, on the very contrary, it is not directly and totally at variance with all the notions of Christ’s Church inculcated upon us in Scripture; and whether it does not, to the disgrace of Protestants, furnish a strong handle to the Papists, whose religion you abhor so much, for casting in our teeth the mischiefs which have ensued since the barriers of popedom were broken down? But I have another thing to ask you seriously also,—whether you do not now see, as if it were written with a sunbeam, how much the conduct of your new minister, and of others like himself, tends to produce these fatal consequences?—how much, instead of banishing strange opinions and erroneous doctrines, he actually encourages them in direct violation of his vow?—how much, in short, by appearing to countenance the ministers and professors of all opinions and doctrines alike, he builds up a Babel of heterodoxy, instead of a united and orthodox, a sound, pure, and apostolical Church? Answer me this, Mr. King.’ ”—pp. 531—535.

In parting, we must repeat our eager and anxious hope that Dr. Warton’s papers may still furnish numerous successors to this most important volume. It cannot be but that he must have thought profoundly, and we trust that he has also written largely, on many Ecclesiastical subjects; and his charitable views of general Religion—his uncompromising assertion of our own peculiar discipline and polity—his matured experience of practical sacerdotal duties—his heartfelt, but well-regulated piety, and his nervous simplicity of style, entitle him to a rank not second to that of any Theologian of our day, and to occupy a distinguished place even among the Giants of those days which have long since passed away.

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ART. IV.—1. *The Agamemnon of Æschylus, translated from the Greek, illustrated with a Dissertation on Grecian Tragedy.*

By John S. Harford, Esq. D.C.L. F.R.S.

2. *The Agamemnon*, translated by J. Medwin, Esq.

3. *The Prometheus*, by the same.

4. *Chorusses of Sophocles.* London. 1832.

WE joyfully embrace the opportunity afforded us by the publications we have placed at the commencement of this article, to retreat for a brief season from the distracting tumult and the painful realities of the present age, into the sweet and healthful serenity of the Grecian literature. It is consolatory to reflect, that amid all the changes of thought and feeling, by which the last fifty years have been so peculiarly distinguished, the respect for the ancient masters of poetry and art has undergone little, if any, diminution. Rarely have the Antique Burial Grounds been disturbed by an irreverent footstep, or their monuments defaced by the hand of the spoiler. The poets and philosophers of other lands have passed away like the morning shadows; but Æschylus still binds the enchanted memory to the fearful sufferings of Agamemnon and Orestes, and Plato continues to pour over the soul of the meek and faithful-hearted student the golden beauty of his poetical imagination. Kingdoms and dominations have glided away, and the place where they stood remembers them no more; but the poetry, and the philosophy, and the sculpture, and the history of Greece, still abide and shall abide amongst us for ever! and fortunate it is for us and for the community that they are so preserved. We are not blind and infatuated enthusiasts in our admiration, determined to applaud antiquity merely because it is antiquity; we insist upon a diligent study of the ancient models, because we consider their beauty and system and method to be the beauty and system and method of Nature herself. It was with this impression that the illustrious Raphael employed persons to travel through Italy to procure for his inspection the most valuable remains of ancient art. And let it be recollected, that the nature of the Greeks was of a most refined and harmonious character. The elements of their country appear to have imbibed the influence of the celestial Impersonations by which it was supposed to be inhabited. The extraordinary effects produced by climate upon the habits and sentiments, no less than the physical powers of man, have been often observed. The southern parts of Italy are said by Winckelman to produce men of a more majestic stature than the northern and western districts. The celebrated Herder, in his *Philosophy of Man*, has very ably com-



mented upon this subject. The mental organization is in a great measure accordant with the bodily. If we look, for instance, at the inhabitants of the most northern countries, we discover a singular coolness of feeling, and an almost total absence of passion. Every thing with them is a dull unchangeable reality. They have no visions of beauty, no dreams of unattained excellence, no desires of enjoyment, except of a purely sensual description. But in proportion as the temperature becomes milder, the corporeal and mental form increase in beauty, until they expand into perfect symmetry. When we advance into Lapland, for example, we find the stolid, unmeaning rotundity of the features diminished. The cheeks are lengthened, and the eye assumes a darker and more expressive colour. But if we journey on into the kingdom of Cashmire, the very aspect of humanity seems to be altered. We are carried, as it were, out of a miserable village of mud cottages and wretched peasants into an Eden of enchantment. The men are noble, the women are models of loveliness; their ears are attuned to the combinations of sweet sounds; their delicate hands to the formation of the most elegant works; a gentle temperance of feeling diffuses a calm beauty over their countenances. It was from among these heights of Asia, says the German philosopher, that the tree of beauty was gradually carried into Greece, beneath whose kind and fruitful sky it flourished in perpetual verdure. Lord Bacon has remarked in his *De Augment. Scient.* that climate operates rather on masses than individuals; that it does not force, but incline. It is the balmy atmosphere nourishing the human plant, and cherishing life and warmth in every part. Pauw has speculated very ingeniously upon the peculiar effects of the enlarged state of the optic nerve among the Greeks generally. It is, we believe, a fact physically certain, that no people of this day have the orbit of the eye equally widened. With how much justice the surpassing excellence of the Grecian designs may be attributed to this faculty, we do not pretend to determine. An acuteness of organ scarcely credible is possessed, we know, by some of the oriental tribes: the Calmuc traces smoke when perfectly imperceptible to the straining eyes of the European, and the Arab hears sounds when to one less gifted the silent solitude of the desert is unbroken. We may believe that the balm and serenity of the Grecian clime were transfused into her literature.

We sit down to the perusal of a Grecian tragedy with a solemnity and silence of the mind. We endeavour to lull to sleep for a season all the memories of the world which surrounds us, and to address ourselves in all humbleness and teachableness to the noble instruction before us. A student of the ancient literature

without enthusiasm is like a dead man among the living. The eloquent Winckelman in the ardour of his imagination conceived himself to be transported into the midst of the Olympian Stadium, among the athletes and the chariots; he beheld the triumphant procession; he heard the echoing shout of victory. So it will always be with the genuine critic; he will study the dramas of Sophocles and the dreams of Plato with eyes which paint in the brightest colours every scene to his fancy. When he reads the *Œdipus* the air he breathes will be laden with the perfume of the violets in Colonos, and the familiar sounds around his home will be sweetened with the songs of the nightingales in the poet's birth-place.\* The reasonings of Plato will bring before him the garden where that divinest of earthly philosophers imparted the phantasies of his mind to the enraptured disciples, and the name of the Parthenon will recall to his memory all that is glorious in art or magnificent in conception.

The first attempt to introduce a Greek play upon the English stage was made by George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmarsh, in their translation, or more properly speaking, adaptation, of the *Jocasta* from the *Phænissæ* of Euripides. The interest of their labour will be increased, if we recollect that the *Jocasta* was the second dramatic performance in the language. A classical taste became very general soon after the accession of Elizabeth. The version of the *Andria* of Terence had been printed about thirty years before the commencement of her reign, and was followed at intervals by a series of translations from the same poet, the majority of which were published separately between the years 1559 and 1566. They were written for the most part in fourteen syllable Alexandrines, with the exception of the chorusses, in which metres are indiscriminately mingled. One of the earliest plays, the *Hercules Furens*, was dedicated to one of the most munificent patrons of learning in those days, William Earl of Pembroke.

The merits of the *Jocasta*, considering the season of its production, are by no means contemptible. The scene in which the blind and exiled *Œdipus* is led from the city by the affectionate Antigone, is, we think, very pathetically given. Warton objects with some justice to the unnecessary and weakening circumlocution employed to represent the terse and energetic brevity of the original. But surely the *snip-snap* style (as it has been happily called) of subsequent translators has not prejudiced us in favour of a line for line rendering. It was, however, by no means an

\* It is scarcely necessary to say that we allude to the splendid description of *Colonos* in the *Œdipus at Colonos*.

uncommon boast of the earlier translators, that their version was comprised in exactly the same number of lines as the original.

Gascoigne and his associate appear to have arbitrarily omitted some of the beautiful choral songs of the original, and to have substituted compositions of their own. An extract from one of these interpolated poems may not be unpleasing, since, independent of its intrinsic merit, it furnishes a curious example of the harmony which characterized the works of that early season of the English drama.\*

“ O blissful Concord, bred in sacred breast  
Of Him that guides the restless rolling sky,  
That to the earth, for man's assured rest,  
From light of heaven vouchsafest down to fly,  
In thee alone the mighty power doth lie  
With sweet accord to keep the frowning stars,  
And every planet else, from hurtful wars!

“ In thee, in thee, such noble virtue bydes  
As may command the mightiest gods to bend;  
From thee alone such sugred friendship slydes,  
As mortal wightes can scarcely comprehend—  
To greatest strife thou set'st delightful end:  
O Holy Peace, by thee are only found  
The passing joys that every where abound.

“ When, born of time, returns the lusty Ver,  
By thee alone the buds and blossoms spring;  
The fields with flowers be garnisht every where,  
The blooming trees abundant fruit do bring;  
The cheerful birds melodiously do sing:  
Thou dost appoint the crop of summer's feed,  
For man's relief to serve the winter's need.”

We are induced to add one stanza from another part of the Drama, on account of the very beautiful piety and sacred tenderness which it breathes.

“ How fond is that man in his phantasie,  
Who thinks that Jove, the master of us all,  
And he that tempers all in Heaven on high,  
The sun, the moon, the stars celestial,  
So that no leaf without his leave can fall,  
Hath not in him omnipotence also  
To guide and govern all things here below!  
O blinded eyes and wretched mortal wights—  
O subject slaves to every ill that lights!—  
To 'scape such woe, such pain, such shame and scorn,  
Happy were he that never had been born!”

In conformity with the spirit and habits of the age, every Act

\* We have in most places taken the liberty of adopting the modern orthography.

of the *Jocasta* is introduced by a *Dumme Shew*. The introduction to the first Act commences thus—"And before the beginning of the first act did sound a doleful and strange noise of violles, bandusion, and such like, during the which there came in upon the stage a king with an imperial crown upon his head, being richly apparelled, a sceptre in his right hand, sitting in a chariot very richly furnished, drawn in by foure kings in their doublettes and hosen with crownes also upon their heads." The doublets and hosen are very good, but they are exceeded by the *Dumme Shew* to the fourth act. "Before the beginning of the fourth act the trumpets sounded, the drummes and fifes, and a great peal of ordinance was shot off, in the which there entered upon the stage seven knights." We quote from the early and scarce edition. Among the earliest foreign translators of Greek poetry may be numbered Ludovico Dolce, who was born at Venice in 1508. Tiraboschi has left a portrait of him by no means flattering to the vanity of an author. Ludovico Dolce, says the laborious historian, was orator, grammarian, rhetorician, philosopher, a poet at once tragic and comic, epic, lyric, and satyric, editor, translator, and collector; he wrote in every style and excelled in none. Probably the most singular circumstance in his history is the fact of his having been buried in the same tomb with Ruscelli, a literary man with whom he had, through the greater part of his life, been continually and bitterly quarrelling. No less than seventy works are attributed to him, among others the tragedies of *Medea*, *Didone*, *Ifigenia*, *Agamemnone*, *Thieste*, *Hecuba*, and *Mariana*.

Italy indeed has been more than ordinarily prodigal in translations from Euripides. We have now before us three separate versions of the *Cyclops*, a work which possesses certainly far less poetical interest than almost any other production of the author. The first by Antonio Maria Salvini was published in 1728; the second by Girolamo Zanetti in 1749, and the third by Francesco Angiolini in 1782. We cannot resist the temptation of saying a few words upon Salvini, one of the dullest and most laborious *litterateurs* of any age or country. He was born at Florence in 1653, and applied himself with so much ardour to philological studies, particularly Greek and Latin, that at the early age of twenty-three he was named professor of Greek. He now took upon himself the difficult duties of translator, an occupation which he never afterwards relinquished. Salvini partook in the opinion, at that period and even now by no means uncommon among the learned, that nothing is wanting to form a translator but a knowledge of the original language, and certainly he rarely makes use of any other qualification. He almost always presents

us with the wrong side of the tapestry, and when he does give the picture correctly to our eyes, it is generally cold and lifeless, destitute alike of colour and expression. His translations were poured out with amazing rapidity, we cannot undertake to give a catalogue of them, or the dates of their publication, but the following instances may suffice. In 1717 he published the Poems of Theocritus; in 1723, the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer, together with the Hymns; in 1726 the Satires of Persius into the *Verso Toscano*. In 1736 *Casaubon on the Satirical Poetry of the Greeks*, and the Cyclops of Euripides; in 1747 Hesiod, and in 1763 Callimachus. We have omitted several classical works, and have not taken any notice of the compositions on other subjects with which the professor varied his labours. In the preface to his *Persius* he alludes to a translation of Virgil which he had in contemplation, but which has never been published. Two copies of it as far as the eighth book are now, we believe, in existence at Florence, and may be procured by any enthusiastic collector.

But it was to Carmeli (another of the numerous band of scholars for which Italy in the eighteenth century was so remarkable) that the Italians are indebted for a complete translation of the Dramas of Euripides including the fragments. Carmeli was professor of theology at Padua, where he died in 1766. His version does not appear from the examination we have made, to deserve the eulogy bestowed upon it in the *Biblioteca* of Paitoni. It is dry and bald without being always literal, and the notes are frequently puerile and unnecessary; as when he gravely assures us that  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega$  is contracted from  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\epsilon\pi\omega$  and  $\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$  from  $\acute{o}$   $\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ . Reiske wrote a very acute and condemnatory criticism upon it in the fiftieth volume of the *Acta Eruditorum* (anno 1748), which called forth a reply from the irritated professor, a notice of which was inserted in the fifty-third volume of the *Acta*.

The attention of the Italian *litterateurs* seems to have been almost entirely confined, (in dramatic poetry we mean) to the plays of Euripides. We do not at this time remember any version of Æschylus, with the exception of the *Prometeo* of Michel Angelo Giacomelli, which was published at Rome in 1754. Giacomelli, who was a native of Pistoia where he was born in 1695, was very early distinguished by his profound theological knowledge; he was moreover an able mathematician and a scholar perfectly conversant with the treasures of ancient and modern literature. His chief employment was the study of eloquence. But his promotion was principally attributable to his translation of St. Chrysostom upon the *Priesthood* (we quote from memory) which so delighted the reigning Pontiff, Clement XIII. that he instantly appointed Giacomelli to the situation of Latin secretary.

The death of his patron blighted his prospects. But amid all his numerous occupations he found time to devote to the classics. Besides the *Prometheus*, he translated the *Electra* of Sophocles which was published in the same year. We are rather inclined to differ from one of Giacomelli's biographers in our estimate of his *Prometeo*. The soft and liquid harmony of the Italian is perhaps more adapted to render the tenderness of Euripides than the bold and magnificent imagery of Æschylus. If the *Prometeo* be wanting in the fire and animation of the Poet, it is nevertheless characterized by the polished correctness of the scholar. Some of the notes we are inclined to think interesting and ingenious. We omitted to mention a version of the *Phænissæ Le Feniciane*, by Zaccaria Vallaresso, a Venetian senator, in 1714.

Among the French translations of Greek plays we shall only mention, as the least known, the *Iphigénie d' Euripide tournée de Grec en François*, by M. Thomas Sibilet, which was printed in Paris in 1549. Sibilet was educated for the Bar, but, unfortunately for himself as well as the interests of poetry, he appears to have devoted a small portion of his time only to the studies of his profession. Upon his return from a tour in Italy he favoured the public with a version of a little tract by an Italian, (Fraschi,) of which the French title is *Manière de bien Embrider les Chevaux*. From a man who could gravely occupy himself with such a task we could not certainly expect to receive a very excellent poem.

His *Iphigénie* was published anonymously, a circumstance which distressed Duverdier, who seriously expresses his fears that the initials T. S. may be mistaken for *Touissaint Sottin* or *Tristan Savetier*, names with which we cannot flatter ourselves that our readers are familiarly acquainted. The *Iphigénie* is written in rhyme, and in various measures; it was intended by the author to contain every species of poetical rhythm, and he always regretted that he had been unable to introduce the *rondeau*! The reader who shall take the trouble to glance into the play will think the company of metres numerous enough already. In some of the chorusses the lines consist of two words, a species of versification employed in modern times by Victor Hugo, who has always been, it may be recollected, among the most enthusiastic revolutionisers of the school of the classicists. A similar mode of rhythm was adopted by Lazarus de Baif in his version of the *Hecuba*, which is said to have been printed by Robert Stephens in 1550.

These desultory remarks have brought us back to the Anglo-Grecian theatre, and the translations before us especially. Potter's Æschylus was the first attempt, and continues to be the only one hitherto made, to produce an entire version of the plays of



**Æschylus.** With great fluency of diction and considerable harmony and variety of metre, Potter failed, notwithstanding, in retaining the peculiar spirit of the Greek—a failure to be accounted for in part by the imperfect text which he often followed. It would be almost impossible to read a single page in either of his tragedies without discovering one or more errors at least. In the choral hymns, particularly, he often sinks beneath the difficulties of the original. We were surprised to see a contrary opinion expressed in the preface to a volume of *Popular Specimens of the Greek Dramatic Poets*, published in the Family Library. Since the publication of Potter's quartos, several translations of single plays have appeared. Among the versions of the *Agamemnon* alone, may be enumerated those of Boyd, Symmons, Kennedy, &c. and the recent contributions of Harford and Medwin.

The costly volume of Dr. Harford claims precedence of the modest looking little book (or rather pamphlet) of Mr. Medwin.

Quarles, in his *Enchiridion*, says, speaking of dress, that the body is the husk of the soul, and apparel is the husk of that shell. The husk, he continues, often tells you what the kernel is. He might have added (as probably he did, for we have not the book at hand to consult,) that when the apparel is very splendid the kernel is generally of very little value. The aphorism is not without its application to the book before us. The illustrations from Flaxman's designs are exquisitely antique, and the gems are gems in reality; but we should be wanting in sincerity if we said that we have derived much information from the preliminary dissertation, or any considerable degree of pleasure from the translation itself. We perfectly coincide with Dr. Harford in thinking that happy medium very easily described, but rarely attained, "by which the sense of a classical poet is transfused into another tongue, in a style and manner not only poetical but which recall the original to a critical reader." The fault which we find with Dr. Harford's version is its want of enthusiasm. His thoughts do not breathe, neither do his words burn. He does not seem to have written with a flushed cheek and a glowing eye, as the glorious author himself may be supposed to have done, and hence he is greatly inferior to Symmons, whose *Agamemnon*, making allowance for the paraphrastic licenses in which it abounds, is among the most perfect translations in the language. Perhaps we shall make ourselves better understood if we say that Dr. Harford appears to us to be an abler scholar than he is a poet. He resembles one who fully appreciates a statue of Canova but is totally unable to copy it. His hand will not second his eye. We, of course, only allude to the *Agamemnon* of Dr. Harford viewed as a whole; it may,

and undoubtedly does possess passages which do him great credit and are removed from the influence of these remarks. We shall endeavour to select one of these in the course of the present article. Although we cannot hope to be found among that band of eminent scholars to whom Dr. Harford addresses himself in becoming confidence, we hope that we are equally disposed with them to offer a temperate and carefully weighed judgment. A reviewer ought to keep in mind the words of the illustrious Montesquieu—*Je demande une grace, que je crains qu'on ne m'accorde pas; c'est de ne pas juger par la lecture d'un moment d'un travail de vingt années, d'approuver ou de condamner le livre entier, et non pas quelque phrases.*

Mr. Medwin is altogether a different translator from Dr. Harford. His extensive qualifications for his new office are stated in the following extract from the Preface to the Prometheus.

“ I shall not enumerate,” says Mr. Medwin, “ the different editions I have consulted in the progress of this undertaking. None are implicitly to be trusted: I do not speak of the Prometheus, but of the Agamemnon and the rest—(*what?*); nor shall I do more than allude to the correspondence I have long held with a modern Greek and other learned foreigners on the doubtful passages. Besides which, I possessed the advantage of studying these tragedies with two of the most elegant, not to say the best scholars I have ever known—Shelley and Prince Mavrocordato. One thing I still lament, that the Escorial MSS. had not been collated before I begun my imperfect and unworthy labours.”

We may be pardoned for lingering a few moments upon this singular passage. We have no right to complain of the summary manner in which Mr. Medwin dismisses all the editions of the Greek plays, but we must say that our curiosity is excited to learn something of this “ modern Greek and other learned foreigners,” with whom so interesting a correspondence has been maintained. If Mr. Medwin's friend be a Pythagorean, and so have passed through a series of transmigrations from the time of Aristotle until now, he may perhaps be able to furnish some illustrative commentary upon the poet; otherwise we much fear that his assistance will prove of little avail. With respect to the Escorial MSS., however much we may regret that they were not collated before Mr. Medwin began his labours, we must confess that our anticipations of their value are not very sanguine. We are told in a note that the MSS. came from the Arabs, and that their history is a singular one. We should be inclined to think so too. We wonder what opinion the inhabitants of the Desert formed of their contents, and whether any marginal notes or glosses have been added. Of Prince Mavrocordato, of whose

classical attainments Mr. Medwin speaks so enthusiastically, we beg with great diffidence to express our ignorance.

Before we proceed to our observations upon the characters of the Dramatic Poets, we will make a remark which has been suggested to us by the translation of the opening lines in the *Agamemnon* and the explanatory note. We allude to the warder's soliloquy, which M. Medwin says, seems to him impossible to be rendered "other than familiarly;" and so by way of accomplishing this desirable simplification of the high-flown language of *Æschylus*, he calls the watchman a *Vidette*, (a name we will venture to affirm never applied to the servant of *Clytemnestra* before,) and talks about the λαμπροὶ δυνασταὶ being dazzling *Dynasters*, and of λαμπτήρ νυκτός being a *night dancer*, and so on. What the precise meaning of *dynasters* may be we are unable to determine, but we know that the Greek words signify *radiant rulers*, and are in part rendered by Milton when he calls the sun *Regent of day*. Surely M. Medwin does not believe that λαμπτήρ νυκτός means a *night dancer*. There is something very poetical and picturesque in the *Bacchanal of night*, by which he renders the Beacon-light; but he should not give it as the version of the Greek.

*Æschylus* may be said, metaphorically, to be the father of the greater portion of those magnificent creations which peopled the Athenian stage during the period of its prosperity. He led forth the muse of Tragic poetry from the dissolute revelry of a village festivity, and placed her within the charmed circle of his sublime dramas. The theatre was a powerful agent in the administration, and it speedily assumed a high national character, and exerted an extraordinary influence upon the habits and feelings of the people. This assertion is in a measure supported by the large salaries paid to the actors and musicians. Amœbeus, a singer in ancient Athens, received an Attic Talent, about 24*l.* for each appearance; and in a Corcyrean inscription 83 minas, or something more than 332*l.*, are stated to have been the pay of three auletæ, three tragic, and three comic actors, for a festivity, besides all the expenses of their maintenance, which were very considerable. The love of dramatic amusements was not confined to Athens alone, but extended into the provinces. We find accordingly that the country engagements of the distinguished actors were very lucrative, so much so that Aristodemus is said to have gained a talent in two days, or even in one. This exceeds the *starring* system, as it is called, of the present day, and may be a little startling to those who are wont to dilate upon the immense revenues of actors and singers upon the English stage.

"Out of upwards of seventy tragedies which *Æschylus* composed,"

says Dr. Harford, "seven only have survived the ravages of time, so that our actual means of judging of the extent of his poetical powers are very limited. Among these, however, are some, the Agamemnon, the Seven Chiefs, and the Prometheus, that as long as they exist will never cease to class among the finest productions of human genius. Homer himself has not more strongly individualized his Hector, his Ajax, his Achilles, than Æschylus his Agamemnon, his Clytemnestra, his Prometheus. In pouring forth the ardent emotions of his mind, recital and narrative are often suddenly converted into picturesque delineation or bold personification. Perhaps there is no poet, ancient or modern, Shakespeare and Milton alone excepted, from whose writings more striking instances might be cited of what Horace acutely styles *disjecti membra poetæ*, that is to say, the shreds of sentences so finely expressed as to be themselves poetry. The 'vermeil-tinctured lip,' the 'tresses like the Morn' of Milton, 'the spirit-stirring drum,' the 'eye-train'd bird,' the 'tender leaves of hope,' of Shakespeare, are instances of this description, and may be contrasted with the *μαλθακὸν ὀμματῶν βέλος*, the *Δηξιθυμὸν ἔρωτος ἀνθος*, the *δορυτινακτὸς αἰθρῇ ἐπιμαίνεται*, of Æschylus."

We are happy to quote this criticism, because we think it generally correct and elegant. With the exception of the *Philoctetes* and *Œdipus* of Sophocles, and the *Bacchæ* of Euripides, we are not aware of many passages purely descriptive of nature in the tragic poets. In the *Agamemnon* we have a very lively picture of the passing the Fire signal, which was to inform Clytemnestra of the fall of Troy. We are not going to enter into an examination of the geographical question which has been raised as to the possibility of transmitting a signal by fire from Mount Ida to Argos, along the stations enumerated in Æschylus. Both Vossius and Casaubon coincide in a belief of the practicability of the performance. Throughout the whole course of its transmission the fire is never absent from our eyes—we behold it bounding along mountain crags to Lemnos, and flinging its burning shadow upon the waters of Euripus. The Minstrel of the North in his spirited ballad affords the most accurate idea of the Greek poet's picture. But the interest of the scene will be increased when we remember that even in the present day the signal-fires continue to be lighted in the hilly districts of Greece. Chateaubriand alludes to them in his travels. Upon his arrival at the house of an Athenian, a friend of the French ambassador, he hastened to a hill in the neighbourhood of the village in the hope of descrying an Austrian vessel, but without success. In the evening they lighted a fire with myrtle and heather, (the *ερεϊκη* of Æschylus,) upon the mountain, and stationed a goatherd to inform him without delay of the arrival of the boats from Zea. The use of fire signals seems to have been very generally diffused

through the East and many parts of Europe. We discover frequent allusions to them in the Old Testament. We have met with a passage in Lightfoot's *Temple Service* which illustrates the analogy between the Greek and Hebrew customs. After the Sanhedrim had determined the observation of the new moon, they caused a person to go upon Mount Olivet, "with a bundle of combustible wood and other stuffe, and there he set it on fire, and waved it up and down, this way and that way, and never left until he saw another do so on another hill, and so another on a third, and those that took it from him they waved their blazes up and down till they were answered with the like from another hill, and so the intelligence was quickly dispersed throughout the whole land."—*Lightfoot's Temple Service*, p. 122.

The approach of the Caravans which travel from the Nile to Cosseir on the Red Sea are still announced by fires kindled along the mountains. But our anxiety to illustrate the description of Æschylus has led us away from the contemplation of his character. The story of Bacchus appearing to the poet, and inciting him to the composition of Tragedy is a felicitous illustration of his genius. We behold the flush of wine and the boiling joy of the banquet in his imagery; he seems to have basked in the vineyards, and quaffed the nectar with the god of his inspiration. But wild and passionate as he was, he had a heart open to all the influences of sweet charities. Like the immortal Shakespeare, he could "play with Love" with the tenderness of a child. Upon that book of "iron leaves" which he delighted to display to the terrified spectators, the gleams of a soft and delicate fancy were continually flashing. His portrait of Helen, in the *Agamemnon*, palpitates with all the voluptuous beauty of Anacreon—every epithet is a picture. But we purpose confining our present remarks to the most simply grand and original of all his surviving tragedies—the *Prometheus*.

A subject in its nature essentially grand receives an additional sublimity from the simplicity with which it is embodied. Some of the outlines of Michael Angelo convey a more perfect idea of mental greatness than the elaborate compositions of many illustrious painters. The fault of the moderns, as De Staël acutely remarks in her *Corinne*, is that *they say too much*—they leave scarcely anything to the imagination. They are never contented without they put into the hand of the reader the thread which is to guide him out of the mystery in which he wanders. The system of the later dramatists is founded upon the *complication* of the passions, that of the Greeks upon the *unity*. Simplicity of design is indeed the only just canon of sublimity. The harmony which most especially delights us, says Winckelman, is not the deli-

cately linked *ingenuity* of the skilful composer, but the one touching unornamented melody which dies away in pathos upon the heart. This was, undoubtedly, the character of the ancient music, into which, as in the case of their statues, they admitted no violent and melo-dramatic inversions of sober grace. Haydn showed M. Bombet a hymn which he had heard sung at St. Paul's in unison by 4000 children, and this simple and natural air, he added, afforded him greater pleasure than he had ever received from the performance of music.

Now this simplicity is the peculiar characteristic of *Æschylus*, and the one in which his rivals and contemporaries have the least participation.

In the *Prometheus* we are lifted out of the circle of humanity and carried past the bounds of the habitable world into frozen solitudes where the heart faints with fear and wonder. All the sounds of earth and the voices of mortality cease in our ears. We hear nothing, save the wild screaming of the wind among the desolate crags of Mount Caucasus, and the melancholy roar of the ocean beneath. But the very horror of the scene imparts an energy to the soul of the poet. The Titan walks in serene power amid the convulsed elements of nature. We endeavour to escape from the spell which he casts around us, but in vain; we are held in the mighty irresistibility of his grasp; we stand face to face with the immortal impersonations of Strength and Force, the fearful servants of Destiny, beneath whose giant power the vigour of the god-like *Prometheus* is poured out like water. The contemplation gives an unnatural magnitude to our ideas, and we rise by degrees higher and higher until we stand upon a level with the poet's conception. The awful silence which surrounds the human Benefactor when the Tormentors have departed is solemnly sublime. We can almost fancy that the light sound of a leaf driven from the pine trees along the ridges of the mountain, might be distinctly heard! But wild and unearthly as the *Prometheus* is, our sympathies are nevertheless enlisted in behalf of the sufferer. It is for the sake of man that all these horrors are accumulated upon his head; it is for having imparted to mortals the knowledge possessed by the inhabitants of Olympus, that he is nailed to the inclement promontory's side,

Where never sound of human voice, nor form,  
Nor face of man shall he perceive, but where  
Unsheltered from the burning sun, its flame  
Shall change the bloom of beauty."

It is because he stood between man and perdition that all this sickness of heart is fallen upon him, that in the morning he cries



for night, and in the night watches for the morning. His sole crime was pity—pity for the weak and oppressed and those who had none to help them. In the midst of this supernatural generosity and dignity of mind we discover no lurking principle of self-interest. The Prometheus of Æschylus is the martyr of humanity. The image of a mighty and commiserating Being, who should alleviate all the sorrows of the mortal life, is dimly seen amid the thick darkness of the ancient superstitions. It was one of those emanations from the multifarious body of Holy Truth, which cast a light along the shadowy paths of the antique mythology. If Prometheus has vindicated the cause of man with the might and energy of which a giant only was capable, he pays the penalty of his deeds in a sorrow and anguish which a giant only could endure. The poet represents him in the appalling attitude of a rebellious creature who has been struck down by the blasting arm of an incensed divinity. The very power of foresight only increases the horror of his torments—he pierces into the caverns of future years, and he sees nothing but pain—unslumbering, undying pain! None but a God can bind those fetters, or gird his limbs with those rings of adamant. At length the ministers of the wrath of Jupiter depart, and then he gives the bitterness of his torture free course. We think that Mr. Medwin has been very successful in preserving the wild and *mocelé* character of the original.

“ Best and divinest air! ye swift winged winds!  
 Ye river springs! and ocean billows! ye  
 That countless in your multitudes laugh out  
 With long loud peals—exulting to be free!  
 Earth, universal mother of all life!  
 And thou, O Sun, whose eye pierces all nature,  
 You I invoke, look on me what I suffer  
 From Gods—a God! I call on you, behold  
 What infinite agonies I have to bear,  
 Infinite ages! witness what vile chains  
 This new raised king of the Gods has forged for me.  
 Ai. Ai. the present and the coming lot!  
 Eternity of agonies! woe for ever!  
 What do I say? and was the future hid  
 From my fore-knowledge—did I not foresee  
 All that should come upon me?—let me then bear,  
 As becomes me best, the doom of fate,  
 Bowing to the inexorable might  
 Of stern necessity. Wretch that I am!  
 Where shall I look for fortitude to bear  
 In silence, or what solace can I seek  
 In telling all I bear?—why am I yoked

With these inevitable ills—alas !  
Was not my gift a blessing to mankind ?  
True, I for them from heaven's own fountain stole  
A spark of fire :—but did not fire give light,  
Teaching all arts to render less the sum  
Of human misery, and enable man  
The better to support the load of being ?  
This is the front of my offence—and now  
What is the sentence I am doomed to meet ?  
Indissoluble chains, and to converse  
With everlasting groans, prison'd beneath  
This dungeon vault of the air—  
Woe, woe for ever !”

Thus does the mighty sufferer pour out the cries of his grief, when on a sudden he hears a sound of some creature approaching in the still air. His mingled fear and wonder are beautifully portrayed.

“ Hush ! hark ! what do I hear ? again !  
What echoes steal along ? what means that sound—  
Whence are those odours sweeter than all sound  
Of voice or instrument, filling every sense—  
Come they from earth or heaven ?  
And what art thou, or God, or man,  
Or creature of the elements, composed  
Of some mixed essence ?—let me question why  
Thou thus dost visit earth's extremest bound.  
What wouldest thou here ? with me—say art thou come  
To look upon my woes, perhaps to insult—  
Behold, whoever thou art, a sight of horror  
Eye never saw ; look if thou darest on me,  
Hated by Jove, and no less hated by  
The inhabitants of heaven, on me a being  
Of an immortal nature, exiled from  
The abodes of immortality, and bound  
For having loved mankind with too much love—  
Bound as you see—this was my only crime.  
Woe's me ! again what onward rustling plumes  
Winnow the yielding air with the quick stroke  
Of alternating pinions ? near ! more near !  
All that approaches now I fear ! I fear !

In the *Prometheus* the poet breaks all the controlling bounds of the unities in sunder. The monumental grandeur of his drama towers up from amid a region of shadows. To the eye of the French critic we doubt not that it presented the *bizarre* appearance which he ridicules. Voltaire had laughed at the Athenian Stage before him. But the introduction of *Io*, the victim of the same tyranny which has vanquished *Prometheus*, though

abhorrent from all probability, accords with the nature of the tragedy. She has put off her humanity, but her misery clings to her like a garment. The spectre of Argus is still by her side, as terrible as when that earth-born herdsman was sent to watch her footsteps at the fount of Lerna. Wherever she turns her gaze that fearful apparition starts up into life before her! She petitions Prometheus to instruct her in the events of her future fate, but he hesitates, because he fears to "rack her breast."

The poet, with infinite skill, has put this expression of tenderness in the mouth of Prometheus, in order that we may more intently sympathise with the majesty of his mind. Although wintering in this waste of rocks for the sake of man, he has still an ear open to his complainings, and an affectionate wish to alleviate his sorrows. But we must pass on more rapidly. The vigour of Prometheus increases with his pains: the outward form has been scathed by the lightning, and shaken by the winds of heaven, but the stature of the inner man grows mightier every hour. When Mercury comes, the herald of Jupiter, commissioned to obtain the secret of the fatal and predestined marriage, the sufferer flings back with contempt both his offers of pardon and his threats of vengeance. He folds up the secret in his bosom in the hope of beholding, at no distant day, the storm of ruin come down upon the head of his oppressor. Let the arrows of fire be launched against his unprotected breast—he laughs them to scorn! In the burning arms of the hurricane itself he will preserve his liberty and his hatred. But the end of this dreadful tragedy is drawing nigh. The parley between the god and the sufferer is finished. For a moment there is a silence, and then—it comes—it comes!—the tempest of living fire! The convulsed earth heaves and staggers to and fro; the sky and the ocean are dashed together; the rocks are rent asunder, and darkness descends upon the closing scene of the agony of Prometheus.

The age of Sophocles was the summer of Grecian thought. With the rapidly advancing cultivation of the public mind, the rough and fervid energy of Æschylus began to be harmonized into beauty and tenderness. The muse of Athenian poesy had been dreaming the Mænad dream of a terrible and tempestuous sublimity; the faces of Sophocles and Euripides shone beautifully upon her waking. Æschylus had already built the temple of immortal song, and it remained only to cover it with the "golden Architrave," and flute the pillars into more delicate proportions. If Sophocles yielded to his mighty rival the palm of a bold and daring imagination, he infinitely surpassed him in the sweet and pellucid purity of his fancy, and the graceful arrangement of his

story and its incidents. If we may apply to the drama a phrase more especially adapted to sculpture, we should say, that Sophocles excelled particularly in the harmonic adjustment of the parts to the spirit of the whole. The symmetry of his dramas, to continue the metaphor, will be found to admit of no alteration or change of parts; it would be as impossible to incorporate a portion of the *Œdipus* with the *Philoctetes*, as to join an arm of Praxiteles' *Venus* to the *Minerva* of Phidias.

Æschylus aspired after the grand and the magnificent; Sophocles worshipped the calm and the beautiful. Æschylus was a mighty painter of thoughts, but he manifested his power principally in the masses of light or shade which were swept over his pictures, and in the gigantic outlines by which his figures were indicated. His pencil was dipped either in the thickest darkness or the most delicate light: he rarely condescends to employ the intermediate tints. But Sophocles was endowed with the most untiring patience and the most accomplished art: his words are hues, and, like the colours of some of the Italian painters, they seem warm with the life of the poet's mind. Beauty delights especially to dwell upon the bosom of quiet and meditative thought, and the pavilion in which she loves to abide must be removed from the noise and discordant sounds of turmoil and passion.

Sophocles is related to have possessed all the qualities requisite to attach the inspiring love of this priestess of the imagination. He was lovely in person, gentle in manners, serene in disposition, and he communicated much of this charm to his poetry. He moves with bland and delicious influence among the terrible and ghastly forms to which the legends of his country gave birth. His presence diffuses an ambrosial light upon the dark and heavy atmosphere which so frequently overhangs the characters of his dramas. Even the appalling features, and the sleepless eyes of *Destiny* itself, assume before him a softer aspect and a calmer expression. He loosens the iron chains of Fatalism by which all the members, so to speak, of the Grecian mind were bound and made captive, or he wreaths them with flowers to conceal them from the observation. We almost forget the wretched and afflicted *Œdipus* when we contemplate the affectionate *Antigone*.

The great skill of Sophocles in what Coleridge calls the science of method may be remarked in the gradual developement of the incidents in the *Electra*. The introduction of the *Orestes* upon the stage as the feigned bearer of his own ashes is very picturesquely conceived, and the pathetic manner in which his sorrowful sister takes the urn into her hands has never been surpassed in any composition with which we are acquainted. Her agonizing

apostrophe, to borrow a phrase of Dr. South, seems "to be compacted of grief." Can any thing exceed the poignant anguish of the following lines :

"Thou hast undone me, O my dearest brother !  
 Thou hast indeed undone me ! Therefore now  
 Receive, receive me to thy narrow home,  
 To thee, who now art nothing, would I come,  
 Who shall be nothing soon, in the cold grave  
 Henceforth to dwell together. While in life  
 I ever shared thy lot, and now in death  
 I ask but to partake thy sepulchre,  
 The dead I see are grieved no more for ever !"

We quote from the translation of Sophocles, by the Reverend Thomas Dale, and we may take this opportunity of offering him our tribute of praise for the general accuracy and elegance which characterise it.

The appearance of Euripides as a dramatic writer was coeval with the departure of Æschylus from Athens. He enjoyed to the greatest possible extent all the advantages afforded to the student in that accomplished era—his master in rhetoric was Prodicus, the most fashionable sophist of that day, and whose lectures were so expensive that he became known by the appellation of the Fifty Drachma Rhetorician. He studied philosophy under Anaxagoras, who appears to have opened a school in Athens, about his fortieth year, and who numbered among his pupils not only the illustrious Pericles, but, according to Suidas, the almost Christian Socrates. Probably we shall not err in attributing some of the defects of the poetry of Euripides to the peculiar aptitude with which he imbibed the sophistries of his instructors. He too frequently works the pure gold of his poetry into the glittering but fragile ornaments of the rhetorician. He appears to have prided himself upon the esoteric knowledge he had acquired, and to have allowed willingly no opportunity to escape him of manifesting this knowledge. The voluptuous elegance of his friend Pericles possessed a particular charm for the philosophic poet. He drank copiously of that *liqueur enivrante* which the Athenian statesman presented to his countrymen. The administration of Pericles comprises the most splendid portion of Athenian art and literature. He was the Magnificent of his age. If he drew out immense sums from the treasury, it was with a view of embellishing the city, and not for the purposes of private aggrandisement. He himself was abstemious in the midst of abundance. Among a people whose passions were so lively as those of the Athenians, so susceptible of every external impression, we may conclude that a character like that of Pericles must have

been enthusiastically admired. Valcknaër has gracefully alluded to this fact in one of his inaugural discourses, when he says, that he seemed to be popular even in his very severity.\* But to return to Euripides. When he first directed his mind to the drama, the names of Æschylus and Sophocles were the familiar symbols of sublimity and beauty; his only chance of success therefore was to be sought in a style which should unite to the majestic dignity of Sophocles a more delicate pathos and a more voluptuous colouring. Perhaps the excessive refinement which the prosperity of later years had introduced, might have predisposed the minds of the Athenians to the reception of the soft and harmonious images which his poetry suggested. Even the delicious languor of his verse has an intoxicating influence upon the senses. Some of his pictures of nature are charming in the extreme. How beautifully does he lead down the rejoicing *Bacchæ* from the golden heights of Mount Tmolus, while the frequent *Evoe! Evoe!* keep time with the deep-toned timbrel! But sometimes he rises in strength and power—terrible in the gigantic horror of his conceptions—we cease to listen to the soft and silver-lipped sophist. When the bow of his imagination is strung, the arrows it flings forth are like the lightning.

The *Medea* is the most powerful effort of his mind. The fiery blood of the Spirit of the Sun, from whom she is descended, seems to boil in her veins. Forsaken and despised by him for whom she has dared so much, all the affections of her heart are driven back—a desolate and hated woman, she now feels the whole weight of her calamity. The pathetic soliloquy of the nurse at the commencement of the tragedy places *Medea* at once before us. Her love for the treacherous Jason is not entirely destroyed. She passes her time in grief and mourning; a day of tears is succeeded by a night of watching. She turns a deaf ear to the entreaties of her friends; and then, all at once, the remembrance of her father, her ruined home, her alienated friends, returns with bitter violence. She hates her betrayer and even her children. Her passions swell like a storm. In proportion to the rapidity with which the feeling of affection declines, the desire of vengeance arises in its stead. She is a lioness thirsting for blood, and she tracks the way to her victims with fatal calmness and ingenuity. The mighty enchantress becomes, as it were, by a powerful metempsychosis, a creature full of meekness and humanity. She submits herself humbly to the Corinthian women who form the Chorus; she bows to the commands of Creon; she is an obedient suppliant to Ægeus.

\* *De Publicis Atheniensium Moribus.* Leyden, 1766.



In her conversation with the Chorus she restrains the feelings of wrath which are continually striving to break forth. Upon the command of Creon that she should depart from his territory without delay, she only entreats to be allowed one day to "recollect her thoughts," and make some provision for her sons. Into that brief space of time she intends to crowd a mass of suffering! In her interview with Jason the fury and jealousy of her mind overcome her prudence and hypocrisy. She rejects his offers of assistance, and flings him from her with scorn and contempt. All the arrows, to employ the metaphor of the Chorus, which had been shot from the golden bow of Venus are now dipped in deadly poison. But it is not until she has succeeded in obtaining a promise, confirmed by an oath, from Ægeus, of protection and support in the hour of peril, that she can be said to deliver herself entirely up to the dominion of her passion. But this being accomplished, she "blows the last remains of her love," like a vapour, to heaven. She bids her affection yield up its throne "to tyrannous hate." Meanwhile her craft increases with her iniquity. She sends for Jason, and asks his forgiveness for the intemperance of her former conduct; entreating him to obtain for her children the protection of his young and powerful bride, and permission to remain in the country. To propitiate her favour she sends presents,

" Whose beauteous lustre far outshines  
Whate'er of radiance human eyes have seen,  
A fire-wrought robe, a gold-entwined crown."

They were gifts of the Sun to his descendants.

The story leaps on to its fatal resting-place with dreadful strides. The shadows of death begin to arise about us. That gold-entwined crown and that glittering garment are the raiment and the ornament of the dead. The daughter of Creon will be the Bride of the Grave. When Medea learns that the sentence of banishment passed upon her children has been remitted, a terrible conflict arises in her bosom. Pride and love, jealousy and hatred, the forsaken wife and the yearning mother,—all are doing battle together. She gazes upon her sons, and they smile affectionately in her face—she knows that it will be their last smile—that in an hour the lids will close upon those eyes for ever. As the image of their gentle youth rises before her, the deed of blood recedes from her contemplation. She cannot do it. She becomes infirm of purpose; the iron grasp of revenge relaxes its tension—the calm lasts but for a moment, and the tide of her fury returns with fourfold power, sweeping every softer feeling before it.

Shall she leave her children exposed to the malignant scoffings and revilings of the rich and prosperous in a strange land? No! she has entered the path of blood, and it must be trodden; destiny has dug the tombs of her children, and they must be filled.

At this period the messenger rushes on the stage announcing the horrible death of the monarch's daughter. The account is fearfully picturesque. The joy with which the young bride received the presents—the apparelling herself before the mirror—the dainty and delighted step with which she walked up and down her chamber; and then the sudden change which came over her dream; the horror when the poison took effect; the gradual drying up of life—the shriek of torture—the stiffening eye—the golden crown eating with its teeth of fire into her brain—the garment scorching the very bones—all these awful items in the catalogue of misery are given with startling truth. At length in total exhaustion she sinks upon the floor. The wretched father flies to take her in his arms, and immediately becomes a prey to the same magical potency of pain. He is folded, as it were, within arms of flame—he strives to extricate himself, but in vain. The father and the daughter sleep side by side! The recital of the sufferings of her rival seem to have sharpened rather than gorged the appetite of blood. It grows enamoured of what it feeds on. Her children are the final sacrifice.

Schlegel considers it fortunate for Shakespeare that he lived in an age extremely susceptible of noble and tender impressions, yet retaining enough of the firmness inherited from a bold and manly ancient time, not to shrink with dismay from every strong and violent picture. He could not certainly be said, in the words of a clever writer, to have lived “before nerves came into fashion,” but in his day they were braced into energy by the pure and invigorating air of the moral element in which men moved. The swoon of a love-sick lady at that season made a poor catastrophe to a tragedy. The observation of the German critic is not inapplicable to the Grecian poet. The *Medea* is perhaps, taken all in all, one of the most sublimely conceived and pathetically executed dramas in existence. The contending passions in the mind of the enchantress are thrown, to so speak, into a most vigorous relieve. They have the ardour of *Æschylus*, rather than the polish of *Euripides*. But the pathos is at once recognized to belong to the author of *Hecuba*. The farewell of the guilty mother to her children calls the tears into our eyes; to use a quaint yet expressive phrase of Charles Lamb, in his criticism upon *King Lear*,—*it flays our feelings alive*. We never recollect to have entered so entirely into the noble imagining of the poet, as when gazing upon the sublime representation of the *Medea*

by the inimitable Pasta. The soul of the great magician seemed to have passed into her frame. Her passions were colossal.

But there is one scene in the *Orestes* which we believe the general consent of criticism has elevated to the highest rank of poetry. We mean that scene in which the madness and returning calmness of the afflicted *Orestes* are so pathetically portrayed.

The story of *Orestes* is one of the most essentially tragic in existence. The representation of a son taking upon himself the avengement of his father by the murder of his mother, has something chilling and terrible to the feelings of the present age. But in the period in which the scene of the tragedy was laid, the office of *blood-avenger* was one of peculiar sanctity, and intimately connected with the ordinances of religion. The custom has existed time immemorial in the east, and allusions to its prevalence are frequent in the pages of the Greek poets. The Arab *Tair* and the Hebrew *Goël* were represented by the *Τυμωρος* of the Greeks. *Æschylus* speaks of him in the *Agamemnon*, and we find mention of him in the *Choëphoræ*, the *Eumenides*, the *Electra*, and other dramas. In any case where a deed of murder had been committed by an individual, he was said to have given birth to an *Erynneis*, a mode of speech constantly recurring in the tragic poets. We find also that the *Τυμωρος*, or avenger, was consecrated and especially devoted to the Deity, by whose instigation the deed had been performed. This fact will enable us to comprehend, more perfectly, the terms in which *Orestes* is perpetually calling upon *Apollo* in the dramas of *Æschylus* and *Euripides*. Among the primitive Greeks and the people of the east, a tardiness in seeking retribution was considered a shame and disgrace, not only to the individual, but to the family. In the poetry of the Arabians, the venom of the basilisk is said to issue from the body of the murdered person, and to continue to flow until stopped by the blood of the enemy; and in some places mention is made of a bird of death, which springs up from the wounds of the deceased and pursues the murderer.

The history of the heroic ages contains the memorial of two princes who destroyed their mothers for the crimes which they had committed—*Alcmeon*, son of *Amphiaraus*, and *Orestes*. The matricide of *Alcmeon* formed the subject of a tragedy by *Sophocles* and also by *Euripides*.\* But a few fragments only are preserved. The pardon and consequent felicity of *Orestes*, at the conclusion of the drama, may at first appear to be in perfect opposition to the terms in which the Chorus, in *The Seven against Thebes*, assure *Eteocles* that there is no expiation for the shedding of cognate blood. But an able oriental critic, by inter-

\* Fabric. Bib. Gr. 2, 18, p. 204.—*Harles*.

preting their ideas upon this subject according to the Mosaic and eastern customs, has pointed out a wide distinction to be made between Œdipus and Orestes on the one hand, and Eteocles and Polynices on the other. Œdipus, he remarks, through provocation slays his father, being ignorant who he was, and receives purification according to the Oracle; Clytemnestra murders Agamemnon; consequently, though she was the mother of Orestes, the office of blood-avenger devolves upon him; therefore he is finally liberated from the crime of matricide. But Eteocles deliberately, and without these claims to the office of the *Τυμαιορος*, endeavours to accomplish the death of his brother, and Polynices enters the battle with the same intentions; and therefore the exclamation of the Chorus is perfectly in accordance with the genius of the *Institution*. But the Orestes is particularly touching from its domestic character. The failure of the ancient dramatists in their delineations of the female character has been frequently noticed. Whether this was owing, observes Mr. Dale in his interesting preface to the *Electra* of Sophocles, to the deference paid to the popular opinion respecting the sex, or in subservience to their own prejudices, it is not easy to decide; but the fact is certain that, with the exception of the *Antigone* of Sophocles, there are few, if any, of the softer sex, among the dramatic characters of the ancients, who are entitled to our unqualified esteem. The *Electra* of Sophocles is a high-spirited woman, impressed according to the feelings of that age with the conviction of the imperative necessity which existed for her mother's death, as an expiation of the treacherous murder of Agamemnon. In every other respect, continues Mr. Dale, as a sister and a friend, she claims our sympathy. But it should be remembered that almost all the female characters of the Greek dramas belong to the heroic age—an age of antiquity in the days of Æschylus, when the passions wore a sharper and deadlier edge than in later times. De Stael has some very ingenious and eloquent remarks upon the absence of love in the ancient drama, and its consequent deficiency in interest.\* The manner in which the Grecian women were usually brought up, and the oriental seclusion in which the greater part of them passed their days, naturally rendered them less susceptible of impressions from outward causes. The law, which forbade the appearance of women upon the stage, was another obstacle to the poet. But in his *Electra*, Euripides has embodied the most beautiful conception of a lovely and affectionate sister, devoted to the care and protection of a guilty and suffering brother. Many of us have a form like hers treasured up in our heart of hearts: we can all

\* *De Literature.*

appreciate the intensity and holiness of her love. Her beauty, her youth, her health, are all sacrificed willingly for her brother. She dwells in the house of mourning like a ministering spirit. Before her face the shadows flee away. All around is horror and desolation. Her father and mother are both dead, and a fearful phrenzy has bound the faculties of Orestes. Her footsteps alone make a gentle light amid the darkness of that melancholy story. But we trust that the following specimens will present her in a more beautiful fashion to the reader's eyes than we can hope to do in any other manner. We submit our translation with humility and hesitation. We have endeavoured, while we have not been unfaithful to the sense, to be still truer to the fame of the poet. In order to comprehend the following scene, we must imagine Electra to be sitting by the couch of her brother, who has fallen into a sweet sleep. The Chorus, composed of Argive maidens, come to inquire after him.

*Cho.* Thy brother, sweet—how fares it with him?

*Electra.* Oh sad the burden of his calendar,  
Tears and sleep, and tears without the sleep—  
You have his history.

*Cho.* What dost thou say, poor mourner?

*Elect.* Oh, if thy voice should break the pleasant sleep  
That bringeth sweetest joy unto his eyes—  
'Twere worse than death.

*Cho.* Dost thou see—he moveth in the clothes.

*Elect.* Wretched that thou art, thy voice hath cast  
His slumber from him.

*Cho.* He sleeps again.—

*Elect.* Thou sayest well.

*Cho.* Come holy, holy, Night,  
Arise from Lethe's spring—  
For the heart that wept in the morning light  
May sleep beneath thy wing!  
Come, come, with thy sable plume  
From Erebus deep gloom,  
To Agamemnon's lonely hearth,—  
Our hearts are bow'd unto the earth;  
Yea, we are torn with grief and fear,  
Oh bring thy shadows here!"

It is amusing to mark how entirely the Italian translator Carmeli has lost the beauty of this invocation.

"O veneranda notte,  
O veneranda tu,  
Che doni al sonno a miseri  
Mortali, vieni, vieni  
Del Erebo volando

In casa d'Agamemnone,  
Poiche noi per gli affanni  
Per le sventure siamo,  
Perdute, o mai, perdute."

"*Orestes (rising from the bed.)*

Sweet Spirit of kind Sleep, thou comforter  
Of pain, how pleasant hath thy coming been  
To me in my deep sorrow!  
Forgetfulness of woes, how wise thou art!  
Thine arm is round the homeless, and they find  
In thy embrace a home, a patrimony!  
Whence came I thither? How came I here?  
I know not; for the memory of the past  
Is faded like a shadow.

*Elect.* How gladly have I watched thy sleep, my brother!  
Say, shall I raise thee on thy couch.

*Orest.* Take me, oh take me in thine arms,  
And from my parched lips and eyes wipe off  
The frothy moisture.

*Elect.* Behold thy sister servant, gleefully  
She ministers unto her brother.

*Orest.* Now lie down by my side, and from my face  
Put back the matted tresses—I see thickly.

*Elect.* (*Shaking back his hair, and looking affectionately into his  
countenance.*)

Ye tangled locks, of old so beautiful!  
How wildly ye are scattered!

*Orest.* Now lay me on the bed again, for when  
The fever leaves me I am quite feeble,  
And my limbs do faint beneath me.

*Elect.* How pleasant to the sick man is the couch,  
A mournful, yet a needful heritage.

*Orest.* Raise me up once more, surround my body  
With the covering.

*Elect.* Or wilt thou try to walk upon the ground,  
Lingering on each footstep. There is a charm  
In changing.\*

*Orest.* Well, be it so, it hath the imaging  
Of health, and there is pleasure in't,  
Altho' it be but seeming.

*Elect.* Now list thee, my sweet brother,  
While the dark phantom doth afflict thee not.

*Orest.* What news hast thou?—if glad I welcome it,  
If ought of grief, I need it not, my heart  
Doth dwell with sorrow!

\* The view of this passage taken by Potter agrees with our own—

"Or wilt thou try with slow steps on the ground  
To fix thy feet,"

but in many places we have seen *χρονιον* rendered as referring to the long time which  
had elapsed since Orestes had walked, an interpretation evidently destructive of the  
exquisite delicacy and truth of the image.



*Elect.* Thy father's brother, Menelaus, is here,  
The fleet is riding in the Nauplian Bay!

*Orest.* Dost say so? then light is breaking on us,  
He was the cherished of my father.

*(The phrenzy of Orestes suddenly returns.)*

*Elect.* Woe is me, my brother!—how thine eye  
Is troubled, and the glow upon thy cheek  
Is changed to sadness.

*Orest.* Mother! I do beseech thee, urge them not,  
Their eyes are hot with blood, their hair is living—  
There, they are by my side—there—  
They leap upon me—

*Elect.* Rest thee upon thy couch, and shake not so,  
Poor child of tears, thou dost see nothing  
Of the things thou dreamest.

*Orest.* Spirit of Light! the ministers of death—  
The dog-faced—the devils—they—they—choak me!

*Elect.* *(Leaning over him and endeavouring to keep him on the bed.)*  
I will not let thee go, my brother; thus  
Folding my arm about thy neck  
I will restrain thee.

*Orest.* *(Struggling violently.)*  
Get thee gone!—thou art one of my furies,  
And thou dost grasp me so that thou may'st hurl  
My soul to Tartarus.

*Elect.* Oh! wretched that I am, where shall I look  
For succour, since the arm of heaven is turn'd  
Against me?

*(Orestes is supposed to leap from the bed as if to drive away the Furies.)*

*Orest.* Give me the horned bow, the gift of Phœbus,  
That I may scatter from my burning eyes  
The visions that do so affright me!

*Elect.* Shall One of Heaven by mortal arm  
Be wounded?

*Orest.* Unless she straitway vanish from my sight—  
Hear ye not?—do ye not see the hurtling  
Of the wing'd arrows leaping from the bow.  
Ah! ah! Why tarry ye?—Away i' the  
Troubled air rustle your stormy wings,—  
Go, question Phœbus's oracles—  
What aileth me that I do pant thus heavily?  
Whither have I been wandering from the couch,  
For o'er the tempest of my heart sweet peace  
Once more is gliding.  
Why dost thou weep, my sister, folding up  
Thine eye of tears beneath thy garment?  
I am ashamed to make thy gleeful heart  
Partaker with my sorrow. Oh, waste not so  
Thy lamp of youth in sorrow's vigil;

I did the deed of blood, I only  
Am the matricide.

\* \* \* \* \*

And now unveil thy face, my sister,  
Yea, come forth from thy weeping, though we be  
Most bitterly afflicted :

For when my spirit doth grow dark, thine arm  
Must be around me, and thy gentle voice  
Speak hope and comfort to me ; and when thou  
Art sick or desolate, my hand shall pour  
A brother's love upon thy head, my song  
Shall dwell about thy pillow.

And now, dear mourner, to thy chamber go,  
In balmy sleep thy sleepless eyelids closing ?\*  
For, oh, if thou shouldst leave me, or thy love,  
Thy watchful love, bring sickness to thee, whom  
Shall I find to sit beside my bed,

And soothe the troubled visions of the night ?—  
Alas, I am an orphan !

The reader will perceive that we have omitted many lines of the original in our translation, retaining only so much as would enable us to present the beautiful domestic poetry of the scene. The extent of the foregoing remarks must plead our apology for thus abruptly bringing this article to a conclusion.

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ART. V.—*Observations on the Mussulmauns of India; descriptive of their Manners, Customs, Habits, and Religious Opinions. Made during a Twelve Years' Residence in their immediate Society.* By Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali. 2 vols. London. Parbury, Allen and Co.

*Pen and Pencil Sketches; being the Journal of a Tour in India.* By Captain Mundy, late Aide-de-Camp to Lord Combermere. 2 vols. London. Murray.

THESE are precisely the books from which information, on matters of ordinary occurrence in India, may be most agreeably derived; and, although differing from each other in many respects, both as to object and to character, they have quite enough similarity to justify us in classing them together. Each of the writers honestly disclaims every pretension to literature and science: the lady modestly introduces herself as “a very humble scribe;” the gentleman more boldly affirms that it is “a fortunate default in his education” which has left him “totally unskilled in

\* υπνω αὐπνον βλεφαρον εκταθεισα θυς.

Botany and Geology ;” and we are by no means inclined to dispute the validity of his reasons for considering this deficiency to be a piece of good luck. *Per contra*, both of them evidently possess great quickness of observation, much good sense, and abundance of well-directed feeling ; both, moreover, have had more than common opportunities of closely inspecting the habits which they have described. Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali is, perhaps, the only Englishwoman who, by braving the chance of Polygamy, has entitled herself to entire acquaintance with the mysteries of the Mugganee, or first matrimonial contract, and of the Sarchuck, the Mayndhie, and the Baarraat, the three days of nuptial ceremony ; and, if we may judge from the cheerful tone of her volumes, and from the affection with which she speaks of many of the kinsfolk whom she acquired by marriage, she has not had reason to regret the morning on which she somewhat stealthily plighted her vows to a bearded spouse at an English altar. Captain Mundy, by his close attachment to the person of the Commander-in-chief, enjoyed facilities of access to the Native Powers rarely to be attained in more subordinate stations ; and he was received with distinction by the King of Oude, in the Dil Koosha at Lucknow, and by the descendant of Aurungzebe, in the Dewânee Khâs of Delhi. To this knowledge of Courts, for which he was indebted to the accident of military rank, his own peculiar tastes have added an intimate acquaintance with the sporting amusements of the natives ; and from the mouth of the Ganges to the very gorge of the Shattool Pass, in the Himalaya Mountains, snakes, hogs, tigers, antelopes, alligators, and other such “small gear,” were doomed to fall beneath his unerring Manton. No embryo out-and-outer, in his first Melton season, ever tallyhoed from the cover-side with half the ardour which animated this Oriental Nimrod at the entrance of a jungle ; and his spirited pencil, aided by the inimitable burin of Landseer, has presented a series of “Ideas” and “Symptoms” on Indian Hunting which may claim fair companionship with the similar moving accidents of English flood and field immortalized by Aiken.

Our first extracts will exhibit the two writers in contrast on the same subject ; and we shall afterwards take each of them at hazard, as they happen to strike our fancy. The following passages contain the impressions produced upon Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali and Captain Mundy respectively, by interviews with the same person, and *that* no less a person than the Great Mogul. The sole difference is, that the one was admitted to a public and stately audience ; the other enjoyed a private and, if we may so express ourselves, a friendly conversation. The young soldier writes, as he does throughout, in a light, playful, careless, off-

hand, and *degagé* manner; the matron, as will be perceived, is somewhat more staid and sententious:—

“The palace occupies an immense space of ground, enclosed by high walls, and entered by a gateway of grand architecture. On either side the entrance I noticed lines of compact buildings, occupied by the military, reaching to the second gateway, which is but little inferior in style and strength to the grand entrance; and here again appear long lines of buildings similarly occupied. I passed through several of these formidable barriers before I reached the marble hall, where the king holds his *darbar* (court) at stated times; but as mine was a mere unceremonious visit to the king and queen, it was not at the usual hour of *darbar*, and I passed through the hall without making any particular observations, although I could perceive it was not deficient in the costliness and splendour suited to the former greatness of the Indian empire.

“After being conveyed through several splendid apartments, I was conducted to the queen’s *mahul*, (palace for females,) where his majesty and the queen were awaiting my arrival. I found on my entrance the king seated in the open air in an arm chair, enjoying his *hookha*; the queen’s *musnud* was on the ground, close by the side of her venerable husband. Being accustomed to native society, I knew how to render the respect due from an humble individual to personages of their exalted rank. After having left my shoes at the entrance and advanced towards them, my *salaams* were tendered, and then the usual offering of *nuzas*, first to the king, and then to the queen, who invited me to a seat on her own carpet,—an honour I knew how to appreciate from my acquaintance with the etiquette observed on such occasions.

“The whole period of my visit was occupied in very interesting conversation; eager enquiries were made respecting England, the government, the manners of the court, the habits of the people, my own family affairs, my husband’s views in travelling, and his adventures in England, my own satisfaction as regarded climate, and the people with whom I was so immediately connected by marriage; the conversation, indeed, never flagged an instant, for the condescending courtesy of their majesties encouraged me to add to their entertainment, by details which seemed to interest and delight them greatly.

“On taking leave his majesty very cordially shook me by the hand, and the queen embraced me with warmth. Both appeared, and expressed themselves, highly gratified with the visit of an English lady who could explain herself in their language without embarrassment, or the assistance of an interpreter, and who was the more interesting to them from the circumstance of being the wife of a *Syaad*; the queen, indeed, was particular in reminding me that ‘the *Syaads* were, in a religious point of view, the nobles of the *Mussulmauns*, and revered as such far more than those titled characters who receive their distinction from their fellow mortals.’

“I was grieved to be obliged to accept the queen’s parting present of an embroidered scarf, because I knew her means were exceedingly

limited compared with the demands upon her bounty ; but I could not refuse that which was intended to do me honour at the risk of wounding those feelings I so greatly respected. A small ring, of trifling value, was then placed by the queen on my finger, as she remarked, 'to remind me of the giver.'

“ The king's countenance, dignified by age, possesses traces of extreme beauty ; he is much fairer than Asiatics usually are ; his features are still fine, his hair silvery white ; intelligence beams upon his brow, his conversation gentle and refined, and his condescending manners hardly to be surpassed by the most refined gentleman of Europe. I am told by those who have been long intimate with his habits in private, that he leads a life of strict piety and temperance, equal to that of a durweish of his faith, whom he imitates in expending his income on others without indulging in a single luxury himself.

The queen's manners are very amiable and condescending ; she is reported to be as highly gifted with intellectual endowments as I can affirm she is with genuine politeness.”—vol. ii. pp. 155—159.

Captain Mundy, as in duty bound, accompanied the Commander-in-Chief :—

“ On entering the precincts of the royal abode, we filed through sundry narrow and dirty alleys, until we arrived at an arched gate, too low to admit our elephants. We were therefore obliged to dismount, and proceed on foot. Lord Combermere, however, balked the evident intention of the prince to make him walk, by getting into his palankeen. We shortly arrived at the archway leading into the quadrangle, in which the Dewanee Khâs, or hall of audience, is situated, where the Commander-in-chief was required to dismiss his palankeen.

“ On passing the Lal Purdah, or great red curtain which veils the entrance, the whole of our party, English and native, made a low salaam, in honour of the august majesty of which we were as yet not in sight.”—vol. i. pp. 77, 78.

“ At the entrance of the corridor leading to the presence, the Resident and his assistants were required to take off shoes and hats ; but according to previous agreement, Lord Combermere and his suite retained both boots and hats during the whole ceremony.

“ The Dewânee Khâs is a beautiful open edifice, supported on white marble columns, the whole elegantly inlaid and gilt. The roof is said to have been vaulted with silver in the more prosperous days of the Delhi empire, but it was spoiled by those common devastators of India, the Mahrattas. Around the cornice still remains the (now, at least, inapplicable) inscription, ‘ If there be a Paradise upon earth, it is this, it is this.’ The throne, occupying the centre of the building, is raised about three feet from the floor, and shaded by a canopy of gold tissue and seed-pearl. There are no steps to the front of the throne, the entrance being in the rear. Seated cross-legged upon it, and supported by surrounding cushions, we found the present representative of the Great Mogul. He is a fine-looking old man, his countenance dignified, and his white beard descending upon his breast. On his

right hand stood his youngest and favourite son, Selim, and on the left the heir-apparent, a mean-looking personage, and shabbily attired in comparison with his younger brother. It was impossible to contemplate without feelings of respect, mingled with compassion, the descendant of Baber, Acbar, Shah Jehan, and Aurungzebe, reduced, as he is now, to the mere shadow of a monarch; especially when one reflected that, had it not been for European intrigues and interference, this man, instead of being the dependent pensioner of a handful of merchants, might perhaps still, like his ancestors, have been wielding the sceptre of the richest and most extensive dominions in the world. Whilst employed in these cogitations, a provoking wag whispered in my ear, 'Do you trace any resemblance to the Mogul on the cover of a pack of cards?' and I with great difficulty *hemmed* away a violent burst of laughter in the presence of 'the Asylum of the Universe.'

"The old monarch, mindful of his dignity, scarcely deigned to notice, even by a look, the Commander-in-chief as he approached to present his 'nuzzar' of fifty gold mohurs. He did not even condescend to raise his eyes towards the rest of the party, as we advanced one by one, salaamed, and offered our three gold mohurs. His air, however, was not haughty, but he affected a sleepy, dignified indifference, as he scraped the money from our hands, and handed it to his treasurer. The staff presented likewise a nuzzar of two gold mohurs to the heir-apparent.

"On receiving Lord Combermere's offering, the King placed a turban, similar to his own, upon his head, and his lordship was conducted, retiring with his face sedulously turned towards the throne, to an outer apartment, to be invested with a khillât, or dress of honour. In about five minutes he returned to the presence, attired in a spangled muslin robe and tunic; salaamed, and presented another nuzzar. The staff were then led across the quadrangle by the 'grooms of the robes' to the 'green room,' where a quarter of an hour was sufficiently disagreeably employed by us in arraying ourselves, with the aid of the grooms, in silver muslin robes, and sir-peaches or fillets, of the same material, tastily bound round our cocked-hats. Never did I behold a group so ludicrous as we presented when our toilette was accomplished; we wanted nothing but a 'Jack i' the Green' to qualify us for a May-day exhibition of the most exaggerated order. In my gravest moments the recollection of this scene provokes an irresistible fit of laughter. As soon as we had been decked out in this satisfactory guise, we were marched back again through the Lâl Purdar and crowds of spectators, and re-conducted to the Dewânee Khâs, where we again separately approached his Majesty to receive from him a tiara of gold and false stones, which he placed with his own hands on our hats. As we got not even 'the estimation of a hair' without paying for it, we again presented a gold mohur each. The Honourable Company, of course, 'paid for all,' and our gold mohurs were handed to us by the resident. It was a fine pay-day for the impoverished old Sultan, whose 'pay and allowances' are only twelve lacs of rupees, or £120,000 a-year. His ancestor, the Emperor Acbar's revenue was somewhat better; including



presents, and estates of officers of the crown falling in, it amounted to about fifty-two millions sterling.

"As we retired from the presence, the heralds, with stentorian voices, proclaimed the titles of honour which had been conferred by the Emperor on his Excellency the Commander-in-chief. Among other high-sounding appendages to his name, he received the following:—Ghezeffer al Douleh, or Champion of the State; Sipeh Salah, Commander-in-chief; Saif al Moolook, Sword of the Empire; Khan Jehan, Lord of the World; Khan Behâder; and Rastum Jung, which latter might be translated the Hercules of Battles. In addition to these titular honours, his lordship was presented with a palankeen of state, and the nowbut, or royal kettle-drum, which, if I mistake not, infers the power of life and death. The audience being concluded, we retired, still practising the *chassée en arrière*, and all gave the Great Mogul a parting salaam ere we passed the Lâl Purdar. The ceremony, though interesting and novel, was irksome and fatiguing."—*Captain Mundy*, vol. i. pp. 79—84.

The Syaads, to whom the Queen of the Moguls alluded above, and from her connection with whom Mrs. Hassan Ali, by right of her husband, derives the honourable title *Meer*, are descendants from Mohammed, and as such form the Mussulmaun aristocracy. Their genealogy is most carefully preserved; and every child born to Syaad parents is taught, as soon as it can speak intelligibly and before it quits the *Zeenahnah*, to recount its lineage up to Hassan or Hosein, the two sons of Ali by his cousin Fatima, daughter of the Prophet. The daughters, who by birth are hereditary Begums, or Ladies, are rarely matched out of their own race, whatever may be the wealth of the suitor; and many therefore, in consequence of this unbending pride of family, are condemned to celibacy and poverty. Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali speaks of three Syaad ladies with whom she was intimately acquainted, young women "remarkable for their industrious habits, morality, and strict observance of their religious duties, handsome, well-formed, polite and sensible," and possessing, in addition, an accomplishment by no means common among the females of Hindostan, that of being able to read the Koran in Arabic and its commentary in Persian. These ladies had refused numerous offers from persons of great wealth but of defective pedigree; and they preferred the scanty subsistence which they could procure by the hard labour of their hands to the degradation of a *mesalliance*. "I have known them to be employed in working the *jaullic* (netting) for *courties* (a part of the female dress) which after six days close application, at the utmost could not realize three shillings each; yet I never saw them other than contented, happy and cheerful; a family of love and patterns of sincere piety.

Much of the insight which Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali obtained into the recondite parts of Mussulmaun doctrine was derived from her father-in-law, Meer Hadjee Shah, a venerable octogenarian, who had thrice achieved the pilgrimage to Mecca, and who still hoped to perform it a fourth time in company with his son's wife, albeit she was Christian, and to lay his bones in the consecrated soil of the holy district. A mania for accommodating prophecy to passing events, and a belief in the approach of a season, resembling the supposed Millennium, in which there shall be perfect peace and happiness over all the world, appears to be no less prevalent among the Oriental devotees of the present day, than it is among some of our own fanatics; and the cause is probably the same in both cases—namely, superabundant *animal* piety operating upon half knowledge and unsound judgment. The contest between the Greeks and Turks, of which, after all, the Indian Mussulmauns possess but very incorrect knowledge, is referred by them to a prophecy which declares that “when Mecca is filled with Christian people, Emaun Mhidhie will appear to draw men to the true Faith, and then also Jesus Christ will descend from Heaven to Mecca; there will be great slaughter among men, after which there will be but one Faith;” and the period of universal *earthly* beatitude will commence. This Emaun Mhidhie, between whom and the prophetic Elias a resemblance in some respects may be discerned, is in others a most ambiguous and mystic personage, admirably adapted to the use of Apocalyptical *Œdipi*. He is called “the standing proof,” and all parties agree that he is to visit the Earth at a future period. Some, however, maintain that he is yet to be born, others that he is only to re-appear. One Sect affirms that he is still on Earth, dwelling in Wilds and Forests; and many believe that he annually visits the Holy House (Caaba) of Mecca, on the great day of sacrifice, *without being recognized*.

“There is but little more to finish”—“the time draws near,” are common Mussulmaun expressions when speaking of those which, for the sake of convenience, we shall call Millenarian prophecies. Meer Hadjee Shah, through his daughter-in-law, had become intimately acquainted with the Bible; he acknowledged its divine origin, and he admitted it and the Koran to be the “two witnesses” of God. No slight proof of the benevolent and tolerant spirit of the amiable old man is afforded by the pleasure with which he frequently recalled two favourite texts—“Other sheep I have which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd;”—and again, “In my Father's house are many mansions.” In his last serious conversation with Mrs.

Meer Hassan Ali, which occurred but a few days before his death, and which, she says, contains "the real sentiments of most, if not of every religious, reflecting, true Mussulmaun of his sect in India," he thus expressed himself:—

"We had been talking of the time when peace on earth should be universal; 'My time, dear battie (daughter), is drawing to a quick conclusion. You may live to see the events foretold, I shall be in my grave; but remember, I tell you now, though I am dead, yet when Jesus Christ returns to earth, at his coming, I shall rise again from my grave; and I shall be with him, and with Emaum Mhidhie also.'—*Meer Hassan*, vol. i. p. 145.

The life of Meer Hadjee Shah was strongly tinged with Eastern adventure. Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali intends, at some future time, to write a detailed Biographical Memoir of her Father-in-law, and we shall here abridge her present abridgment. Meer Hadjee Shah was the eldest son of a Kauzy, or Judge, in the city of Loodeeanah, the capital of the Punjaab territory, and he was destined by his Father for his own profession. An uncontrollable spirit of enterprise, however, directed the youth's course to another path, and this spirit was strikingly manifested by an incident of his boyhood. On one occasion, during his play-hours, he attempted, in company with some school-fellows, to possess himself of a flock of wild pigeons which lodged in an old well without the town; and on account of his well-known courage he was selected as the hero who was to descend, seated on a piece of board, to snare the birds, by groping for them in a hole which gave them refuge. He had already deposited several of these prizes in a bag slung round him for the purpose, when something met his grasp which he felt assured was *not* a bird; and which, on extricating his arm from the hole, he discovered to be a large and living snake. With great presence of mind he determined not to alarm his play-fellows, who in their terror might have let go the rope and precipitated him to the abyss below; but calling out to them to draw him up quickly, he continued to grasp the snake firmly behind the head, so that it could neither extricate itself nor injure him, unless by the severe pressure of its coiling. During his ascent he rubbed the venomous animal's head against the side-wall, and after he had borne it triumphantly to the summit, the other boys dispatched it with stones. Yet so violent had been the snake's struggles and so powerful its compression, that the skin peeled entirely off the boy's arm, which was useless for many months afterwards.

At seventeen, he determined to engage himself in the military service of a neighbouring Rajah who was levying troops; and on presenting himself at the Durbar he was accepted and enrolled

among the Chief's immediate followers. During several years he accompanied his master to the field, and obtained considerable distinction by the prowess which he exhibited against the Sikhs. He was yet in very early youth when he undertook his first pilgrimage to Mecca; and while in Arabia his funds were wholly exhausted without his possessing acquaintance with a single individual by whom they could be replenished. From this fearful difficulty he was extricated by a lucky incident, which might have happened either to Sindbad or to one of the monocular Calenders; and in the recital of which some allowance perhaps must be made for the romantic colouring which is, for the most part, thrown over Oriental histories. A rich Arabian widow, who had been long tormented with a grievous disease which medical art had failed to relieve, dreamed one night that a certain Syaad pilgrim from India, then abiding at the Serai without the town of her residence, possessed an infallible remedy. Meer Hadjee Shah answered the description of the dream; he was summoned to the Begum's presence, and there disavowed all acquaintance with medicine, but offered a powder which he had about him, and which had greatly benefited a brother pilgrim. Such a testimonial for the efficacy of his drug was quite sufficient to justify an Arabian she-dreamer in swallowing it; and either her own Faith or Meer Hadjee Shah's physic entirely cured the sick Begum's complaint, and as a consequence replenished the pocket of her *Medecin malgré lui-même*.

We pass over the rout of a pack of wolves by the Hadjee's staff; and the sabring a tiger by a weapon, which having, in the hands of his grandsire, severed the head from the carcass of a like animal, at a single blow, was preserved as a proud Family memorial. These are little more than every-day events in Indian life; and where Captain Mundy is in reserve, it would be most unjust to anticipate tigers. A Dream once saved Meer Hadjee Shah from the Plague. In the night-season it was whispered to him, "Go not to Shiraaz, where thou shalt not find profit or pleasure, but bend thy steps towards Kraaballah." He obeyed, in spite of the sneers of his comrades, and escaped the contagion, which they afterwards learned was raging at Shiraaz. Once was he captured by Arab Pirates, but he harangued them so pathetically in their own language, that they not only released him and his whole ship's crew, but even forced presents upon them in compensation for their inconvenient detention. It would have been remarkable, indeed, if the marriage of such a personage as we are describing had been the result of common-place courtship; and one of his Brides, Fatima, was thrown into his arms by a train of circumstances in full accordance with the remaining tenor of

**Meer Hadjee Shah's adventures.** Fatima, the orphan daughter of an Arab Chief of Yemen, when in her sixteenth year, in order to escape ill treatment from some of the relations under whose protection she had been left, sought refuge among other kinsfolk in her neighbourhood. In her passage to the new roof she was intercepted by some Bedouin robbers, and carried to their strong hold; where, during her first night's abode with them, she overheard a conversation, by which she learned that in order to prevent detection, they had resolved to put her to death. The intercession of a female among the tribe saved her life, and she was carried a day's journey on a swift camel, and sold to a slave-merchant at Mocha. One of the singular privileges of the anomalous state of slavery in Arabia entitles the captive to a veto on her sale; and Fatima, who was nobly born, resolved to exercise her right to the utmost, and not permit herself to be transferred unless to a proprietor whom she fully approved. A fisherman accordingly, who tendered a large price, and who would have married her, was scornfully refused; and many subsequent chapmen encountered the same fate. It happened that Meer Hadjee Shah, who had promised to carry home a slave for his wife, was passing through Mocha on his return home. Fatima was satisfied by his appearance at the first glance, and was yet more pleased when she learned that he was a Syaad of India, and although not rich, a descendant of the Emaums. The merchant also was heartily glad to dispose of so difficult a piece of goods at a very moderate profit, and the bargain therefore was easily completed. No sooner, however, had Meer Hadjee Shah learned the history of his new acquisition, than he informed Fatima that she was free, and that he would appropriate half the sum which he had with him for his own journey, to restore her under safe convoy to Yemen. The captive heard him with gratitude and astonishment; and weighing the difficulties of return and the chance of an evil reception by her family, against the protection which she felt assured of receiving from so benevolent a master, she declined the proffered boon, and earnestly begged that she might be conveyed to India in his service. Meer Hadjee Shah was at first a little perplexed at this unexpected proposition, and he whispered something about his wife and children; but when Fatima persisted, the accommodating nature of the Mohammedan law stood him greatly in stead.

“After maturely weighing all the circumstances of the voyage by sea, and the long journey by land from Bombay to Lucknow, he came to the determination of giving Fatima a legal claim to his protection, and thereby a security also from slanderous imputations either against her or himself, by marrying her before they embarked at Mocha; and

on their arrival at Lucknow, Fatima was presented to his first wife as worthy her sympathy and kindness, by whom she was received and cherished as a dear sister. The whole family were sincerely attached to the amiable lady during the many years she lived with them in Hindoostan. Her days were passed in piety and peace, leaving not an instance to call forth the regrets of Meer Hadjee Shah, that he had complied with her entreaties in giving her his permanent protection. Her removal from this life to a better was mourned by every member of the family with equal sorrow as when their dearest relative ceased to live."—*Observations, &c.* vol. ii. pp. 417, 418.

Of the severity of the Mussulmaun's Fast during Rumzaun it is probable that very inadequate notions are in general entertained. As it is moveable it sometimes occurs during the hottest and longest days of the year, and it lasts from the moment at which the first streak of light borders the East, till the stars are clearly discerned. During that interval not one particle of food nor drop of liquid passes the lips, and even the hookha, a great antidote to hunger, is rigidly forbidden. It is usually broken by a cooling draught called *tundhie*, composed of the seeds of lettuces, cucumbers, melons and coriander, pounded in water, strained, and flavoured with rose-water, sugar, syrup of pomegranate and *kurah*, a pleasant water distilled from the blossoms of a species of aloe. Without some such preparatory beverage, which varies according to taste, age, constitution and pocket, the immediate relief of hunger by solids would be attended with danger. The noviciate fast of children is a great family event, and often productive of very distressing consequences. Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali mentions the deaths of a son and daughter of respectable parents in Lucknow, which occurred within her own knowledge, during their attempt to perform this most painful duty. The unhappy victims of superstition were respectively thirteen and eleven years of age. Encouraged by their Mother, they persevered with constancy till three of the four Watches into which the Mussulmaun day is divided had passed. They then fainted from exhaustion; every attempt to force water down their swollen throats failed, and they died within a few minutes of each other.

Custom renders the seclusion to which Females are condemned in the Zeenahnah, far less irksome than is imagined by a European habituated to freedom. The commonest operations of Nature, even in the processes of the Garden, are unknown to them; and when they received a *dhaullie* or basket of fruit, vegetables and flowers, they frequently inquired from Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, "How do they grow? How do they look in the ground?" Yet of their resignation to this ignorance she offers the following remarkable example:—



"A lady whose friendship I have enjoyed from my first arrival in India, heard me very often speak of the different places I had visited, and she fancied her happiness very much depended on seeing a river and a bridge. I undertook to gain permission from her husband and father, that the treat might be permitted; they, however, did not approve of the lady being gratified, and I was vexed to be obliged to convey the disappointment to my friend. She very mildly answered me, 'I was much to blame to request what I knew was improper for me to be indulged in; I hope my husband and family will not be displeased with me for my childish wish; pray make them understand how much I repent of my folly. I shall be ashamed to speak on the subject when we meet.'—vol. i. pp. 315, 316.

We should willingly extract the interesting account which Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali has given of a Mussulmaun wedding, but its length forbids us; and we must confine ourselves to the First Contract, or *Mugganee*, which succeeds the entertainment of a proposal. The suitor in the wooing described below was the son of an intimate friend of the writer.

"Being curious to know the whole business of a wedding ceremony amongst the Mussulmaun people, I was allowed to perform the part of 'officiating friend' on this occasion of celebrating the *Mugganee*. The parents of the young lady having been consulted, my visit was a source of solicitude to the whole family, who made every possible preparation to receive me with becoming respect; I went just in time to reach the gate at the moment the parade arrived. I was handed to the door of the *zeenahnah* by the girl's father, and was soon surrounded by the young members of the family, together with many lady-visitors, slaves and women-servants of the establishment. They had never before seen an Englishwoman, and the novelty, I fancy, surprised the whole group; they examined my dress, my complexion, hair, hands, &c., and looked the wonder they could not express in words. The young Begum was not amongst the gazing throng; some preliminary customs detained her behind the *purdah*, where it may be supposed she endured all the agony of suspense and curiosity by her compliance with the prescribed forms.

"The lady of the mansion waited my approach to the *dulhaun* (great hall) with all due etiquette, standing to receive and embrace me on my advancing towards her. This ceremony performed, I was invited to take a seat on the *musnud*-carpet with her on the ground; a chair had been provided for me, but I chose to respect the lady's preference, and the seat on the floor suited me for the time without much inconvenience.

"After some time had been passed in conversation on such subjects as suited the taste of the lady of the house, I was surprised at the servants entering with trays, which they placed immediately before me, containing a full-dress suit in the costume of *Hindoostaun*. The hostess told me she had prepared this dress for me, and I must condescend to wear it. I would have declined the gaudy array, but one of

her friends whispered me, 'The custom is of long standing; when the face of a stranger is first seen a dress is always presented; I should displease Sumdun Begum by my refusal; besides, it would be deemed an ill omen at the Mugganee of the young Bohue Begum if I did not put on the native dress before I saw the face of the bride elect.' These I found to be weighty arguments, and felt constrained to quiet their apprehensions of ill-luck by compliance; I therefore forced the gold dress and the glittering drapery over my other clothes, at the expense of some suffering from the heat, for it was at the very hottest season of the year, and the dulhaun was crowded with visitors.

"This important point conceded to them, I was led to a side hall, where the little girl was seated on her carpet of rich embroidery, her face resting on her knees in apparent bashfulness. I could not directly ascertain whether she was plain, or pretty, as the female agent had represented. I was allowed the privilege of decorating the young lady with the sweet jessamine guinahs, and placing the ring on the forefinger of the right hand; after which, the ear-rings, the gold-tissue dress, the deputtah were all in their turn put on, the offering of money presented, and then I had the first embrace before her mother. She looked very pretty, just turned twelve. If I could have prevailed on her to be cheerful, I should have been much gratified to have extended my visit in her apartment, but the poor child seemed ready to sink with timidity; and out of compassion to the dear girl, I hurried away from the hall, to relieve her from the burden my presence seemed to inflict, the moment I had accomplished my last duty, which was to feed her with my own hand, giving her seven pieces of sugarcandy; seven, on this occasion, is the lucky number, I presume, as I was particularly cautioned to feed her with exactly that number of pieces."—vol. i. pp. 359—362.

In the medical art, the Mussulmauns still retain many superstitious practices, and sundry remnants of Astrology continue to find place in their Pharmacopœia. In nervous cases and for palpitations of the heart the patient is often recommended to "drink the moon at a draught," which remedy is thus administered; a silver basin filled with water is so held as to receive the reflection of the full moon; and the sick person after having looked steadfastly at the image, is to shut his eyes and to swallow the water at a draught. "I have seen this practised," says Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, adding with exquisite simplicity, "but I am not aware of any real benefit derived by the patient from the prescription." We wish that in one or two other medical notices this lady would write *boils* instead of "*biles*;" and we must ask her forgiveness if we hesitate in granting immediate assent to the account of the gentleman who commencing with a single grain of pure quicksilver increased the quantity progressively "till his daily dose was the contents of a *large table spoon*." Once admitting the fact, we can feel little doubt (if we may be permitted so

vile a pun) that the effects of the medicine were highly *mercurial*; and it is consequently without surprise that we learn "his appetite and spirits were those of a man of thirty when he had counted eighty years."

But the most astounding story of all is one related by a Musulmaun gentleman of his own achievements in exorcism. The conversation arose in consequence of an attack upon an old woman in the streets of Lucknow, who, as a reputed Witch, was declared to be "eating the heart" of a man and his child wasting away under her incantations. She was rescued after some difficulty, and not till her accuser had been permitted to pluck some hairs from her head as an antidote to her charms. A friend of Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, who had been the chief agent in this poor wretch's deliverance from the infuriated rabble, afterwards declared his implicit belief in the common practice of Witchcraft; and added that he himself had been a chosen instrument through which several women had been relieved from possession by Evil Spirits. Curiosity on this mysterious point had induced him, when a very young man, to apply to "a certain venerable personage who was willing to impart his knowledge;" and who recommended in the first instance two years seclusion from the world, in abstinence, prayer, and austerity. Thus prepared for practice, and having acquired a great reputation as a Dervise, his first experiment was tried on a respectable woman who fancied that she was visited by a Demon regularly, on every eighth day. The only apparatus with which the Fiend was attacked was fumigation; and no sooner were the drugs and flowers of the Exorcist sprinkled on the chafing dish than the Demon became furious in the woman, and called out loudly for mercy. To an interrogation as to who and what it was, it replied that it was the Spirit of an Old Woman who once inhabited the same house; and that it had taken possession of the wife in order to torment the husband, who was the present owner of the premises. It may be remarked that few Ghosts, even in Europe, ever give more satisfactory reasons for their appearance than did this Imp of Hindústan; insomuch that we might almost venture to pledge ourselves to a belief in the authenticity of any Spectre who could once prove on sound evidence that he came back to this world on other than a Fee-faw-fum errand. The exorcist threatened to destroy the Spirit in fire, and the poor woman's agony immediately became so terrific that instant death was apprehended. After two hours conversation, during which the Devil evinced the extent of his knowledge by twice informing the Dervise what was the substance which he held concealed in his clenched hand; and also avowed his belief in one God the Creator of all things; it agreed to a compromise, and on condition of

being relieved from the fiery torment, it promised faithfully to quit the woman and to go out into the forests. During several months afterwards the freed energumen enjoyed health and tranquillity. But on the reappearance of some former symptoms the aid of the Dervise was again required; and then by destroying the "Evil Soul," he gave his patient permanent ease. It is but just to Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali to state that although convinced of the sincerity of the friend from whose lips she received this choicest piece of autobiography, she plainly believes him to have laboured under delusion.

But it is high time to direct ourselves to Captain Mundy with whom we shall commence in his first Tiger-hunt in the Dooab. The party consisted of ten sportsmen, each mounted on an Elephant, and twenty pad Elephants besides, to carry the guides and the game. On rousing the first tiger, every elephant but that of Lord Combermere turned about and made off expeditiously; the beast, however, was killed, and so, not long afterwards, was a second; a third sprang on the upper part of the tail of one of the elephants and clung to it with its teeth, within six inches of the unhappy Coolie, who stood behind the howdah; and it was not shot till the elephant had been so much injured that it died within ten days from the effect of its wounds.

The second essay in this agreeable pastime was attended with far more danger than the first, and the double fences and swollen brooks of Leicestershire sink into insignificance before the perils of the Jungle.

"On clearing the wood, we entered an open space of marshy grass, not three feet high; a large herd of cattle were feeding there, and the herdsman was sitting, singing, under a bush—when, just as the former began to move before us, up sprung the very tiger to whom our visit was intended, and cantered off across a bare plain, dotted with small patches of bush-jungle. He took to the open country in a style which would have more become a fox than a tiger, who is expected by his pursuers to fight, and not to run; and, as he was flushed on the flank of the line, only one bullet was fired at him ere he cleared the thick grass. He was unhurt, and we pursued him at full speed. Twice he threw us out by stopping short in small strips of jungle, and then heading back after we had passed; and he had given us a very fast burst of about two miles, when Colonel Arnold, who led the field, at last reached him by a capital shot, his elephant being in full career. As soon as he felt himself wounded, the tiger crept into a close thicket of trees and bushes, and crouched. The two leading sportsmen overran the spot where he lay, and as I came up I saw him through an aperture rising to attempt a charge. My mahout had just before, in the heat of the chase, dropped his ankoos\*, which I had refused to

\* Iron goad to drive the elephant.

allow him to recover; and the elephant being notoriously savage, and further irritated by the goading he had undergone, became, consequently, unmanageable:—he appeared to see the tiger as soon as myself, and I had only time to fire one shot, when he suddenly rushed with the greatest fury into the thicket, and falling upon his knees, nailed the tiger with his tusks to the ground. Such was the violence of the shock, that my servant, who sat behind in the kawas,\* was thrown out, and one of my guns went overboard. The struggles of the elephant to crush his still resisting foe, who had fixed one paw on his eye, were so energetic, that I was obliged to hold on with all my strength, to keep myself in the howdah. The second barrel, too, of the gun, which I still retained in my hand, went off in the scuffle, the ball passing close to the mahout's ear, whose situation, poor fellow, was anything but enviable. As soon as my elephant was prevailed upon to leave the killing part of the business to the sportsmen, they gave the roughly-used tiger the coup-de-grace. It was a very fine female, with the most beautiful skin I ever saw."—vol. i. pp. 160—163.

Nor was the sportsman's repose less hazardous than his situation in the field. On the night after these exploits he was awakened by the attack of a black robber in his tent, who escaped pursuit with no other booty than a razor, a pot of pomatum, and a pair of brass candlesticks.

A few days afterwards a brother officer was brought home having marvellously escaped from the very jaws of a tiger. He was shooting in a jungle, the reputation of which would be deemed evil or good, according to the taste of its frequenters, for it abounded in wild beasts; and he had just fired both barrels at a deer, when a tiger sprung from a thicket and knocked him down. Fortunately, the animal, instead of seizing the sportsman's head, caught in his mouth the gun which he was carrying on his shoulder; and finding the morsel somewhat tough, he relinquished it and bounded on. The officer was much torn on the shoulders and breast, one cheek was pierced through, he found the fragment of a shivered tiger-tooth in his waistcoat pocket, and the barrel of his gun was distinctly marked by the whole range of tusks which had embraced it. Nevertheless, Captain Mundy, unappalled, was once more in the field a few days afterwards. A cub and its mother soon filled his bag, and a second cub was obliged to be knocked on the head after one of the party had failed to take it alive, by dismounting from his elephant and receiving the little Fury's charge with no other weapon than his mountain-dagger.

Captain Mundy's tour in the Surmour mountains will be read with great interest; the difficulties which he encountered, and the good humour with which he overcame them, are related with much spirit and vivacity. But we prefer offering our readers

\* Hind seat in the howdah.

one or two specimens of living manners. The first shall be Anglo-Indian, the second, native. One of the most distinguished corps of irregular cavalry in Hindústan is commanded by Colonel Skinner, who served with high reputation under Lords Lake and Hastings, and was enrolled K.C.B. for his conduct at the siege of Bhurtpore. He is described as an amiable man and a gallant soldier, who has seen forty years of very chequered adventures; and who, in his youth, was partizan of more than one native Power.

“ In this Cossack-like life he was joined by a near relation—since dead—who was as valiant a warrior as himself; but he was a man of wild and ungoverned passions, and the last scene of his life was Othello exaggerated! Having suspected his wife, a native lady, of infidelity to his bed, he surrendered himself to the bloody suggestions of the green-eyed monster; murdered her and her two female attendants, and concluded the tragedy by blowing out his own brains. His passion for the sex, and extravagance in expense knew no bounds; of which addictions the following anecdote, related to me this day, affords no bad instance.

“ Being present at a grand entertainment given by some native prince at Delhi, he became desperately épris of a young and beautiful nautch-girl, a slave of the prince's wife; and at the close of the fête he seized her by force, and carried her off to Hansi. Being pursued by some troops from Delhi, he shut himself in his house, which was soon surrounded by a force that rendered resistance hopeless; when, rather than yield up his charmer, he offered to purchase her for her weight in silver. The bargain was struck, the scales produced, and the maiden being weighed against rupees, the ravisher retained his prize.”—vol. i. pp. 341—343.

The Begum Sumroo, of whom we shall next speak, if her lot had been cast in Russia, might have rivalled the Empress Catherine.

“ The history of her life, if properly known, would (according to Colonel Skinner, and others who have had opportunities of hearing of, and witnessing her exploits) form a series of scenes, such as, perhaps, no other female could have gone through.

“ The above mentioned officer has often, during his service with the Mahrattas, seen her, then a beautiful young woman, leading on her troops to the attack in person, and displaying, in the midst of carnage, the greatest intrepidity and presence of mind. The Begum has been twice married, and both her husbands were Europeans. Her appellation of ‘ Sumroo ’ is a corruption of the French word Sombre, the nom de guerre of her first lord, Remaud, who *bought* her when a young and handsome dancing-girl; married, and converted her to the Roman Catholic religion. Her second husband—named Le Vassu—was an independent, roving adventurer, a sort of land pirate; became power-



ful in his own right, if right it can be called, and possessed a considerable army. It is of this man that the following anecdote is related, which is 'wondrous strange—if it be true:' it was the closing scene of his life, and the first in which our heroine played any very distinguished part. I have said that her husband had become possessed of wealth, power, and a numerous army; of these his ambitious wife coveted the undivided possession, and she thus accomplished her purpose.

"A mutinous disposition, on the subject of pay, having manifested itself among Le Vassu's body guard, the Begum, then about twenty-five, exaggerated the danger to her husband, and got intelligence conveyed to him that the rebels had formed a plan to seize and confine him, and to dishonour his wife. They, consequently, arranged to escape together from the fury of the soldiery; and at night started secretly from their palace in palankeens, with only a few devoted guards and attendants. The whole of the following scene was projected by the ambitious and bloody-minded lady. Towards morning the attendants, in great alarm, announced that they were pursued; and our heroine, in well feigned despair, vowed that, if their escort was overcome and the palankeens stopped, she would stab herself to the heart. The devoted husband, as she expected, swore he would not survive her. Soon after, the pretended rebels came up, and, after a short skirmish, drove back the attendants, and forced the bearers to put down the palankeens. At this instant La Vassu heard a scream, and his wife's female slave rushed up to him, bearing a shawl drenched in blood, and exclaiming that her mistress had stabbed herself to death. The husband, true to his vow, instantly seized a pistol, and blew out his own brains. No sooner did the wily lady hear the welcome report, than she started from her palankeen, and, for the first time exposing herself to the gaze of men, claimed homage from the soldiery. This her beauty, and promises of speedy payment of arrears, soon obtained for her; and she assumed, in due form, the reins of government.

"Well knowing, however, that so inconsiderable a state as her's could not exist long in those troublesome times without some formidable ally, she prudently threw herself under the protection of the Company, who confirmed her in the possession, with the condition that it should revert to the English government after her death. The old lady seems disposed to make the most of her life-lease. Her revenue is, I believe, one hundred thousand pounds sterling, and she has amassed considerable treasures. I never heard how her other husband was disposed of, but we will, in charity, suppose that he died a natural death. His tomb is at Agra.

"During her long life, many acts of inhuman cruelty towards her dependents have transpired; one of which is thus narrated:—The Begum, having discovered a slave-girl in an intrigue, condemned her to be buried alive. This cruel sentence was carried into execution; and the fate of the beautiful victim having excited strong feelings of compassion, the old tigress, to preclude all chance of a rescue, ordered her carpet to be spread over the vault, and smoked her hookah, and slept on the spot; thus making assurance doubly sure."—vol. i. pp. 370—374.

Captain Mundy pointedly affirms, respecting the Cholera, that "he never heard even so much as the possibility of its contagion canvassed." Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali expresses herself to the same purpose, but more intelligibly, when, in speaking of the close attendance paid to the sick, and the rigid observance of the ordinary duties to the dead, which the Mussulmauns never omit in these cases, she says, "no fears were ever entertained, nor did I ever hear an opinion expressed among them, that it had been or could be conveyed from one person to another. Abstemiousness is the great Mussulmaun remedy; and Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali administered with success a medicine, the character of which may be readily understood when we name brandy, oil of pepper-mint, and black pepper, to be the principal ingredients. Native children generally escaped the attack, and she never heard an instance of an infant being in the slightest degree visited by the malady. Saffron to the amount of twelve grains, moistened with rose-water (a very favourite vehicle) is used with great benefit for the relief of the sickness which accompanies this melancholy disease.

We cannot part from Captain Mundy without expressing the pleasure which we have derived from one minor characteristic of his pages, the keen remembrance of early associations with which they are imbued. The graceful figure of a Hindû girl bearing her water-vessel on her head, reminds him that she has not the rosy cheeks and elbows of his native Derbyshire milkmaids.\* When the divers in the Bowlee at Delhi, plunged from their fearful height into the cold water of the tank below, the scenes present to Captain Mundy's imagination were *Lion's Leap*, *Bargeman's Bridge*, and *Deadman's Hole*, which (*si parva licet*) he had often, in like manner, dared at Eton. For the measurement of a small eminence, he refers to the barrow on Salt-hill; and in order to estimate a given space covered by public buildings at Mohim, he calls up to memory that which is overspread by the "sacred spires and antique towers" founded by the VIth Henry. There are instances of genuine kindness and good feeling; and, we may add, that in spite of a little occasional exuberance, Captain Mundy's overflowing animal spirits never in a single passage betray him into a violation of strict decorum. The pages of Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali herself are more grave, but pure as they are, they are not more pure than those of the young and rattling Aid-de-Camp.

\* On a reference to the passage itself we find we have been too picturesque. The images of the Derbyshire milkmaids were called up by seeing the teats of the British resident's cows at Lucknow rudely handled by the dairyman, "mustachioed and half-naked natives."

ART. VI.—*Sketches from Venetian History*. 2 vols. London: Murray. 1832.

THIS work does not profess to be a full and regular History of Venice, but, as its name implies, to consist only of Sketches of the most prominent and picturesque features that mark her annals. The different transactions, however, are so skilfully connected, that the reader goes on without being sensible of any *hiatus* in the story; and in the mean time those parts of the history which are chosen for the narrative, are related with so much fulness and particularity, that we seem to be reading the work rather of some cotemporary chronicler, than of a professed systematic historian.

Now we do not wish to see all history written in this way: for it would not always be safe to trust either to the taste or the discretion of the historian for what was to be related and fully described, and what was to be slightly passed over or omitted. But the taste and discretion of the historian being supposed, this plan has many recommendations on the score of pleasure and amusement, at least, if not on that of more solid instruction. Some persons read history with one object in view and some with another. If the reader's object is to learn the causes of events, or to penetrate the abstract principles of human society, or to watch the effect of different laws on the wealth and happiness of communities, the dullest tracts of history, and those least marked by the influence of individual character or extraordinary achievement, will be found most to abound in instruction. But this is not commonly the object for which people in general take up history. The mass of readers and purchasers of books seek from them no other advantage than amusement for their leisure, or refreshment from the fatigue of business:—knowing at the same time that the pleasure derived from books, if they be tolerably chosen, is not a pleasure which ceases with the mere momentary enjoyment they afford, nor a pleasure wholly devoid of more important improvement. To the general reader, then, we think that the plan adopted by our author in these Venetian Sketches has many recommendations. So far as the advantage of the reader himself is concerned, there is no benefit he can receive from history, or indeed from books of any kind, so great as that he may derive by being made to sympathize with the feelings of the historian, (if he be such a person as an historian should be,) while describing those great transactions of past times, in which the passions of mankind, their good and bad qualities, are especially called forth; but, at all events, there can be no question, that a plan which professes only to relate such transactions at

full length, and to pass over rapidly those times and actions which are not distinguished by any peculiar features, is a plan which promises more delight and pleasure, in a short compass, than could be afforded upon the ordinary plan of writing history. However, be this method good or bad, it is the method which has been adopted in the work before us; and we run no risk in saying that, whatever advantages it possesses, the author has very successfully availed himself of them. His object plainly has been to do exactly what the name of his book implies, and which is so often accomplished by painters. It is not an abridgment of Venetian history (though his work has been brought within the compass of an abridgment) that we have before us; the author has transferred to history that which is the principle on which a good picture is composed, where all the inferior agents and circumstances are hinted at in the back ground, and only the principal action, and the two or three leading personages, put prominently forward and distinctly portrayed. It is an experiment perfectly new in the extent to which it is here tried; and the success of it, in our author's hands at least, has been so great, that we hope he will be induced to persevere in the attractive path which he has chalked out for himself with so much taste and skill.

Having made these general remarks upon the author, and his method of composition, we now come to the task which remains to us—of conveying to our reader some knowledge of the work itself.

Considering the important place which the Venetian state has occupied in the history of modern Europe, and the frequent allusions made to her city and people in poetry and romance, it is somewhat surprising that the work before us should be the only work in our language, which we are acquainted with, that pretends to be a history of this remarkable republic. The works of Paruka, Torcarini, Sanuti, and Contarini, have been “done into English;” but the translations are very old, and there are few readers of the present day who have probably met with them: both the translations themselves, and the names of the translators, have been forgotten, though one of them was a name of no less importance than that of an Earl of Monmouth. No nation of modern Europe, however, has been more rich in native historians, or affords a greater variety of original documents from which an authentic history may be formed. To say nothing of the abundant store of materials to be found in the collections of Muratori—most of them cotemporary documents, and many of them the productions of persons who were eye-witnesses, and often sharers in the events they relate—the conquest of Venice by the French has put the public in possession of information upon many points

which were before very imperfectly known, by opening an access to sources of knowledge, rich in materials, but which had up to that time been scrupulously guarded from the public eye. It is from these sources that Daru, in his valuable history, has drawn so largely, to whose work and Sismondi's the author of these Sketches professes to be largely indebted. But though indebted to these writers for many facts not to be found in Venetian authors, yet still it is from these last that the thread of the narrative is drawn. The documents that have been brought to light from the archives of the ancient Venetian government, relate more to the motives of its rulers, and to the maxims and principles by which they were guided, than to the events themselves with which history is concerned. And it is the peculiar and characteristic merit of these "Sketches," that the writer always endeavours to place his reader in a situation to see and hear what was thought and felt by those who lived at the time, and who witnessed the facts which he describes. Many of the transactions are given in the very words of cotemporary writers; and the reflections, commonly those of the persons who were present at the busy scenes which the historian endeavours to sketch. The effect of this is, that a conviction of truth is created in the mind of the reader beyond that which is produced by almost any history we are acquainted with; and at the same time a dramatic effect is given to the narrative as vivid and delightful as any that could be derived from the most skilful fiction. It is difficult to verify or exemplify the character which we are giving of the style of narration adopted in these volumes, by a selection of extracts. The very merit of the style, and the effect we are speaking of, is produced by the minuteness and completeness of the description—by putting the scenes and actors before the reader:—all that was done and said, or believed to have been done and said at the time, so far as there is the authority of cotemporary documents for supposing. Now although this is an admirable method for giving the reader a real and lively conception of the manners and opinions of the time, yet it supposes any quality rather than brevity; but if the reader wishes to understand and appreciate the characteristic merit of these admirable historical sketches, let him turn to the account which is given of the siege of Constantinople by the Crusaders, at the third chapter of the first volume.

We take this passage in preference to many others, because there is in Gibbon a description of the same event, which has been considered, and very justly, to possess extraordinary merit. If the reader will first read that description, and then turn to the same transaction related by our author, he will then better appreciate the skill and peculiar merit of the last.

After describing the election of Dandolo, a blind old man of eighty, to be Doge, the author proceeds to relate the embassy which was sent by the Crusaders of France, with Geoffrey de Villehardouin, the Marshal of Champagne, at their head, to obtain the assistance of Venice towards this sacred attempt for the recovery of the Holy Land :

“ The letters of credence with which the envoys had been intrusted required the doge and senate of Venice to place as entire confidence in these representatives, as in the barons themselves by whom they were deputed. Dandolo accordingly received them with distinguished honour, and acknowledging that, with the exception of crowned kings, the princes who had sent them were the most powerful in Christendom, he demanded their object. They answered by requesting an assembly of the council before which it might be declared ; and, in an audience granted four days afterwards, they thus expressed themselves : ‘ Sir, we are come to thee from the most potent barons of France, who have put on the sign of the cross to avenge the wrongs of Jesus Christ, and to recover Jerusalem, if such be the will of God ; and, because they know that no nation has the power of you and your people, they implore you, in God’s name, to look with pity upon the Holy Land, and, by supplying them with ships and means for their passage thither, to join with them in avenging the shame of our Redeemer.’ ‘ On what conditions,’ demanded the doge ? ‘ On any conditions,’ replied the envoys, ‘ which you may think proper to impose, provided they are within our power.’ ‘ Certes,’ said the doge, ‘ the request is no slight one, and the enterprise itself is of vast magnitude ; we will return you an answer in eight days ; and wonder not that we ask so long a time, for a thing of this importance needs much deliberation.’

“ At the expiration of the time appointed, the doge announced the conditions on which he would assent to the proposal : prefacing this declaration with a statement which proves that it was not yet considered safe to neglect the body of the people, in the decision of important questions of state. Provided he could obtain the concurrence of the great council and of the commons of the city, he agreed to furnish palanders for the transport of four thousand five hundred horses, and nine thousand esquires ; ships for four thousand five hundred knights and twenty thousand serjeants on foot. Nine months’ provisions were to be supplied to this armament, at the rate of four marks for every horse, two for every man. The engagements were to continue in force for one whole year, from the day of departure from the port of Venice, into whatever realms the service of God and Christendom might lead them ; and the sum demanded for this assistance was eighty-five thousand marks. As an allurement to the completion of the bargain, Dandolo promised to equip, in addition, fifty galleys for the love of God, and free of expense, but with this important reservation, that so long as the alliance continued,



all conquests made by sea or land should be divided equally between the contracting parties.

“ The ambassadors demanded a single night for the consideration of this truly mercantile offer ; and on the morrow they assented to it. The proposition was then submitted to the different bodies whose consent was deemed necessary. In the end, the general assembly was convoked ; and, in the presence of more than ten thousand citizens, the Mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated in the cathedral of St. Mark, where God was implored to inspire them to do his pleasure in respect of the demands of the ambassadors. When the Mass was over, the doge sent to the ambassadors, desiring that they would humbly move the people to the conclusion of the treaty. The ambassadors accordingly repaired to the church, and were eagerly regarded by those who had not yet beheld them ; while Villehardouin spoke by consent for the rest, and said—‘ Signiors, the most high and powerful barons of France have sent us to Venice to implore you to look with pity on the Holy City which is in bondage to the Infidels, and for God’s sake to join with them in avenging the wrongs of Jesus Christ. They turn to you because they know none others so powerful on the seas, and they have enjoined us to kneel at your feet until you have granted their prayers, and have compassion upon the land over the sea.’ The six ambassadors then fell upon their knees, with many tears, and the doge and the people waved their hands and cried aloud with one voice, ‘ We consent, we consent.’ The acclamations and tumult were so great that it seemed the earth shook ; and when that great heart-moving cry, which exceeded all human experience, had subsided, the doge mounted the pulpit and spoke to the people as follows : ‘ Behold, signiors, the honour which the Lord has shown you, in disposing the bravest warriors upon earth to seek your alliance, in preference to that of all other nations, in so high an enterprize as the rescue of the tomb of our Lord.’ ”—vol. i. pp. 86—89.

We shall pass over the intermediate events,—the capture of Zara, the dispute and affray among the Crusaders, the schism created among the leaders by the opposition of the Pope to the enterprize against Zara, as well as to that against Constantinople, and pass on to the embarkation at Corfu, when the whole fleet set sail from the Adriatic to the Dardanelles :—

“ This compact having been ratified and sworn to, they re-embarked, and quitted Corfu on the eve of Pentecost. The martial spirit of Villehardouin is kindled afresh upon the renewal of activity. ‘ The day,’ he says, ‘ was bright and cheerful, and the winds were soft and favourable, as they spread their sails before them. And I, Geoffrey, the Marshal of Champagne, who have dictated this recital, having been present at the matters therein related, and conscious that it contains nothing but truth, bear witness that so glorious a sight had never been beheld before. Far as our view could extend, the sea was covered with the sails of ship and galley ; our hearts were lifted

up with joy, and we thought our armament might undertake the conquest of the whole world.' Nor was this the impression of such only as held command. While doubling the promontory of Malea, they fell in with two vessels filled with knights, pilgrims, and serjeants returning from the Holy Land. They were some of those who had departed from their agreement of meeting at Venice, and were now ashamed to declare themselves. The Count of Flanders sent his barge to inquire their destination and quality; and, as it approached the vessels, a serjeant, struck by the gallant bearing of the fleet before him, leaped on board, and cried out to his less enthusiastic comrades, 'Give me my baggage, for I shall join these people who appear certain of subduing the land!'

"Negropont, Andros, and Abydos received them as peaceably as Durazzo; and the Byzantine court, lost in sloth and luxury, either disbelieved or disregarded the news of their approach. No secrecy had been affected: both the measures taken by the exiled prince, and the consequent design of the Crusaders, had been long openly avowed; and it ought to have been easy for Greece, formed by nature a maritime power, and at that time sharing with Venice the dominion of the seas, to have made some great effort before her capital was besieged. It has been said that, but a few years before this invasion, the dock-yards of Constantinople could furnish one thousand six hundred vessels of war. Admitting the number to be exaggerated, the very exaggeration testifies the greatness of her naval resources. But the emperor, devoted to ease and sensuality, had intrusted his arsenals to a brother-in-law, by whose base cupidity the state was crippled. Stores, arms, equipments—the very hulks themselves—had been broken up and sold to swell the private wealth of Michael Stryphnus; and, when the rumour of impending danger prompted him to restore the navy which he had destroyed, he was forbidden to lift an axe in the forests, reserved, as he was informed by their guardian eunuchs, not for the lowly provision of ship-timber, but for the more exalted pleasures of the Imperial chase.

"The huge and heavy-laden armament of the Crusaders proceeded through the intricate navigation of the Archipelago, and threaded the narrow strait of the Dardanelles, without hindrance or interruption. As the sea of Marmora widened before them, its bosom, covered with sails, presented a sight of incomparable beauty; till, three leagues short of Constantinople, they neared the land, and obtained their first view of that great and gorgeous metropolis. Their feelings cannot be doubted; nor can they be better expressed than in the words of that eye-witness who so deeply shared them. 'When they contemplated the lofty walls and goodly towers that enclosed it around, the gay palaces and glittering churches that seemed innumerable, the immense dimensions of the city denoting it was the Queen of the Earth, they could hardly believe their senses; nor was there any man, however bold, whose heart did not tremble within him. This was no marvel; for never since the creation of the world had such an enterprise been attempted by such a handful of men.'

"The prudence of Dandolo saved them from destruction in the outset. The barons landed, and held a council in the Minster of St. Stephen's, a pleasant village, still known to us by its former name, and now chiefly distinguished by its immense powder magazines. It can be no matter of surprise that some impatience was expressed for an immediate general disembarkation; but, in opposition to this wish, the doge advanced his own former knowledge and experience of the country. The continent, he said, was of vast extent and thickly peopled, and the soldiers, being in want of provisions, would scatter themselves over it, in foraging parties, and be cut off in detail. Far better would it be to make for the islands in sight, and, having there refreshed themselves, to proceed at once to the attack of the city. This advice prevailed. They passed the night at anchor, and on the morrow, the Feast of St. John the Baptist, having displayed their banners and standards on the turrets, and fenced the sides of their vessels with a *pavissade* of shields close locked together, each man cast a glance upon his arms, well knowing that the time was at hand when he would need their assistance. As they set sail, the wind bore them within a bow-shot of Constantinople, and some of the ships were assailed with missiles from the throngs which clustered on its walls and towers. It is probable, although Villehardouin is far from confessing it, that a slight confusion ensued, for he admits that they abandoned their design on the islands as completely as if it had never been proposed; and, without loss of time, crossed over to the Asiatic shore, and anchored off Chalcedon, where one of the fairest palaces of the emperor received the generals, and the troops were disembarked and encamped. On the following morning, the fleet sailed onward to Scutari, immediately opposite to Constantinople, and was followed thither by the army. The Greeks, on the European shore, made a corresponding movement, and encamped on the outskirts of Pera."—vol. i. pp. 109—113.

The history then goes on to relate the incidents that took place during the nine days passed at Scutari, and passes to the landing of the Crusaders at Galata, and the investment of Constantinople itself:—

"On the tenth morning (July 6) after their arrival, it was resolved to attempt the passage of the Bosphorus; and the part selected was not far below the spot ennobled by the Bridge of Darius. Before they addressed themselves to this dangerous enterprise, for such, previously to the event, it might justly be considered, mass was celebrated in the presence of the whole army. The bishops and clergy exhorted their people, instructing them that in this extremity, in which none could foresee what might be God's pleasure concerning him, it was the duty of every one to confess his sins and dispose of his worldly possessions. This counsel was received with fervent zeal and devotion. At length, the appointed moment having arrived, the vanguard embarked under the command of Count Baldwin, who was followed by more good lances, archers, and cross-bowmen than any

other lord of the army. Four other divisions succeeded, respectively led by Henry, brother of the Count of Flanders, the Counts of St. Paul and Blois, and Matthew of Montmorency. In the last were enrolled Villehardouin himself and the flower of the Gallic chivalry. The largest band, Lombards, Tuscans, Germans and Piedmontese, composed the rear, which was intrusted to the Marquis of Montferrat. The mass of soldiery crowded the heavy vessels under the guidance and protection of the galleys; and the knights, armed from head to foot, with their horses ready housed and saddled, entered the palanders. As the day advanced, the sun shone brightly, and displayed Alexius with his countless hosts awaiting the onset on the opposite shore. The trumpets sounded, and the galleys moved forward, each towing a heavier transport; none asked who was to be foremost, but every man pushed on with all his might to land. As they neared the western bank, the knights started up from the palanders, and, armed as they were, helm-laced, and lance in hand, leaped baldrick-deep into the sea. Nor were the archers, serjeants, and arbelestriers less eager than their lords, each company forming on the spot where their vessels touched the ground; and the Greeks, after a faint show of resistance, fled before the lances crossed each other. As soon as the shore was cleared, the ports were opened, the bridges let down from the palanders, and, the horses having disembarked, the knights mounted, and the six divisions formed according to preconcerted order. The van, under Count Baldwin, advanced to the camp from which Alexius had beheld their landing; it was already abandoned, and afforded a rich booty to the conquerors. For the night, they took post near the Tower of Galata, in a quarter named Stenon, which was at that time, as it is now under its modern denomination *Hassa Kai*, allotted to the Jews. At dawn of the following day, they repulsed a sortie from the tower, and, gaining possession of its gate before the fugitives were able to close it, they stormed the castle with great slaughter, and established themselves within its walls. The possession of this fortress materially assisted the operations against the harbour, the mouth of which it commanded. A favourable breeze sprang up, and the Venetian galleys, setting all sail, bore down upon the huge chain, without molestation from the shore. For a while it resisted the shock, and the mariners endeavoured, but in vain, to sever its massive links with gigantic shears constructed for the purpose. At length, one vessel more fortunate than its mates, and realizing the good omen of its name, *The Eagle (l'Aquila)*, succeeded in breaking through the boom. The whole navy triumphantly followed, and the total destruction of the little squadron opposed to it ensued. Some of the vessels were instantly captured, some ran under the city walls and were sunk, after having been abandoned by their crews, many of whom clung to the fragments of the broken chain, still suspended from its palisades, and gained the land by swarming along them as on a rope."

"After four days' rest, the fleet moved up the harbour, and the land-forces advanced at the same time along the shore, in order to

round the head of the gulf, and take post under the walls. A march of about seven miles brought them to the extremity of the Golden Horn, where the little rivers Barbyzes and Cydaris, uniting their beds, discharge themselves, by a single channel, into a small bay; which, from the purity of its waters and its abundant produce of fish, is known to modern ears as *Les Eaux douces*; a far more picturesque title than that given it by the Turks, *Kiat-hanè*, or by the present Greeks, *Kartaricos*, both of which names refer only to the paper-mills now deforming the beauty of the scene. The passage of these streams might have been easily defended; but the Greeks had been contented to break down the stone bridge which traversed them, and to retire within their walls. A day and a night completed its reparation, and though the besieged, at the lowest estimate, outnumbered the besiegers in the proportion of twenty to one, they looked on without venturing to oppose. The six divisions passed the river in succession, and sat down before the city. Too few for a regular investment, it was but a single gate (probably that which is now known as *Egri Kapoussi*) against which they were able to direct their efforts. The position chosen for their camp was at the north-western angle, between the Palace of Blachernæ and the Castle of Boemond, and here they were laboriously employed in bringing up their artillery, constructing their works, and planting their scorpions, catapults, mangonels, and perrieres. Few moments could be snatched for repose, for they were harassed by perpetual sallies, and they could not eat, nor rest, nor sleep, except in arms. The attacks were renewed six or seven times each day; and many of them, headed by Theodore Lascaris, a son-in-law of the Emperor, who was destined to great subsequent distinction, occasioned severe loss. Often, however, did they chase back the Greeks under their very walls, till they were themselves forced to retreat from the volleys of stones hurled upon them by the garrison. The more effectually to secure their camp, they fortified it with stout barriers and palisades. But an enemy, carrying greater terror than the swords of the Greeks, threatened to commence its inroads, and their situation increased in peril every hour. They dared not forage beyond four bow-shots from their tents, and even then only in large parties. Their fresh provisions having been exhausted, they had recourse to their horses, and when these had been killed, and this resource failed also, a little meal and a little salted meat now constituted their whole store. Their supplies, even of this kind, at the commencement of this most extraordinary siege, had not been calculated for more than three weeks' consumption.

“Ten days out of that period had passed away; and their greatest hazard was exposure to farther delay. Their preparations were completed on the land side, and the Venetians were equally ready in the harbour; so that, on the morning of the 17th of July, four of the six divisions advanced from the camp, headed by the Count of Flanders and his brother, the Counts of Blois and of St. Paul, while the reserve of Champagners and Burgundians, under the Marquis of Montferrat and Matthew de Montmorency, kept guard over the camp:

Much injury had already been suffered by the outer wall, against which the united force of not less than two hundred and fifty engines had been directed; and the ponderous stones which they were constructed to hurl had, in many instances, reached and destroyed parts of the splendid architecture within the city itself. Two ladders were successfully raised against a barbican, defended chiefly by a band of Pisans whom hatred of Venice had attached to the Emperor, and by a ruder and yet more formidable battalion, celebrated in Byzantine history as *Varangi*, and called by Villehardouin Danes and English. They were, probably, the descendants of Saxons or of Anglo-Danes, who had fled from England, nearly a century and a half before, to escape the tyranny consequent upon the Norman conquest, and who having tendered their services to the first Alexius, and given ample proofs of their strength and valour, were formed into an imperial body guard as early as the year 1081. Their weapon was a ponderous battle-axe, a more than equal match for even the double-handed sword of the Crusaders; yet, in spite of these barbarians, for such they were not unjustly considered, a gallant handful of fifteen warriors, all, except two of them, knights, gained the summit of the wall; but, before they could be supported, the defenders rallied and drove them back. Two, says Villehardouin, remained prisoners, and were carried before the Emperor Alexius, to his singular gratification. He had not participated in the combat, but looked on from the summit of a lofty tower. Many other of the assailants were grievously hurt or wounded, and, the attack having entirely failed, the French retired to their camp, broken and dispirited.

“The Venetians had been far more successful. In their preparations they had displayed extraordinary skill, and exhausted every branch of military art then known. Their decks were crowded with warlike engines, and protected from the effects of fire by a thick covering of ox-hides; and, in order to gain the ramparts, they had framed rope-ladders, which could be let down, at will, from the extremities of the yard-arms, and which, from their great height, overtopped the city walls. These drawbridges, as they neared the shore, were lowered, and poured forth swarms of combatants upon the heads of the astonished garrison. But their triumph must be told in the dramatic words of Villehardouin. ‘Their vessels, marshalled in a line which extended more than three bow-shots, began to approach the towers, and the wall which stretched along the shore. The mangonels were planted upon the decks, and the flights of arrows and quarrels were numberless, yet those within the city valiantly defended their posts. The ladders on the ships approached the walls so closely that in many places it became a combat of sword and lance, and the shouts were so great that they were enough to shake sea and earth; but the galleys, notwithstanding, could find no opportunity of reaching the land. Now you shall hear of the dauntless valour of the Duke of Venice; who, old and blind as he was, stood upon the prow of his galley, with the standard of St. Mark spread before him, urging his people to push on to the shore on peril of his high displeasure.



By wondrous exertions, they ran the galley ashore, and, leaping out, bore the banner of St. Mark before him on the land. When the Venetians saw the banner of St. Mark on the land, and that their Duke's galley had been the first to touch the ground, they pushed on in shame and emulation; and the men of the palanders sprang to land, in rivalry with each other, and commenced a furious assault. And I, Geoffry de Villehardouin, Marshal of Champagne, the author of this work, affirm, that it was asserted by more than forty persons, that they beheld the banner of St. Mark planted upon one of the towers, and none could tell by what hand it was planted there; at which miraculous sight, the besieged fled and deserted the walls, while the invaders rushed in headlong, striving who should be foremost; seized upon twenty-five of the towers, and garrisoned them with their soldiers. And the Duke despatched a boat with the news of his success to the Barons of the army, letting them know that he was in possession of twenty-five towers, and in no danger of being dislodged.'

"The invisible standard-bearer, who struck terror into the besieged and animated his comrades, was probably some gallant soldier, killed (like one of our own brave countrymen, under similar circumstances, on the ramparts of Seringapatam) in the very moment of his triumph. The Venetians, when once established, with characteristic prudence, secured their booty, and began to send the horses and palfreys which they had captured, in boats to the camp; and while they were thus employed a fresh body of Greeks returned to the charge. In order to maintain their ground, the Venetians set fire to the houses between themselves and the approaching enemy, against whom this terrible expedient proved an insurmountable barrier.

"To change their attack, and to press upon that portion of the besiegers which had been already repulsed, was the obvious policy of the Greeks; and Alexius, in spite of his unwarlike temperament, placed himself at the head of his myriads, and directed a sally from three gates at once, in the hope of overwhelming the camp. Each of the sixty battalions which the Greeks brought into the field outnumbered any of the six opposed to it; and the whole plain seemed alive with armed men, who advanced slowly and in good order. Had the Crusaders moved forward, they must have been surrounded and swept away; but forming before their palisades, which effectually guarded their rear, they placed their line so that its flanks also were protected. The crossbowmen and archers ranged in front, the horses formed the second line, and, behind these, were drawn up the infantry. Two hundred knights, whose horses had been slaughtered, either for food or in battle, served that day on foot; and, thus arrayed, they awaited their enemies, already within bow-shot. At that fearful crisis, intelligence of the peril of his friends was conveyed to Dandolo, and the noble-minded veteran lost not a moment in abandoning the towers which he had so hardly won, and in hastening to share the fate of his brethren in arms. Declaring that he would live or die with the Pilgrims, and himself descending the first from the walls, he rushed to the camp, bearing with him every hand that could be spared from his

fleet. Little, however, would this slender reinforcement have availed, if the courage of Alexius had equalled his overwhelming force. Whatever might have been his own loss (for there is no doubt that the Franks would have sold their lives most dearly), the total destruction of his enemies must have been the result of repeated charges; and these were urged upon him by the ardour of Lascaris. Yet, for a long time, the opposed lines gazed on each other without a movement; the Greeks too timorous to advance, the Pilgrims too prudent to quit their barricades. At length, the Emperor, despairing of success or apprehensive of disaster, gave the signal for retreat; and his steps were followed, slowly and cautiously, by the Latin knights, astonished at this unexpected good fortune. 'And indeed,' says the honest Villehardouin, 'God never delivered people from more imminent peril than that which this day threatened the Pilgrims, the boldest of whom rejoiced when it was passed.' Worn with toil and fatigue, they put off their armour; but their quarters were dreary and comfortless, they were straitened for provisions, and the danger which they had just escaped must again be confronted on the morrow. The Venetians, indeed, might console themselves with their glory. They had displayed the most eminent of all military virtues, courage, promptitude, fidelity; and, with a result which does not always accompany merit, they had not only deserved success, but they had also attained it.

" 'But, behold,' exclaims the pious chronicler, 'the miracles of our Lord! who displays them according to his pleasure.' Strange rumours from the city broke the night-watches of the camp, and intelligence the most joyous and the most unlooked-for was confirmed at dawn. Stragglers arrived, from time to time, all agreeing in the same story, that the usurper, terrified by the firmness of the besiegers, and, perhaps, also by the murmurs of his own citizens, had collected, during the night, such portable treasure as he could secure, a vast sum in gold, and the rich jewels of the crown; and, with his daughter Irene and a few followers whom he could trust, had hastily embarked and fled to *Debeltos* (Zagora), an obscure village in Bulgaria. The fear of general anarchy, so likely to be consequent upon this desertion of the throne, strongly impressed Constantine, the chief eunuch of the palace, to whom this shameful abandonment was earliest known. It was necessary to find some head of the state; and none appeared so fit, either to calm intestine discord or to conciliate the enemy under the walls, as the rightful but deposed prince. Isaac Angelus was awakened, at midnight, in his dungeon; and, in the messengers of his restoration to sovereignty, the sightless old man most probably anticipated, though falsely, the ministers of a bloody execution. After eight years' captivity, he was again invested with the imperial robes; led by the hand to the palace of Blachernæ, seated on his former throne, and deafened afresh with protestations of allegiance. The Barons and the young Alexius were overjoyed at this wondrous intelligence; so wondrous as, at first, to exceed belief. The Greeks, proverbially, were little to be trusted, and caution was requisite in

accepting their first report. The Chiefs, therefore, awaited its confirmation in the camp and under arms, till at length, when an exchange of couriers had removed all doubt, they gave way to their intense feelings of delight. Thanks were devoutly rendered by all to Heaven; and never, says the brave and sincere Marshal of Champagne, was greater joy manifested since the Creation."—vol. i. pp. 118—130.

We have selected the above extract as a specimen of the style in which these sketches are executed, because it is a passage not connected with preceding and succeeding events, and forming, therefore, a complete picture by itself, rather than on account of any merit which it possesses above other portions of the volumes. The account of the wars between Genoa and Venice, as well as of those which the Republic waged with Padua and Milan,—the history of the league of Cambray,—of the war of Chiozza, and of the siege and conquest of Candia by the Turks, are all of them passages of singular and pre-eminent merit. In like manner, the lively conception of individual characters which is conveyed into the reader's mind, without any formal portraiture, affords an equally striking proof of the author's peculiar historical talent. The account we have of Vecchio de Carrero, and his eventful life,—of Carlo Zeno,—of the Visconti,—of Francesco di Carmagnuole,—of Francesco Sporza, and many others, are all marked with the same masterly pencil,—displaying a grace and lightness of touch, which is the more delightful because it is effected with so little labour or effort that we can fancy the author to be as unaware of his singular merit in this way, as the public in general seem to be, if we may judge from the attention which the book has excited. But the book is a golden book; as far above any of its competitors, in the list of works that have been published in the same form, as can well be expressed. The work will take its place, if we are not much mistaken, among the standard historical compositions of the language; and we hope, ere long, to see it printed in the form in which other standard works are commonly published.

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ART. VII.—1. *Essays, Moral and Political.* By Robert Southey, Esq. LL.D. Poet Laureate, &c. Now first collected. 2 vols. small 8vo. London: Murray. 1832.

2. *Observations on the Nature, Extent and Effects of Pauperism, and on the Means of Reducing it.* By Thomas Walker, M.A. Barrister at Law, and one of the Police Magistrates of the Metropolis. Second Edition, Revised. London. Ridgway. 1832. 8vo. pp. 89.

3. *Statement in regard to the Pauperism of Glasgow, from the*

*Experience of the last Eight Years.* By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. Minister of St. John's Church, Glasgow. Chalmers and Collins, Glasgow; Waugh and Innes, Edinburgh; Tims, Dublin; Whittaker, London. 1823. 8vo. pp. 78.

4. *The Eighth Report of the Committee of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline, and for the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders. With an Appendix.* Arch, London; Lizars, Edinburgh; Tims, Dublin. 1832. 8vo.

5. *Thoughts on Secondary Punishments, in a Letter to Earl Grey.* By Richard Whately, D.D. Archbishop of Dublin. *To which are appended two Articles, on Transportation to New South Wales, and on Secondary Punishments; and some Observations on Colonization.* London. Fellowes. 1832. 8vo. pp. 204.

THERE is one point connected with the Reform Bill on which all parties are agreed—an alteration of vital importance has been made in the constitution of this country, and it is a matter, not of curiosity only, but of primary interest, to see how that alteration will work. At present all is speculation. No one can certainly tell, and few will even venture to predict, what the results of the Reform will be. The hopes of one party, and the fears of the other, are qualified, as far as reasonable men are concerned, by great uncertainty and ignorance. The only infallible consequence of the measure appears to us to be an immense increase in the power of the Democracy. Whether that power will be exercised chiefly in correcting the abuses which have grown up under its predecessors, or in destroying the institutions which are deformed by those abuses,—whether a Reformed Parliament will content itself with doing what former Parliaments ought to have done, or will proceed in the work of innovation until Old England be no longer old,—whether Lord Grey and Mr. Stanley will succeed in preserving the limited monarchy and the aristocratical privileges now existing in this empire, or Mr. Hume and Mr. O'Connell will introduce their beloved American forms of government,—are questions which no cautious person will venture to answer without reserve. We know that the centre of gravity of our political system has changed, but where it is now situated, or how the various parts of the body will cohere under the new arrangement, is matter of conjecture only. Experiment after experiment must be tried, and year after year must elapse before confidence and security can return.

In the midst of this uncertainty two things may be looked upon as fixed: First, that the immediate result of the recent change will mainly depend upon the competence of our existing institutions to withstand the assault which will be made upon

them; and, secondly, that the ultimate and permanent welfare of this country are indissolubly connected with the instruction, and improvement, and happiness of the great body of the people. Old dams and breakwaters have been removed, and the stream of popular sentiment will henceforth rush along uncontrolled by those checks which have served to direct its progress and moderate its force. If the channels are deep enough to contain the boiling torrent with which they will now be filled—if the banks are strong enough to resist its fury, the land may yet be preserved. While, on the contrary supposition, the flood must prevail, and that large and beautiful field which has been enclosed with so much pains, and cultivated with so much skill and perseverance, and which, in spite of many barren spots, is yet so dear to the eye of benevolence, patriotism, and religion,—must once more become a wild waste of many waters, or rather, what is worse, an unreclaimed and irreclaimable morass, where the great sources of health and strength will be converted into the materials of infection and disease,—where desolation and death will be the only crop reaped from fields once fertile with every thing that can rejoice the heart of man.

With these forebodings as to what may possibly be the fate of this country, we confess that we are not among those who anticipate any immediate danger from the measure which has been passed in the late session of Parliament. It is true, that the Unions may be said to have carried the Reform Bill, but they could not have carried it unless they had been cordially supported by thousands who will not support them in the direct work of anarchy. The Democratic troops are not formidable except when they are officered by Whigs; and the Whigs, we suspect, are upon their guard against the possible machinations of their united friends. The flames of Bristol were not without an effect upon all who have houses over their heads. Ireland, with her O'Connells and her Doyles, has told the Lord Lieutenant that the time is come when he must either surrender to the Demagogues or defy them. The English Unions are, as yet, hardly prepared for extreme measures, and, even if they were, could hardly carry them into effect until they are headed by a wiser statesman than Mr. Attwood, and a better soldier than Colonel Jones.

But our belief in the non-existence of urgent danger does not blind us against the probability of its arising at no very distant day. Looking at the state of parties, Whig, Tory, and Radical, each nearly equal, and any two of them an overmatch for the third, who can doubt that the play of political combinations may throw a preponderating power into the hands of the *Destructives*?

Looking at the men by whom Government is or can be administered, who can name the individual on whom we may implicitly rely as capable of steering us through the waves of the political tempest. The Whigs, as they themselves confess, have no firm hold of power. And was a Tory administration to succeed them, what chance could it have of continuing in office, except by making very extensive sacrifices to popular opinion, or, in other words, giving way to a vast mass of innovation,—the results of which must always be a matter of conjecture.

In a word, the old Aristocratical prop by which our house was long supported has fallen, and either we must underpin the building and put new foundations beneath its walls, or it will totter on for a few years in a rickety state, and then come down with a tremendous crash. Was there ever any nation in such a state as this is now? An overflowing population,—immense wealth in the hands of the nobility and gentry,—a very large middle class, sufficiently provided with the good things of this world,—perfect freedom in thought, word, and deed,—much public virtue,—strict justice,—pure and undefiled religion,—equal laws,—great benevolence,—civilization carried as high and as low as it ever has been carried among mankind,—and yet, with all this, an expectation and dread of some great change.

The truth is, that the people having been directly invited to legislate, have been taught the secret of their own strength. And this at a time when a large proportion of them are still immersed in the profoundest ignorance; when another large proportion know just enough to be exposed to the arts of the Demagogue, without being able to see through his designs; when a reckless improvidence has been fostered for years by absurd and unameliorated poor-laws; and when general distress presses with tenfold weight upon the poorer classes, and hardly leaves them room for any reasonable exercise of political privilege or power. Although, therefore, the immediate tempest may be weathered, as we hope and trust it will be, there is a ten times heavier storm brewing in the distance, or, rather, there are certain signs of a constant succession of storms, each more dangerous than that which preceded it, and which no human means can suffice to arrest without the most unremitting attention to the general improvement of the people; their improvement in education, and consequently in knowledge; their improvement in industry, sobriety, and, above all, in prudence and forethought; and their consequent improvement in comfort and contentment. Nothing short of this can hold out any prospect of national tranquillity and happiness. The die is cast. The people of this realm must be raised to a much higher place than has hitherto



been occupied by the people in any European commonwealth, or the overthrow of our institutions is certain. We appeal distinctly to the fears of the aristocracy and middle classes, and ask how they can expect to retain their present relative positions in society if the labouring classes are dissatisfied. It did not require Political Unions to convince the reflecting of this truth. But the Unions have written it in characters which the blind may read, and to deny it any longer is not folly but madness.

Let it not be supposed, however, that the danger of suffering things to continue as they are is the motive which induces us to advocate the general improvement of our fellow-countrymen. We urge this circumstance as an overpowering argument, even when addressed to those by whom no other will be regarded. We tell the selfish despiser of his brethren, the prejudiced lover of ignorance, and the sneering apologist for vice, that they must exert themselves to improve the condition of the people, or prepare to change places with them. For ourselves, and for all good men, we place the duty in question upon a very different foundation, and say that it should be imperative upon every true Christian, and every true philanthropist, and every truly benevolent individual, even if fear and danger were altogether out of consideration.

The fact, we are afraid, is, that the rich, and the wise, and the good, and the happy, are not doing as much as they ought to do, and as much as they might do, for the poor, the ignorant, the vicious, and wretched. They are contented with doing a little, where they ought to do a great deal. In return for that mass of enjoyment which the upper and middling classes derive from society as now constituted among us, we are bound to extend a proportionate degree of care, and help, and assistance, to those who are in a less favoured situation. God and nature will not suffer the great and rich, in short, the gentry, to be as well off as they are in this country, and to remain so, unless they contribute largely to the welfare of the rest of their species. What is wanted is not so much new or better laws, as a new and improved administration of laws already existing. Governments and Parliaments can do but little for the real welfare of a people, still less for their general improvement, or for their recovery from great distress. They may facilitate, encourage, and direct, but the moving power is elsewhere; and unless the gentry will set it a-going, the work will not be done. Look at our suffering agricultural districts. Have they not fallen into their now miserable condition from the neglect, or carelessness, or folly, of those who encouraged, or at least permitted wages to be paid out of poor rates. Look at our towns and manufacturing districts. Could their inhabitants be what they are, if

the gentry had duly superintended their education, duly provided for their religious and moral training, duly punished crimes, and encouraged and rewarded virtue? Look at the demagogues haranguing a political union. May not such an abomination be traced to the absence of that intimacy between master and workman, which ought to have placed the labourer under very different control from that by which he is now guided?

We may be answered by a reference to active magistrates, unwearied philanthropists, conscientious clergymen, and kind masters, and told that all for which we are contending has been done, and done in vain. But we reply, that the number of persons such as these ought to be multiplied a hundred-fold before their existence can do away with the justice of our complaint. There are, here and there, all the persons that have been mentioned. We know it; we are thankful for it. Far, indeed, are we from denying them their just praise, or from undervaluing the good they have done. It is owing to them, and to them alone, that things are not infinitely worse. But for their exertions, the country would long ago have been reduced to a state of hopeless anarchy, wretchedness, and woe; and it is only by multiplying them tenfold that existing dangers will be removed.

The case, however, is not desperate. There is doubtless much sensuality and much selfishness among many men who cannot, and many who will not do their duty to their fellow creatures. Hundreds of the young and thoughtless will look upon riches as furnishing mere matter for enjoyment, and entailing no corresponding obligations upon the possessor. Hundreds will pursue riches as the one thing needful, and, provided riches are secured for themselves and their children, will utterly disregard the classes by whose sweat these riches are earned, by whose numbers they are preserved, and by whose orderly conduct they are made worth having. But with every due allowance for these worshippers of Mammon, ample materials still remain out of which to form a good superintending committee for the great mass of our countrymen; and the chief obstacle in the way of its formation, and the chief difficulty in setting it to work when formed, would be overcome, could the great body of the respectable classes be persuaded to consider what is required of them in this matter. There is enough good feeling, and enough good principle in the land, could they be excited and stirred up to activity. The disposition is no more wanting than the power; but men are afraid to begin; they are deterred by false shame; they stand all the day idle, because they are not invited to enter into the vineyard and work. They stare with stupid indifference at what is going on around them, because they are not aware that the evils arise chiefly from

their own indolence, and might be removed by their conscientious interference. Benevolence springs up in every corner of the land, at the call even of a single voice. How much more might active, systematic, persevering superintendence be called forth on all sides, if the good and the wise would unite in setting the example and supplying the impetus, and showing what may be done by a common and well-directed effort.

The demand is one which arises from the nature of things; and may, therefore, properly be called natural and sacred. In patriarchal times, the whole body of a nation constituted one family, and the parent was bound to provide for the maintenance and happiness of all. In the feudal ages every retainer was not merely dependent upon his chieftain, but had an acknowledged claim upon his care and benevolence. In agricultural districts, a similar claim is still made and admitted, and the proprietor of the soil is regarded as the natural guardian and protector of those who cultivate and live upon his estate. Perhaps it is in some measure owing to this circumstance that, in towns and populous districts, so few persons deem themselves called upon to assist in conducting parish business. Such business was originally transacted by one or more individuals, the *magnates* of each rural district; and hence seems to have sprung an opinion that, in districts very differently inhabited, and requiring very different superintendence, the same amount of guardianship is alone required. The affairs of a country parish having been managed, time out of mind, by one squire, one clergyman, and three or four churchwardens and overseers, it is thought that a staff of a like numerical amount will suffice for town parishes, or other populous places, containing twenty or thirty thousand souls. The poor of a rural district having been superintended and managed without other interference than that of persons upon whom they have the strongest direct claim, it has come to be received as an axiom, that, in other districts, no claims but such as this can be preferred, and that opulent and educated persons residing in large towns perform a work of supererogation, or at least do something supereminently meritorious, when they take an interest in the welfare of their fellow-creatures.

As a point of Christian morals, such a doctrine cannot be maintained for a moment; and even in a social and political point of view, it is evidently inadmissible; for where, as in this country, there exists a great body of educated persons in easy circumstances, there must also be a still greater body of mere labourers; and as a patriarchal, a feudal, or an agricultural state of society cannot prosper without due caution upon the part of its naturally constituted guardians and governors; so, in a commercial, populous,

and free commonwealth, the upper classes are bound to discharge certain duties, and nothing will go right while they refuse. When the population is thin, the number of persons who interfere may be small: when the population is large, a large number of the higher and middling orders will be wanted to assist in guiding the great body of the people; and no one has a right to plead an exemption from this general claim. 'What have I to do with the labouring classes?' is a question which is asked sometimes openly, and often secretly, by thousands. 'I am not their landlord; I am not their employer; I am not their clergyman; let them apply to these, or to the overseer—not to me, or to such as me.' Excuses like these are frequently made, and much more frequently acted upon, without any distinct expression of them; and the answer, in a more political examination of the matter, is very short,—  
'Although you are not the immediate landlords or immediate employers of the poor in your neighbourhood, yet is the land, in fact, tilled for your benefit, and the workman at work for your convenience; and your relative duties are just the same as you yourself acknowledge them to be in the case of the actual landlord or employer.' Unless the truth of these statements is admitted and acted upon, we can see no hope of better times. We have confessed already that much is done, and in many quarters. Statesmen and legislators are constantly at work; a large body of philanthropists are pressing on from day to day, recommending new plans, or improving upon old ones; a numerous clergy, rapidly advancing in the career of usefulness, are bent upon the full discharge of their sacred duties—and yet complaints resound on every side; things are getting worse and worse; there is more crime, more poverty, more suffering in each year, than there was in the preceding one; and where will all this end? Only let things go on as at present, until there is a bad harvest, or until a war breaks out, and bankruptcy, ruin, and want of employment become general, or until any new or old, real or imaginary grievances stir up the mob to tumult, and what excesses may not be expected? The increased political knowledge of the labouring classes is great, and their political errors are increased in the same proportion. They have tasted, but not drunk deep of the sacred spring; and until they know much more than they know at present, their unions are like those of children who meet together to play with gunpowder. This state of things, we contend, can be put an end to in one manner only, namely, by the strict and uniform discharge of the duties which the upper classes owe to the lower, the rich to the poor, and the wise to the ignorant.

Every other remedy that has been suggested or can be suggested resolves itself into this—or presupposes it. Dr. Chalmers,

in the volume to which the attention of our readers has been already directed, declares, with emphasis and truth, that—

“There is no possible help for the people, if they will not help themselves. It is to a rise and reformation in the habits of our peasantry, that we should look for deliverance; and not to the impotent crudities of a speculative legislation. Many are the schemes of amelioration at all times afloat. We hold, that without the growth of popular intelligence and virtue they will every one of them be ineffectual.”

And how, we ask, can popular intelligence and virtue be made to grow—much more, how can they ever attain their full stature and their just proportion, unless the ignorant and vicious millions by whom we are now surrounded are carefully tended, soundly taught, kindly admonished and directed, not by a few hundreds of well-meaning friends, but by the whole body of the upper classes throughout the country? Dr. Chalmers is loud, but not more loud than just, in his complaints of the tremendous evils which the poor laws, as now administered, have brought upon this unhappy land. How will those evils be remedied, how even will their accelerated increase be prevented, unless by the combined exertions of almost every respectable householder, contributing not his sorely grudged and hardly wrung pittance in the shape of a forced payment to the poor-rate, but his voluntary, his cheerful assistance as an employer or an alms-giver, or at least as a counsellor and a friend? Mr. Southey's *Essays*, which we have placed at the head of this article, and which are well worthy of the permanent shape in which they are now presented to the public, contain many striking passages, which call forth the self-same inquiry, and must receive precisely the same reply. In the *Essay upon the means of improving the people* we find the following just and eloquent remarks:—

“It has been well argued by Stillingfleet, that God exercises a particular providence with respect to the condition of kingdoms and nations, making it better or worse according to the moral and religious condition of the people. For the moral order of the world is not less immutable than its physical laws. The seasons are not linked together in more inevitable sequence than human actions and their consequences; and trees do not more certainly bring forth fruit after their kind than good and evil are attendant upon virtue and vice. As respects individuals, indeed, the day of reckoning may not always be in this world . . . the greater their misery when it is deferred: but communities, existing only in time, cannot escape from their temporal account. There can be no permanent prosperity unless it be founded upon industry, virtue, and religion; the public weal, as well as the welfare and happiness of individuals rests upon these, and rests upon them wholly; in proportion as the people become idle, immoral, and irreligious, the state becomes in-

secure; its base is undermined; and it is well observed by Mr. Walpole, that 'in policy, as in architecture, the ruin is greatest when it begins with the foundation.'

"In the miserably misgoverned Turkish empire men are at this time retrograding from the settled to the nomadic state of life; the wandering population is continually increased by those who desert to it from the oppression which they endure; and thus the last remaining wrecks of civilization, in what was once the most civilized, the most intellectual and the most flourishing part of the whole habitable earth, would one day be destroyed, if it were not reasonable to believe that Providence will bring about a great and beneficial change in its own good time. Those who thus prefer the wilderness to the city, and the tent to the fixed habitation, are in some respects bettered by the exchange; they are less in danger of the plague; and if they leave none of their vices behind them, they acquire at least manly habits to which they were strangers before. The change which has been going on among us has none of these qualifying circumstances for the individual, while it tends to the direct and immediate detriment of the commonweal. With us, they who withdraw themselves from the service of society are enlisted instantly against it. As soon as they cease to support themselves by their own earnings, they begin to prey upon the property of others. Hobbes, in the frontispiece to his *Leviathan*, has delineated his commonwealth as a crowned and armed human image, whose body is composed of individuals; the magistrates form the breast, the military are its arms, and if the figure had been given at full length, the peasantry and mechanics would have been seen constituting the feet and legs. We have had occasion to notice elsewhere the apt similitude which he has found for the libellous and seditious members of the community. If he had contemplated the present effect of the Poor Laws, he might have devised one not less appropriate for the paupers of the land; and the body of his personified commonwealth would have appeared as much infested with extraneous and injurious life as that of a beetle with its annoying parasites, the beetle being of all creatures the one which is most tormented by such attendants.

"The remedies for this great evil are what King Edward indicated, good education; the due administration of good laws; coercion for the idle, the profligate, and the wicked; encouragement for the well-disposed.

"Much has, undoubtedly, been done for educating the children of the poor in these latter years, but it wants a firm and permanent foundation. The schools which have hitherto been established are supported wholly by voluntary subscriptions. It may be hoped that this liberality, which proceeds from a sense of duty towards God and man, will not abate, though it should no longer be provoked by the excitement of hostile views and interests: but it would be unreasonable to expect that the funds which are thus raised shall be considerably increased; and it is impossible that they should be commensurate with the necessity that exists. At this time it is stated, upon the best authority, that there are in London from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty



thousand children, between the ages of six and sixteen, without the means of education; and that from two to four thousand of these are hired out to beggars or employed in thieving.

“The prodigious increase of youthful criminals is an effect of the enormous increase of the metropolis, though so direct and obvious a cause seems to be overlooked by those who have written upon the subject. Great cities do not with more certainty generate foul air, and condense contagion, than they assist the propagation of moral diseases. And yet, under a good police, medical and moral, the means, both of prevention and remedy, might be applied there with far greater celerity, and therefore with more likelihood of success, than in places where the population is scattered. Accordingly, in all Utopian romances, the perfect model of policy, according to the author's notion of this wide subject, is always exhibited in the capital of his ideal commonwealth; and in the only attempt which has ever been made for exhibiting such schemes in practice, the people were all collected into inclosed towns. Here it may be observed, that in all ideal schemes of government a greater superintendence is supposed on the part of the magistrates, and a greater interference with the actions of individuals and the occupations of private life than has ever been exercised under the most despotic monarchies. And so surely is this passion for interference found in those persons who seat themselves in imagination, or in reality, in the seat of the lawgiver, without having any legal pretensions or natural qualification for the place, that both in our own history, and in that of France, the men who were loudest in demanding the most unlimited liberty for themselves, in thought, word, and deed, have no sooner been in possession of power, than they have laid the severest restrictions upon the thoughts, words, and deeds, of all except themselves and their own party.

“There is no danger of our tending toward the same extreme; but we shall err wickedly and perilously on the other side, if we allow this evil, or any evil which we possess the means of controlling, to take its course uncontrolled. Children are daily to be seen, in hundreds and thousands, about the streets of London, brought up in misery and mendicity, first to every kind of suffering, afterwards to every kind of guilt, the boys to theft, the girls to prostitution, and this not from accidental causes, but from an obvious defect in our institutions! Throughout all our great cities, throughout all our manufacturing counties, the case is the same as in the capital. And this public and notorious evil, this intolerable reproach, has been going on year after year, increasing as our prosperity has increased, but in an accelerated ratio. If this were regarded by itself alone, distinct from all other evils and causes of evil, it might well excite shame for the past, astonishment for the present, and apprehension for the future; but if it be regarded in connection with the increase of pauperism, the condition of the manufacturing populace, and the indefatigable zeal with which the most pernicious principles of every kind are openly disseminated in contempt and defiance of the law and of all things sacred, the whole would seem to form a sinking fund of vice, misery, and wickedness, by which not only our wealth, power, and

prosperity, but all that constitutes the pride, all that constitutes the happiness of the British nation is in danger of being absorbed and lost.

“The sternest republican that ever Scotland produced was so struck by this reflection, that he did not hesitate to wish for the re-establishment of domestic slavery, as a remedy for the squalid wretchedness and audacious guilt with which his country was at that time overrun. No sooner was a system of parochial education established there, than a change began to operate. The roots of that huge overspreading evil were cut, and Scotland, which was then as lawless and barbarous as Ireland is now, became the most orderly part of the British dominions. The growth of manufactures, the abuse of distillation, and the infidelity with which some of the Scotch schools have spawned during the last half century, are great counteracting principles, whose influence must be lamentably felt. But these principles are common to both countries; and the striking advantages which Scotland possesses on the score of general morals can be ascribed only to two causes—its parochial education and the management of its poor. We have before us a table of the proportion of persons committed for criminal offences in different parts of Great Britain to the population of those parts, formed upon an average of the five years from 1805 to 1809. In London and Middlesex it was 1 in 854; in the midland circuit 1 in 5414; in Scotland 1 in 19,967. That there is anything better in the Scotch character than in our own, we should not acknowledge, nor would they pretend; the difference can only be caused by the care with which the people are trained up in moral and religious habits—this being the most important part of policy, and that without which all other measures of good government are imperfect and insecure. The Utopians understood this well:—*‘Summam adhibent industriam, ut bonas protenus opiniones, et conservandæ ipsorum Reipublicæ utiles, teneris adhuc et sequacibus puerorum animis instillent; quæ ubi pueris penitus insederint, viros per totam vitam comitantur, magnamque ad tuendum publicæ rei statum (qui non nisi vitiis dilabitur, quæ ex perversis nascuntur opinionibus) afferunt utilitatem.’*”—Vol. ii. pp. 131—137.

Now we agree, and will shortly state our reasons for agreeing, with Mr. Southey, in all the more important matters referred to in this passage—that the poor laws have reduced this nation to the condition of a beetle, injured and tormented by the parasites which fester upon its surface—that the education of the people, however increased and improved in our own days, and indebted for that increase and improvement to few men more than to Mr. Southey, is still miserably incomplete—that the frightful amount of crime, and the systematic manner in which criminals are allowed to advance from their first entry upon pilfering and prostitution, to the grand climax of their offences—are a sore scandal and disgrace to the laws and law-makers of England. But previously to entering upon any of these inquiries, we will put the same question which has been already put to Dr. Chal-

mers—does any one of these monstrous, these alarming evils admit of an effectual remedy, until the heads and hands actually employed in taking care of the lower orders are increased a hundred fold?

Look, in the first place, at education. We are aware that some members of the aristocracy and many more of the middle classes have been the reluctant patrons of general education, have supported it rather as a choice of evils, than as an unmixed good; and have been encouraged and persuaded to persevere rather by confidence in the clergy, under whom the system of instruction has been carried on, than by attachment to the work itself or confidence in its results. There has been and still is a frequent recurrence to weak and sophistical reasoning in defence of measures which may and ought to be placed upon the most solid foundation. It has been said that the people must and will be taught, if not by the Church, then by the Dissenters or the Infidels. It has been said that religious knowledge can do no harm, and many a scruple has been overcome and many a subscription procured by this absurd distinction between particular and general instruction. We do not mean to censure the persons by whom these arguments have been used. If they used them in sincerity, they are to be pitied rather than blamed; if they merely adopted them as reasons which would tell in the quarters to which they were addressed, then, although we lament the timidity, we cannot deny the adroitness of the advocate. But the time for such mystification has passed away. It behoves every good man, more especially every good Christian, to speak audibly and intelligibly upon this vital question. To educate, instruct and improve the people, is just as much the duty of a nation and its government as to preserve them from tumults or starvation; and it is a duty which the English nation and government have shamefully neglected. The great improvement that has taken place in the last twenty years is not to be denied, and if regarded as a specimen of what may be done by the same means, it can hardly be too much extolled. But there is a tendency to represent the work as finished, when, in fact, it is only begun. Many persons will tell you that sufficient means for the education of the poor are provided throughout this country. That the places where it is otherwise are few and form the exception not the rule, and that if the people are not taught, the fault is in almost every instance their own. We dissent entirely from this representation. In most parishes, no doubt, of considerable size and population, there is now to be found a school. Such schools are, in general, respectably conducted. Few scholars leave them without having learned reading, writing and arithmetic. The elements of religious knowledge are widely disseminated, and

in many cases the historical parts of Scripture are thoroughly mastered and understood. Still, as far as the mere mechanism of education is concerned, we assert and are prepared to prove, that in most, if not in all populous places, it is dreadfully deficient. In a parish containing not more than five thousand souls, one large school may suffice. But we have parishes in the metropolis and its neighbourhood containing ten and twenty times this number, and who will pretend to say that the means of instruction for the lower orders are multiplied in the same proportion. In the immense districts of St. Marylebone and St. Pancras, and in the opulent parishes of Westminster, it might be supposed that the wealth and respectability of the inhabitants would have made it an easy task to establish and support adequate charity schools. But it is not so. There are large and excellent schools in all these places, but not half as many as there ought to be. In the eastern parts of London, where the population is more dense and the resources of charity less ample, the deficiency, we fear, is still greater. In St. Giles's, St. Andrew's, and still more in Spitalfields, Whitechapel, Bethnal Green, and Shoreditch, twice the number of schools which are now to be seen might be filled in half a year, and the same, we believe, is true of Lambeth, the Borough, and almost all the large places near London. Efforts have not been wanting on the part either of the heads of the church or of the parochial clergy to remedy these defects, and the progress that has been made is encouraging. But we protest most solemnly against the opinion that nothing remains to be done. We deny that the experiment of universal education has ever yet been tried in any one large division of the metropolis or other populous place; and unless public attention can be kept alive to that fact, and public benevolence can be stimulated to exertions far beyond what have hitherto been made, which we do not expect, there is only one alternative, great numbers of children must continue for another half-century untaught, or schools must be opened at the public expense.

If a stranger were to look for the first time at the institutions of England, nothing would surprise him more than the non-existence of a system of general education. The country whose riches and power are most conspicuous among the nations of Europe, whose establishments are upon the most liberal and expensive scale, and whose religious and political opinions are friendly to the universal diffusion of knowledge, has left the education of the great mass of its people to the casual benevolence of individuals. During the last twenty years much has been done by these means; but a very large portion of the work yet remains, and must always remain to be performed, until public provision is made for its accomplish-

ment. The error committed at the Reformation by those who neglected to establish parochial schools, has been repeatedly noticed, and Mr. Southey exposes it in plain terms.

“ The platform of general instruction was not laid (as it ought to have been) when we passed from Popery to Protestantism. Funds wrested iniquitously from the Church, and which, if justly applied, might have provided for this most important object with a munificence of which no age or country has ever yet seen an example, were dilapidated by the profuse expenditure of Henry VIII. and the rapacity of his favourites : and, perhaps, if his saintly son had attained to longer life, he might have found his best intentions frustrated by the opposition which they would have experienced from selfishness, cupidity and contending parties. But unhappily while little was done, the easier work of undoing had proceeded with its natural rapidity. Such as the instruction of the Romish Church is, it was amply provided by the Romish establishment : its outward and visible forms were always before the eyes of the people ; the ceremonials were dexterously interwoven with the whole habits of their usual life ; the practice of confession, baleful as it is, and liable to the most perilous abuses, had yet the effect of bringing every individual under the knowledge of his spiritual teacher ; while a faith, blind indeed, and grossly erroneous, but still a faith, was kept alive in the most ignorant of the populace by superstitious observances, the scaffolding and the trappings, the tools and the trinkets of Popery. In addition to all these means, the country was filled with itinerant preachers actively employed in co-operating with the secular clergy to one general end, (however opposed to them in individual interest,) and in supporting and strengthening the influence of the Church establishment. Under that state of things, every person in the kingdom was instructed in as much of Christianity as his teacher, erring himself and ignorant of its true nature, thought necessary for salvation. He was well taught in certain legends, and knew perfectly the romance of his patron saint, and the fable of his favourite idol : he had a lively faith in purgatory, and had learnt when to kneel and when to cross himself at a mysterious and unintelligible service ; and he could repeat certain prayers, with a full persuasion of their devoutness and of the utility of repeating them, though he did not understand the meaning of one syllable. Great superstition was inculcated, and implicit faith ; and it has been wisely and charitably observed by Wesley, that ‘ God makes allowance for invincible ignorance, and blesses the faith, notwithstanding the superstition ! ’

“ This was the religious state of our common people before the Reformation ; the point of instruction was reached at which their teachers aimed, and which their rulers thought necessary. And this is the condition of the common people in Catholic countries at this day, where they have not been infected by the pestilence of revolutionary impiety. Its effect in attaching them invincibly to the old institutions of their native land has been nobly exemplified in La Vendée, in Portugal, and in Spain. It is accompanied every where with a lamentable ignorance of the real nature of Christianity, and with a most adulterated system of

morals as well as of faith; but if the same diligence had been used in these kingdoms for instructing every person in the pure faith and pure morals of the English Church, can we doubt that it would have been equally successful?"—vol. ii. pp. 126—128.

After the Restoration an attempt was made to supply the want of public seminaries by the institution of Charity Schools, and as much was accomplished as could have been expected from such an attempt. The formation of the National Society, and the large number of schools in connection with it, was a revival and extension of the same plan, accommodated to existing circumstances, and conferring most important benefits upon the country. But these and all similar undertakings are in their very nature limited and incomplete. The education which they impart must always be in a state of greater or less fluctuation; they can never embrace the most remote, and on that account the most destitute objects; and whatever may be done by charity schools in town parishes of a moderate size—or in country parishes, where the proprietors reside and the farmers are opulent—they will never suffice to educate all the poor in a dense population, or be universally maintained in the less favoured districts of a large empire. The argument for *established* parochial schools rests nearly upon the same foundation as that for established parochial clergymen. Something may be done both for religion and for education without either of them, but nothing like what may be done with them. Voluntary contributions will not suffice to maintain an adequate number either of ministers or of schoolmasters; and the state neglects its duty to the children of the poor by abstaining from the institution of parochial schools, in the same manner that it would violate its duty to all ranks were it to abolish the institution of parochial clergy.

For our own parts, we see no reason why a plan resembling that brought forward some ten years ago by Lord Brougham might not be adopted. His lordship's measure, professing to be the result of his inquiries respecting general education, was looked upon with suspicion by many to whom in the course of those inquiries he had happened to give offence. It was also denounced with great bitterness by the Lancastrian School Committee, as tending to connect the clergy too closely with the education of the people. Many believed at the time, that Lord Brougham relinquished his bill in deference to the opposition on the part of Mr. Allen, and other supporters of what are termed the British and Foreign Schools. It is certain that he made no serious effort to carry it through parliament, and it is equally certain that the Church party, though they objected to some of the details, entertained no hostility against the principle of the measure. The



most formidable obstacle to its adoption would probably have arisen from the reluctance of the legislature to sanction any fresh demands upon the pockets of the people; and the shape in which the demand was to be made, namely, that of a rate on houses and lands, after the manner of the poor rate, would not have tended to make the arrangement more popular. Still, were a similar measure to be supported by government, we can hardly suppose that it would be unsuccessful, especially if accompanied by such regulations respecting the compulsory relief of the poor as might diminish the existing amount of money raised by rates. But we forbear from saying more on this part of our subject at present: it will force itself shortly upon general attention, and we shall rejoice to see the question fairly taken up and advocated by those who have the power of bringing it to a prosperous issue. Lord Brougham's General Education Bill, we repeat, would form no bad foundation for such an undertaking, and the details might be settled without any serious difficulty.

Supposing, however, that this great step were gained, would there not still be ample room for the working of that principle which we have represented as the one thing needful for the permanent improvement of the working classes? If there were the means of establishing and maintaining schools in sufficient numbers, or even if such schools were actually established, still they would neither be adequately attended by those for whom they were designed, nor adequately conducted by those who were appointed to that office, unless great exertions were made by the upper orders. General, or to use a more adequate word, universal education, could not be imparted to the people in their present state of poverty, degradation and vice, without great and persevering efforts. The respectable portion of the labouring classes send their children to school with readiness and gratitude; and probably the larger part of such persons are not unprovided with the means of education for their offspring. But in carrying education lower than it has ever yet descended—in rendering it not merely common, but universal—in bringing the depraved and worthless to a sense of what is right in this respect, and prevailing upon them to co-operate with us in communicating the elements of knowledge and religion to their children—in giving them habits of cleanliness, industry and honesty—and in rescuing them from filth, disease, vice, and all manner of abominations—much more will be found wanting than mere funds for the erection of schools, and for the payment of salaries. These blessed works will never be accomplished unless the upper classes go forth among the most miserable of their fellow-creatures, not by twos and threes, but by hundreds and thousands. A most comprehen-

sive, and at the same time a most minute system of visiting from street to street, from house to house, from floor to floor, from room to room, will alone prove competent to grapple with the existing evil; and this, which if properly planned and conducted, we regard as an invaluable ingredient in the melioration of the great mass of our countrymen, evidently demands what we are now contending for—a far more general sense of what is due from the rich to the poor, and a far more general disposition to yield it, than has yet been seen in our land.

The difficulty of educating the children of the worthless poor was formerly felt to be so great, that it was proposed to separate them from their parents, and bring them up in a kind of work-house. This great error was committed a hundred years ago by the original patrons of charity schools in the metropolis. It checked the progress of the education which they desired to spread, by expending upon board and lodging funds which ought to have been applied to instruction only. And it inflicted upon us those standing nuisances, the old parochial schools, which, wherever they exist, have formed an almost insuperable barrier against the extension of education. We are reminded by Mr. Southey's Essay, that a similar plan not only received the honour of his approbation, but was recommended by a Committee of the House of Commons, and was urged upon general attention in an able pamphlet by Mr. Courtenay.

“ One suggestion of the Committee is, that instead of relieving poor families by an allowance for the maintenance of their children, the children themselves, above the age of three years, should be taken, educated and maintained.

“ Mr. Courtenay has argued in favour of this proposal with that good feeling which distinguishes his Treatise upon the Poor Laws.

“ ‘ The instruction and maintenance of the poor in charity schools,’ he says, ‘ is not a speculative project for bettering the condition of society; there would, perhaps, be no question but that a residence at home, with affectionate and independent parents, would in that point of view be preferable; but the question now is, whether, where that independence has been destroyed, and the virtuous feeling greatly endangered—where the parent is unable to feed his child and incapable of teaching him—the state may not insure a moral education to the being which it preserves? It is not proposed to compel the separation of the child from the parent, where the parent undertakes to maintain it; or, in all cases, to prohibit the public authorities from assisting the parent, without that condition. It is simply intended to enact, that when a parent declares himself unable to maintain those whom the laws of nature have made dependent upon him, his neighbours should have a right to say to him, “ We will not supply your deficiencies, but we will protect your child against the effect of your neglect.”

“ ‘ The measure is assuredly one of the mildest which we can adopt if we retreat at all from the present system. It may, indeed, be deemed too little of a reform, and censured as “ a solecism against the simple and powerful policies of nature ;” inasmuch as it involves, equally with the present mode, the undertaking to feed all the children of the poor.

“ ‘ It is much for the law to say, that no man’s child shall starve ;— it is certainly too much, that it should also provide that the child shall be subsisted in the mode most agreeable to the parents, and so that no more inconvenience shall be sustained on its account, than if the parents had fulfilled their natural duties towards it. To enable them to do this, by an adequate addition to their income, is to put a pauper in a better situation than any other member of society, since some inconvenience, deprivation, or degradation follows in almost all but the very highest ranks, the birth of a numerous family. Inconveniences, and afflictions indeed, of the very nature of the present suggestion, are felt by parents in the middling classes ; many of the public establishments, of which persons of moderate incomes are desirous of availing themselves, require separation at a considerable distance, and submission to rules offensive and irksome. At an age somewhat later, a banishment to distant and unhealthy climes is often the only resource. Few fathers can insure to their children a continuance in the rank of society in which they were born. In the case of the very poorest, there would be no lower degree but actual starvation ; *that* the law attempts to prevent—not because this lowest class has a right to be exempted from the general inconvenience, but because, in such a case, the evil would be more severe than humanity allows us to contemplate.

“ ‘ Yet I cannot but think it most probable, that much less of misery would be sustained by children in the proposed schools, than the most liberal administration of the Poor Laws would otherwise prevent by money payments. Large as are the sums allowed, there is still unquestionably much of squalid poverty, and much suffering from disease amongst numerous families in general. In the schools attention would doubtless be paid to the health and personal cleanliness of the children, and much more of filth and misery withdrawn from the habitations of the poor than the pecuniary allowance now averts. The inexpediency of the proposal might, perhaps, fairly be grounded, rather upon its mildness and consequent inefficiency, than upon the harshness of its pressure upon the people.’—pp. 54—56.

“ Were this suggestion carried into effect, a main distinction ought to be made between the honest and the profligate poor ; and the children of the former should in no case be taken from the parents unless it were the parents’ own desire : though the public ought to educate, and is bound to maintain them. The children of good parents are best situated where they are under their parents’ care. In the case of profligate families’ children they can learn nothing but evil—removal ought to be the condition of relief. But where children, either by the death or the notorious profligacy of their actual protectors, are thus thrown upon the public for parental care as well as for support, parental authority devolves upon the public also ; which would best consult its own interest,

and that of the children, if, instead of binding them out at the proper age as parish apprentices, it should send them to the colonies, providing for them thus as part of a well arranged system of regular emigration. Even in an Utopian parish it would only be needful to suppose a regular inspection of the school by the salaried overseer, or the select vestry, and a little of that notice and that attention toward the children, on the part of the clergyman and the wealthier inhabitants, which kind hearts find a pleasure in bestowing."—vol. ii. pp. 139—142.

We venture to dissent from this opinion in the most decided terms. Of all attempts to improve the condition of the poor, none have so grossly failed as those which proceed upon the principle of taking away their children and educating them in schools and workhouses. The fact is notorious to every tradesman in London. Almost all of them will testify that children brought up in workhouses, or in schools where they are shut up and bearded and clothed, are in nine cases out of ten good for nothing. Even when the superintendence is permanently good, which it very rarely can be, the system itself spoils the child; and such as know what they are about will take no such child into their service. We observe that a question upon this subject has been introduced into the Queries circulated by the Commissioners for Inquiring into the Poor Laws. It is to be hoped that their object is to call forth answers unfavourable to the proposed plan, for we could give no other name than that of a great national calamity to its adoption.

There is one other point connected with the education of the poor to which we must briefly advert; the *quantum* of instruction which they ought to receive, and do receive, and the means which exist, and may be provided for bringing these amounts nearer to each other than they are at present. Reading, writing, and arithmetic, the elements of Christian knowledge, and an accurate acquaintance with scripture history, are taught, as has been already said, in every well conducted national school. And we believe there are few such schools in which the knowledge of the pupil rises much above this level. It is certain that a great deal more might be taught to a boy or girl of average abilities in the course of four years; and the consequence is that neither master nor scholar has sufficient motives for diligence—both grow tired with the unvarying repetition of the same lessons, and it is well if the sameness does not terminate in disgust, and produce an actual dislike for the Bible, and for religious instruction in general. At all events the attention of the children is not excited, nor their diligence stimulated, nor their thirst for knowledge gratified. If we wish to make them fond of reading, this is not the method to effect our purpose. If we wish to attach them to their instruc-

tors and so establish a gentle influence which may controul them in after life—surely this is not the best instrument for such an operation. If we wish to put them upon their guard against the mischievous publications which must fall in their way, to prepare them against the assaults of the infidel and the demagogue, and enable them to give an answer to such as would persuade them that idleness, vice, irreligion, and turbulence, were better worth cultivating than industry, virtue, religion, and contentment, surely a lad fresh from a national school, and knowing nothing more than what is generally taught there, is not prepared as he ought to be, and might be, for so fearful a conflict.

It may be said, no doubt, that although the quantum of instruction communicated at present in our schools be, as we represent it, small, yet that the deficiency in this respect is counterbalanced by the excellence of the principles which are circulated, and of the habits which are formed in these institutions. And we admit that there is weight in this observation,—provided good principles are firmly implanted, and good habits adopted and persevered in, the amount of actual knowledge acquired may be regarded as a secondary consideration. But what we contend for is, that good principles and good habits are not to be so surely produced under a system of education exclusively religious, as under one which combines general with scriptural knowledge. The children in a school, especially in a large school, are not made religious and moral by mere religious and moral lessons, any more than they are made attentive and diligent by a mere call to attention. It is necessary, in the first place, to make them like what they are about, to interest their hearts in the instruction which they receive. It is necessary, in the second place, to let them feel the pleasure and reward of doing right, and the pain and disgrace of doing wrong. It is necessary, in the third place, to make them understand that these results will follow regularly from the line of conduct which they pursue, be it good or bad. Nor is it possible that all this should be done for two or three, or perhaps five or six hundred boys, by a single master, unless the system itself does half the work to his hand. The initiating steps in education have been made plain in the infant schools, and it is now beyond dispute, that the alphabet may be learned without having recourse to compulsion. The second steps in the progress may be most materially facilitated by giving the children lessons which they can understand and like; and as their education advances, nine out of ten may be made fond of reading by supplying them with a succession of entertaining books. But then this entertainment can only be furnished by extending our limits far beyond the mere study of the Scriptures; and then it becomes necessary to teach Ancient and Modern

History, Natural History, and Geography, even if we have no further object in view than to make the children like their lessons and their teachers. And this is not mere theory unsupported by experiment. The Sessional schools in Edinburgh, of which we gave some account in our last number, have clearly demonstrated the truth for which we are contending. And Mr. Wood has shewn what, upon a small scale, our own experience tends also strongly to confirm, that the most indispensable preliminary is to be secured, and the greatest of all difficulties to be overcome more speedily and more completely by introducing a variety of amusing and instructive works into the general business of a school, than by any other plan that has been hitherto devised. The hearty good will and liking of the children towards their school and their school-master, is the true starting post in all systems of education. And those who begin any where else begin at the wrong end.

These facts tend to establish the general position for which we are contending in this article, namely, that the poor require more attention from the rich than they have hitherto received. For children quitting school after such an education as that which has been recommended, will immediately stand in need of an increased supply of mental food, and that too of a very different description from what they are at present provided with—and over and above all that can be done by books, a well-educated people will be qualified to receive instruction now totally beyond their reach, from the visits and conversations of those who are raised above them by knowledge, property, or station. The extent to which books of general instruction and amusement may be circulated among the labouring classes is now no longer a secret, and when their previous education has prepared them to read such books with all the benefit that can be derived from them, fresh demands will be made upon the writing portion of the human race for works calculated to interest and improve their fellow creatures.

With these sentiments we sincerely rejoice at the step recently taken by a Society intimately connected with the National and all other charity schools, we mean the appointment by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, of a Special Committee for the express purpose of preparing and publishing works of general literature and education. The Useful Knowledge Society has already entered on the same field, and, with a few exceptions, has performed its work in a very satisfactory manner. But it is pledged to abstain from communicating religious instruction, and any formal avowed separation of useful from Christian knowledge is liable to so many objections, that general satisfaction has



been expressed at the attempt which is now making to bring them into closer connection than before. The establishment and the character of the Saturday Magazine has afforded an encouraging specimen of what may be expected from the new Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. They have an ample field for their labours, and if adequately supported by those who ought to take an interest in the improvement of the people, they promise to become the instrument of extensive and lasting good.

Yet education is not the field in which the most is now required to be done, much less is it that in which least has been attempted. Individual exertion and private benevolence have been manifested in that direction for many years, and to a great extent, and with an abundant return. But can this be said when our attention is turned to the administration and actual effects of the Poor Laws, or to the provisions now existing for the punishment and prevention of crime? The former subject alone can hardly be approached without a feeling of dismay and almost of despair, naturally arising from the dismal vastness of the prospect. Not only is the present state of the law for the relief of the poor the foulest blot upon the escutcheon of England, but it is so deeply, if not so indelibly, impressed, as to require no ordinary boldness even to attempt its removal, and removed, we firmly believe, it will never be by any mere legislative enactment. The magnitude and difficulty of the undertaking seem to have paralysed all who have hitherto taken it in hand, and great as is our confidence in the Commission recently appointed for inquiring once more into the subject, we can anticipate nothing in the shape of direct or immediate parliamentary interference which will reach the root of the disease. The more violent symptoms may be palliated, the gangrenous portions of the decaying mass may be cut away, but unless thousands of active influential citizens can be persuaded to put their shoulders to the wheel, and change the existing system by a complete change in the administration of it, we entertain no hope of improvement in any degree commensurate with the evil.

The subject is far too extensive to be discussed in a few short pages, and we refer to it more for the sake of exemplifying the proposition which we are endeavouring to establish, than in the hope of saying what is new or in itself of any material importance. In fact, upon the more pressing and difficult portion of the subject, that, namely, which relates to the agricultural districts, we are not prepared to offer a single suggestion. Our remarks, slight as they are, must be confined almost exclusively to towns

and populous places, in which the means may certainly be found for procuring no inconsiderable measure of relief.

There are two pamphlets now before us, from which, if taken together, some light may be thrown upon this dark and difficult field of inquiry—Dr. Chalmers's Statement in regard to the Pauperism of Glasgow, and Mr. Walker's Observations on the Nature, Extent, and Effects of Pauperism, and on the means of reducing it. Both these gentlemen have honourably distinguished themselves, not merely by their sayings but by their doings, in opposition to the effects of the Poor Laws; and we should certainly augur well of an attempt to combine what is peculiar in each of their systems, and introduce the measure at once into the metropolis, and into all or some of our other large towns. The essence of Dr. Chalmers's scheme is the division of a parish into districts, containing not more than five hundred souls, and the appointment of a deacon or overseer, who undertakes to attend to the wants of the poor in each district. Those persons who are already in the receipt of a parish allowance are permitted to receive it still; but the case of every new applicant is carefully examined by the deacon, and all practicable endeavours are made to relieve distress by procuring employment, and by good advice and encouragement, before the smallest sum of money is disbursed for the purpose. The funds from which relief, when given in money, is to be drawn, consist solely of the weekly collections made at church, and no compulsory levy is to be raised for the relief of any person not assisted out of the Poor Rate before the adoption of Dr. Chalmers's plan. The result is stated in the following passages.

“ It was of this poorest, then, of our city parishes, that I felt the confidence of being at length able to meet and to manage its pauperism, without drawing any supply from the fund raised by assessment. I did not know, at the commencement of our undertaking, that it was the poorest. But I was at least sure that it fell greatly beneath the average of all the parishes in wealth, and that its pauperism, under the ordinary treatment, should have cost more than a tenth of the whole expense for the poor in Glasgow, or, at the rate of expenditure for some years, upwards of 1400*l.* annually. For the achievement of this object, all that I required was the free command and use of the weekly collection received at my church door, amounting at that time to 400*l.* a year. And with this sum I could have undertaken any other of the Glasgow parishes, and been just as confident of a favourable result as I was with the parish of St. John's.

“ The process has been so often explained, that, at present, I shall give a very brief description of it. I undertook, from the outset, the expense of all my then sessional poor, amounting to 225*l.* a year; but as my yearly collection was 400*l.*, I withdrew by this arrangement 175*l.*

from the general support of the poor in Glasgow. The only return which I could then venture to hold out for this sacrifice, was, that I should send no new poor, either casual or permanent, to the Town Hospital, whence the fund by assessment was distributed among all the poor of the city. It is evident, that under this arrangement, that institution would, by the operation of death, be gradually lightened of the pauperism that they had received in former years from that district of the city which now formed the parish of St. John's, and would be at length relieved from it altogether.

"The attentive reader will at once perceive, that the success of this undertaking all hinges on the management of the new cases, or on the way in which the new applicants for parochial relief were met by the dispensers of the parochial charity. The old pauperism, then on the Town Hospital, behoved to die away. Even the then existing pauperism of 225*l.* a year, that was upheld by the collection, must ultimately, and at no great distance of time, disappear, and the essential question, that could only be determined by experience, was, by what amount of new pauperism will the old be replaced?"—pp. 9, 10.

"I had two congregations, a day and an evening one; the first of these wealthy, the second poor. So long as the evening service lasted, which it did from September, 1819, to June, 1823, there did not one farthing of the day collection go to the support of new cases. This day collection, the only one chargeable with a magnitude that distanced all imitation, was employed in keeping up, and occasionally extending the allowances of those sessional poor whom we found already on the roll at the outset of our proceedings; and what remained, after the fulfilment of this purpose, has been chiefly expended in the endowment of parish schools. All the new applications, for three years and nine months, have been met by the evening collection; and with a sum not exceeding 80*l.* a year have we been able to provide for all the newly-admitted pauperism, both casual and regular."—pp. 11, 12.

"But the most interesting question relates to the number of those who have been admitted upon our fund as regular or permanent paupers. The following is an account of them during the period from October 1st, 1819, to July 1st, 1823, being a period of three years and nine months.

"The number of paupers who have been admitted on the ground of general indigence is thirteen. Their monthly expense is 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and their yearly is 32*l.*

"The number admitted on the ground of extraordinary and hopeless disease is two; one of them being a lunatic, and the other deaf and dumb. Their monthly expense is 1*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.*, and their yearly 14*l.* 16*s.*

"The number admitted on the ground of that necessity which springs from crime is five; there having been two illegitimate children, and three families of runaway husbands admitted upon the fund. Their monthly expense is 1*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*, and their yearly is 19*l.* 10*s.*

"The whole number of regular paupers who have been admitted on the parochial funds of St. John's, for three years and nine months, is twenty, at a monthly expense of 5*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*, and a yearly expense of

66*l.* 6*s.*, during which period there has not one been sent to the Town Hospital, or made chargeable, in any way, on the fund by assessment.\*

“ We have separated the paupers into classes, for we think that the question, whether any legal provision for indigence is required by the natural state and necessities of any population, should be decided by the first of these classes alone, and not by any, or both of the succeeding ones. We think that institutions for disease might be supported to the uttermost extent of the demand for them; and even though legalized and upheld by assessment, as the county asylums for lunacy in England, we can see none of the indefinite mischief and corruption in such a practice, that there undoubtedly is in our present generalized pauperism. We further hold, in regard to the third class, that there ought to be no public or ordained aliment, tending directly to the multiplication of crimes; and so the question with us, whether there should be such an economy as that of our existing pauperism, resolves itself into the question, whether, apart from the disease, which ought to be provided for, and from the immorality, which ought not to be provided for, there be really any thing in the circumstances of society that necessarily creates such an amount of indigence as to require any other securities for its relief than the unforced sympathies of our nature ?

“ Our own previous convictions upon this subject have been strengthened into a full and settled assurance by the experience which we have now recorded. That in a plebeian and manufacturing city parish, with upwards of 8000 inhabitants, there should have been admitted only twenty paupers of all classes in the space of three years and nine months; and still more, that of the first class, or the class of general indigence, the number admitted should only be thirteen, and the yearly expense of them 32*l.*, is to us an abundantly decisive proof of a legal or compulsory provision, in any circumstances, being wholly uncalled for.”—*Chalmers*, pp. 14—16.

Dr. Chalmers's remarks upon these satisfactory results are not the least interesting or valuable portion of his pamphlet.

“ The whole mystery and power of our management are resolvable into this. Most of us are convinced that public charity is a very great evil. Most of us believe it to be a good thing that we are limited to a small yearly sum for carrying on its distributions, and that we have no temptation to laxity or profuseness in the open access which we before had to the fund by assessment. Most of us think that we do a service to the population by dispensing, as carefully as possible, the small revenue wherewith we are intrusted; and these considerations all told with greater practical force upon the deacons who had the treatment of the new applicants committed to them, that they were restricted to the very humble collection made up chiefly of halfpennies from the parochial congregation. I do not hesitate to say, that my reason for vesting in the deacons

\* “ It is right to mention here, that our sick have occasional attendance and medicine from the district surgeons belonging to the Town Hospital. The town is divided into four departments, and a surgeon attached to each of them. The parish of St. John's forms part of two of these departments.”

the charge of the small evening collection alone was, that I felt as if their free access to the large day collection would have insensibly brought on the same relaxation in their management, which access to the Town Hospital did in the management of our elders under the former system. I thought that the work would be the better done, the smaller the provision was that I assigned for the doing of it—for I never once conceived that the success of it depended on the magnitude of our provision, but solely on the truth and efficacy of our principles. These principles the majority of my deacons have in common with myself; and they accordingly thought that in warding off the parochial charity as much as in them lay, from the families under their care, they were warding off from them a very great mischief. And their system of treatment has not, generally speaking, been a system of neglect, but a system of firm and patient, yet withal, kind investigation—the object of which has been, not to facilitate the access of applicants to the parochial charity, but, if possible, to divert it—not to help them on, but rather to help them off—and for this purpose to try every previous expedient of relief, and to make that humiliating expedient of a supply from the poor's fund the very last which ought to be resorted to. In the prosecution of this truly benevolent work, many doubtless have been thrown back upon their own resources; some have drawn more largely than they otherwise would have done, from the kindness of relatives and neighbours; and a few more have had the benefit of certain easy services, and, perhaps, liberalities, from the affluent, that they might not else have experienced. But the success, upon the whole, has been marvellous, and far beyond even my own sanguine anticipations; most delightful to my feelings certainly; and, at the same time, most demonstrative to my understanding, that the dispensations of an artificial pauperism are wholly uncalled for.”—pp. 29—31.

The experiment thus tried in Glasgow has in fact also been tried by Mr. Walker, and the result was just the same. That gentleman undertook the office of overseer or deacon, or whatever we may be pleased to term it, and found that a due discharge of its duties made a speedy and marvellous change in the amount and effects of the Poor Rates levied and expended in the district with which he was connected.

“In August, 1817, an opportunity occurred to me of commencing an experiment on the subject of pauperism in the township of Stretford, in the parish of Manchester—a district partly manufacturing, but principally agricultural, and containing about 2,000 acres of land and as many inhabitants. I began by procuring the adoption of somewhat the same plan as Mr. Sturges Bourne's Select Vestry,\* not then legalized—a sug-

\* “The Select Vestry, by 59 Geo. 3, c. 12, is composed of the Clergyman, Churchwardens and Overseers for the time being—together with not more than twenty nor less than five substantial householders or occupiers, elected annually by the rate-payers at large.”

gestion of the neighbouring magistrate, Ralph Wright, Esq., whom I consulted in the first instance, and whose co-operation, as well as that of the most respectable inhabitants, I uniformly met with, during a residence at intervals of three years and a half. I soon found that the magistrates as usual had no confidence in the overseers, to the great gain of the paupers, whose appeals from the overseers to the magistrates were incessant. I found that the paupers were insolent in the extreme to the farmers, and in a great measure their masters—that the paupers were leagued together to get as much from the rates as possible, and that they practised all sorts of tricks and impositions for that purpose—that the industrious labourers were discouraged—the well-disposed inhabitants afraid, or persuaded that it was in vain to interfere—and every individual driven to do the best he could for himself or his connections at the general expense. For some time the paupers tried every art to deceive or tire me out, and some of the rate-payers who were ousted from the management thwarted me in secret; but the good effects of the new system became so apparent, both as to economy and good order, that opposition grew less and less, and at last suddenly and entirely ceased. I spent almost my whole time for some months in visiting the labouring classes—in making myself master of their habits—in explaining to them the causes of their distress—and in enforcing, as occasions arose, the doctrines of Mr. Malthus, which I took care to put in the most familiar and pointed manner I was able, and I was surprised to see the effect generally produced—it was as if a new light had broken in upon my hearers. By degrees I gained their confidence—they constantly applied to me to settle their disputes, or for legal advice, or for assistance in whatever difficulties they found themselves; and as I was frequently able to serve them, I found that circumstance of great advantage in carrying into execution any measure of severity or privation. With respect to former abuses in the management, I made it a rule never to look back, but held that neglect on one side and imposition on the other had balanced the account, and that it would be better to look only to the future. I found this plan attended with the best effects. Those who had profited by abuse were glad to escape so easily. Those who really wished for what was right were not revolted by any appearance of harshness; and instead of wrangling about the past, every thing went on well for the present, and not one retrograde movement was made. A few hours in a week soon became sufficient to do all the business, and at last a trifling superintendence was alone necessary. Information came to me from all quarters—the league amongst the paupers was dissolved—appeals to the magistrates, whose unvaried countenance I experienced, entirely ceased—the rates were considerably diminished—the labourers depended more upon themselves and were generally better off—and what was most important, new principles were gaining ground.

“ The amount of money paid to the poor during the years of my occasional superintendence, exclusive of the maintenance of those in the workhouse and of the expense of a few articles of clothing, was as follows :—



		£.	s.	d.
" From March 1817 to March 1818		812	16	6
	1818	1819	537	19 7½
	1819	1820	489	12 6
	1820	1821	368	4 0

" When I first interfered, in August, 1817, it was the practice to admit families into the workhouse; at the time my interference ceased, the number of inmates was reduced to eight, viz. six aged persons and two young women—one of the latter half ideotic, and the other labouring under severe disease. Three of the old men broke stones for the roads, and the ideotic girl maintained herself. In fact a workhouse was become quite unnecessary. Before the commencement of the alteration of system, the expenses of pauperism were rapidly increasing, and the reduction was solely owing to that species of amendment in management, which may be put in practice under any circumstances.

" In corroboration of the above statement a letter will be found in the Appendix, No. I. This letter, it will be observed, is dated six years after the commencement of my interference."\*—*Walker on Pauperism*, pp. 7—10.

From this statement, compared with the statement of Dr. Chalmers, we think, as we have already said, that the most beneficial inferences may be drawn. The Doctor's system alone is not what we want in England, because the mass of existing pauperism is so enormous, its expense so burdensome, and its effects so distressing, that if all this were to be left as it is, trusting only to the gradual influence of time for effecting its extinction, the relief sought would be too distant, and the good actually accomplished would be undervalued, if not unfelt, in consequence of the continued existence of so much evil. Previously, therefore, to the trial of Dr. Chalmers's method of proceeding with new applicants for parochial relief, let us try Mr. Walker's mode of dealing with those who are already in the receipt of it—let us cut down the actual pauperism and actual expenditure to one half or one third of its present amount by the process which proved so effectual at Stretford—and then by a very minute subdivision of our parishes, by the appointment of a separate overseer to each small district, by a strict limitation of the amount of compulsory levies for the relief of the poor, and ultimately by a total abolition of them,

\* " The last opportunity I had of seeing the effects of my system was in September, 1828, when I made the following extract from the Poor's Books.

		£.	s.	d.
May, 1817, Monthly payments to regular poor		68	3	6
1818	-	33	12	0
1827	-	15	2	0
1828	-	13	10	0

The payments of the year 1828-29 to the regular poor would not amount to one-fifth of those of the year 1817-18."

let us imitate the example which has been set by Dr. Chalmers at Glasgow.

In reality there is nothing which need prevent the adoption of this plan to-morrow by any parish which should desire to make a trial of it, except the power of interference possessed by police and county magistrates, against which Mr. Walker contends with so much earnestness and justice.

“ The means I would propose for the commencement of a systematic reduction of pauperism are twofold; first, a practical alteration in the law; and secondly, an organized plan for the improvement of the habits of the labouring classes. In the able Report from the Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor Laws, in 1817, it is observed, ‘ The efficacy of any expedient which can be suggested must depend upon some of those who are most interested in the welfare of a parish taking an active share in the administration of its concerns. Without this the Committee are convinced no benefit will be derived from any amendment that can be made in the details of the system.’ The alteration in the law I am about to suggest is strictly in conformity with this opinion. It is to put an end to magisterial interference in all questions of relief. By the 43d of Eliz. as I have already observed, no such interference was contemplated. By that statute the power of granting relief was vested without controul in the officers of the parish; and the consequences being great abuse on the side of extravagance, an act was passed ninety years afterwards to take the power from the overseers, and place it in the vestry—between the meetings of which the overseers were permitted to obtain the authority of a justice or of the quarter sessions for granting relief in particular cases. It appears this authority, which was intended for the justification of the overseers, was ere long frequently perverted into an order upon them; and the perversion becoming the subject of complaint, instead of being put a stop to, was regulated by parliament thirty years later—but for above half the period which has elapsed since the introduction of the present Poor Laws, the interference of magistrates in questions of relief formed no part of the system. The defect in the alteration lay in placing the power of granting relief in the general vestry, the constitution of which was too unwieldy for the transaction of the business imposed upon it. The Select Vestry Act has completely remedied this defect, and therefore the change I propose is a restoration and not an innovation. The expediency of the change struck me during a practical investigation three years ago, for the reasons which I then wrote down and now subjoin; and looking in consequence into the different Acts, I traced the history above given, which will be found more in detail in the Appendix, No. II. The reasons are as follow:—

“ 1st. The members of the select vestry possess the best opportunities of ascertaining the merits of each particular case. The justices, on the contrary, frequently, and almost necessarily lay down general rules for ordering relief; they have seldom time or the means for coming at the exact truth. It is not possible for the overseer to repeat all the reasons brought forward in the vestry, or to give the same effect to statements at

second hand, which was rightly produced by the character and credit of the persons originally furnishing them. The decision of the vestry was perhaps the result of long discussion and much evidences by the parties best acquainted with the case. The decision of the justices cannot well be the result of anything but a contest between the pauper and the overseer.

" 2dly. The overseer is often a timid or injudicious advocate for the parish; whereas the pauper is generally extremely artful—the most undeserving being almost always the most plausible, and the idlest in good works the most persevering in obtaining relief.

" 3dly. If the paupers knew there was no possibility of appeal, they would rely more upon honest exertion and good character, and less upon imposition. As the law now stands, their hopes are always kept alive, and they live in a constant state of uneasiness very prejudicial to their well-being. They would also be effectually deterred from gaining settlements surreptitiously—an evil which no legal enactments have hitherto been able altogether to prevent.

" 4thly. The considerations of time and expense, necessary in attending the magistrates, operate as a powerful discouragement to parishes to be as strict with their poor as they ought to be. The vestry often submit to what they feel to be an imposition, rather than run the risk of an appeal—especially as they are sometimes obliged to pay the pauper for the time he has spent in harassing the overseer.

" 5thly. If the decisions of the select vestry were final, I think the management of the poor would, generally speaking, fall into much better hands than heretofore. It is the certain effect of the present system, that men in the same rank with the magistrates, and those a little below, will feel great repugnance to interfere as long as their efforts shall be liable to be rendered of no avail by the counter-decisions of those whose motives cannot be supposed to be more pure, and whose means of judging are necessarily more limited than their own. They feel also that the right of appeal has a tendency to degrade and render them odious in the eyes of the inferior classes, as well as to embroil them with the magistrates. If the management of the poor rested solely with the select vestry, the active would make it their business to attend in the hope of doing good, and the humane to prevent evil. The magistrates too, by being relieved from the necessity of hearing the poor, which is often the most laborious, the most unpleasant, and the most unsatisfactory part of their duties, would have more leisure to attend to the other business brought before them; and many men with high qualifications, at present unwilling to make the necessary sacrifice of time and of ease, might be induced, with this alleviation, to act in the commission of the peace.

" 6thly, and lastly. The minister of each parish is, ex officio, a member of the vestry, and yet from him, assisted by his most respectable parishioners, lies an appeal to the magistrates on the grounds of inhumanity or injustice. The consequence is, the clergyman, not to expose himself to a great scandal, will seldom attend; and the magistrate, being the judge of appeal, cannot."—*Walker on Pauperism*, pp. 61—64.

We are hardly prepared to say that in remote and neglected districts, magisterial interference can be altogether and immediately dispensed with. But with respect to towns and to all considerable parishes, we entirely agree with Mr. Walker; and entertain a confident hope that the Poor Law commissioners, who are very properly inquiring into this part of the question, will see reason to recommend the adoption of the alteration which he so ably advocates. If this point were satisfactorily settled, the only remaining obstacle to an experiment such as that of Dr. Chalmers, would be the difficulty of enlisting an adequate number of competent overseers; and this difficulty, we believe, might soon be overcome were due encouragement given to the undertaking. The success which has attended visiting societies, wherever they have been fairly tried, authorises us to reckon upon efficient help from various quarters. The prospect of a great reduction in the poor rates, if clearly explained, would operate with great force upon some who are insensible to other motives. The desire of bettering the condition of the poor would be a sufficient inducement to many others. Occupation should not be without its charms to such as have no business of their own, and are eaten up by idleness and *ennui* in the midst of bustling activity and wretched pauperism. The pains which have been taken during the present year in visiting and cleansing the abodes of the miserable, and administering advice and relief with a view to the prevention of cholera, show what can be done under the sense of urgent necessity, and with a prospect of doing essential good. It would be no difficult task to show that pauperism is a greater evil than any disease, epidemic or contagious, with which this land has yet been afflicted; and to cure it would be to confer a greater benefit upon our fellow creatures, than to eradicate the plague itself. Once persuade a considerable body of men in every parish to take upon themselves the duty of permanent overseers, each assuming the care of a small district, and administering to the necessities of the poor out of a small voluntary fund, and the great work of moral and political and social regeneration will be begun. The more crying enormities by which we are now surrounded, the desecration of the sabbath, the utter wretchedness and improvidence of a large portion of the labouring classes, the incomplete and insufficient education of a large portion of their children, the drunkenness and debauchery which fester in our streets, and even the hordes of criminals of all ages who surround us, would shortly disappear before bands of twenty, thirty, or fifty respectable householders intent upon promoting the general welfare. And the good feeling, which would be called forth by such labours of love, would operate as power-

fully, as speedily, and almost as beneficially upon the rich as upon the poor. The estrangement, not to say the hostility, which now exists between the upper and lower classes, would cease. It would be seen that all have a common interest, and that no rank can be improved or injured without a corresponding improvement or injury to the rest.

When this has been done, we may set about the diminution of crime and the reformation of criminals with some chance of success. These topics are too large to be adequately discussed at present. At the same time we are unwilling altogether to pass over a matter so essentially connected with the improvement of the people, and to the consideration of which we have been led by the natural course of our argument. Men of all parties are agreed as to the deplorable increase of crime—and the total failure of every means, either of prevention or cure, hitherto adopted in this country. And the probable, if not the certain, inference from such a state of things is, that there exists some radical defect in our mode of treating the entire question. This we believe to be the case, but we shall be able to state our meaning more succinctly, after the reader's attention has been directed to the works on crime which are now before us, namely, the Eighth Report of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline, and the Thoughts of the Archbishop of Dublin on Secondary Punishment.

On the subject which falls more immediately within the cognizance of the Society, we lament to find that there is still room for the complaints contained in the following passage:—

“ The Committee deeply regret that the hopes which they entertained at the date of their last Report, of the speedy reform of the Gaols under corporate jurisdictions should not have been realized, and that the greater part of these prisons continue in a condition as deplorable as that in which they have been described in the previous Reports of this Society. In proof of the necessity of further legislative measures being adopted on this subject, it may be stated that not less than five thousand persons have been committed to the Gaols attached to local jurisdictions in the course of one year. In several of these prisons there is no effectual separation of the sexes; and in some the keeper does not even reside; in others, the insecurity of the building renders it necessary that irons should be used, and other illegal means of coercion adopted. Many are without any court or yard; and in the greater part of them the sick cannot be separated. In addition to the evils of defective construction, the want of discipline may likewise be attributed to the absence of any rules for the government of the prisoners and the conduct of the officers. There is no employment; no inspection; no moral nor religious instruction; the consequence is that in many instances, these Gaols are establishments for the growth and encouragement of vice and

misery. The Committee might illustrate this general description by referring to several prisons. They will mention, however, but two or three. At one Borough Gaol the incommodiousness and insecurity of the place are much increased from the circumstance of there being no House of Correction, and in consequence offenders of every description are indiscriminately confined together: from the smallness of its size there is no possibility of classing the prisoners, or of setting them to any kind of work or employment. During the year seven boys, under sixteen years of age, who were confined at one time, were obliged to associate with the most hardened offenders, night and day, during a period of two months, there being no possibility of classing them from the want of space. It follows of course that these lads must go out schooled in the practice of every iniquity. The debtors' ward is equally deplorable, owing to the males and females being kept together. Another prison, which is under the jurisdiction of the dean and chapter of the principal city in the north of England, is equally defective: here there is no yard or court. It is used for both debtors and criminals, who necessarily associate together, there being only one day-room and four sleeping cells. Confinement in a dungeon is sometimes resorted to as a punishment. The prisoners are allowed to be visited by their friends or associates, unrestricted, at any time during the day, and may have ale and beer brought to them. Another Borough Gaol to which the Committee refer, is a small confined building, consisting of two miserable rooms, each of which has an opening in the wall, secured by iron bars, without any windows. The yard is about twelve feet long, and four feet wide; but the walls are so low and insecure that the prisoners can never be permitted to enjoy the air. Five boys were committed to this prison a short time since for robbing gardens; two of them were ill from only one night's confinement. In winter, the prisoners' sufferings are very severe. Debtors are sometimes confined here. The jurisdiction of the borough extends to the trial of all offences not capital.

“ There is reason to hope, that some decisive measures will be taken by his Majesty's Government, for the effectual reform or entire abolition of these wretched places of confinement; and the Committee pledge themselves to omit no opportunity by which they can promote this desirable object. An Act was passed in 1824, (5 Geo. IV. c. 85,) for amending the “ Gaol Act” of the preceding Session, and for procuring “ Returns” of the state of the Borough Prisons, and those belonging to local jurisdictions, not included in the provisions of the former statute: it was not, however, until the Session of 1829, that the Annual Returns required by this Act were laid before Parliament. These Returns are extremely defective, comprising only 80 prisons; whereas the total number of places of confinement belonging to local jurisdictions amounts to about 130. Since the passing of the second Act, about twenty local jurisdictions have availed themselves of the power which it affords of uniting with counties for the custody and maintenance of their prisoners; and some few others have caused their Gaols to be rebuilt or enlarged: but there is still a considerable proportion of the local prisons which remain unaltered, and are consequently in a very disgraceful state.



These Prisons may be principally divided into two classes; viz. those of which the jurisdictions possess the exclusive right of trying offenders of every description; and others, in which the right of trial does not extend to capital crimes. With respect to the first description it appears but reasonable that in all cases where the authorities persist in exercising the right of trying capitally, and at the same time refuse to send their prisoners to the County Gaol, they should be compelled to render their prisons conformable to the Act of 4 Geo. IV. c. 74; and the same principle ought to apply to other local jurisdictions whose commitments are numerous, and where the greatest number of prisoners at one time during the last three years, has averaged not less than forty."—*Report*, pp. 26—29.

After all that has been said and done during the last twenty years with respect to Prison Discipline, it is a scandalous shame that abuses such as these should still be permitted to exist. And the state of Newgate, of the Hulks, and still more of the generality of Gaols in Scotland, redounds but little to the credit of those from whom the country had a right to expect a reform of such palpable grievances. But our business at present is with the prisoner rather than the prison—and with the remarks of the Committee on the former we most cordially concur.

"Whatever degree of perfection may be attained in the discipline of prisons, it is obviously important to diminish as much as possible the number of committals. The frequency of unnecessary commitments has long been productive of serious evils, by crowding the gaols to the injury and often ruin of the individual, and by obstructing those arrangements which are indispensable to a good system of gaol management.

"A prisoner is committed in the first instance, not for punishment, but for security, that he may be forthcoming on the day of trial. Until of late years, bail could not be admitted on charges of felony; but now, with few exceptions, magistrates are authorized to accept it for all descriptions of offences. This power is, however, not so generally exercised as could be desired. It is true, that sufficient bail is not often rejected; but why should it ever be refused? Although some instances might doubtless occur where the party would abscond, yet on the other hand every non-committal to a prison is a certain benefit, not only to the individual, but to the community at large. On the humbler classes, the inability to procure bail, arising solely from the station which they occupy in society, often operates with peculiar hardship. The security demanded in such cases should be in proportion to, and not beyond, the condition of the party charged with an offence. If in one rank of life a small sum be equivalent to a large amount in another, the poor man who has character among his equals to induce his friends and neighbours to give bail, should not be denied the advantage, because the amount of the security which he can procure is nominally small. Distinctions are already made, and large sums demanded precisely in proportion to the apparent chances of the culprit's desire to abscond. Escape is certainly the evil against which to guard, but not more in one

class of society than in another. There cannot be a question that the number of untried prisoners—the most unmanageable class—might by the general acceptance of bail be reduced to one-half, or even a third, with no injury to the community, with great benefit to the individual, and with material advantage to the discipline of prisons. The large proportion which the number of persons discharged by grand juries, and of those acquitted, bears to the whole number committed, affords strong presumptive evidence of the unsoundness of the present system. Notwithstanding the improvement which has taken place in the law of bail, the magistrates frequently continue the former practice, and too often by so doing relieve themselves from the responsibility of exercising their discretionary power. Cases of petty felonies, such as stealing hedge-stakes, and other articles of trifling value, are now more frequently than heretofore brought to trial. Formerly if a boy was found committing such offences, he was personally chastised and discharged: now there is a solemn judicial investigation. He is seized, committed, imprisoned, tried at the sessions, and convicted with as much form and ceremony as if he had been guilty of a burglary. This disposition to avoid responsibility fills the gaols in another manner. The sessions calendars in the country exhibit a list of the pettiest offences. If, in addition to these, the magistrates were to try, as they do in several counties, some of the graver cases now reserved for the assizes, the labour of the judges would be spared, and the number of prison inmates most materially diminished.”—*Report*, pp. 49—51.

“The distressed condition of juvenile offenders on their discharge from prison has continued to occupy the attention of the Committee, and they have afforded such relief to these necessitous objects as the very limited state of the funds would allow. The prevalence of crime among the youth of the lower orders is well known to be alarmingly great. On the causes which contribute to this evil, the Committee have fully enlarged in their former Reports. Whatever operates to the production of indigence among the adult poor, has, of course, a most unfavourable effect on the moral condition of their families; and the juvenile depravity which now unhappily prevails derives its origin and strength from circumstances too deeply rooted in the present state of society to be materially diminished by any plans, however wise, for the mere punishment of the offender. The diffusion of education is in every point of view the most efficacious remedy for the prevention of crime. By education is meant not merely instruction in the elementary arts of reading and writing, but a course of moral training which shall impart religious impressions, control the passions, and amend the heart. In their previous Reports, the Committee have enlarged on the benefits which the establishment of Infant Schools is calculated to impart to the most indigent classes, and especially in those crowded parts of the metropolis where a single room often contains several families. Beset on every side by the most profligate associations, breathing a moral atmosphere the most corrupt, no benefits can be conceived more precious than those which are presented by these institutions, and it is therefore to be regretted that notwithstanding their obvious importance, they should not

have become universally established. In regard to the education of the poor generally, it must be acknowledged that the experience of the last thirty years has proved the inefficiency of the exertions made for this purpose, as well by public associations as by private individuals. In the metropolis and populous towns throughout the kingdom the want of education is severely felt, while in the agricultural districts a large proportion of the working classes are in a state of profound ignorance and great moral debasement. But a slight consideration of the subject will show that the moral and religious education of the people is an object too vast in its importance to the well-being of the state, to be left to the voluntary exertions of benevolent individuals, and charitable associations. An Education Act framed on broad and liberal principles, and securing the concurrence of all sects and parties, would be one of the greatest blessings which the legislature could confer; and it is earnestly hoped that the period has at length arrived when a national measure of this high character will provide for every child throughout the kingdom an education comprising the elements of useful knowledge, and based on the solid foundation of Christian principles."—*Report*, pp. 85—87.

Now this is all true; but it is not the whole truth. Over and above the want of education, and the wretched state of our criminal law and of our prisons, there is a fundamental error prevailing in the minds of men, which prevents effectual improvement in this department. Most persons speak and act as if there were no crimes in the world save dishonesty. All but this is tolerated—religion is neglected—purity is made a jest—profaneness is a trifle—but steal half a crown and to gaol you go. No sooner does an apprentice or shop-boy defraud the till of sixpence than the whole neighbourhood is in arms against him. Police magistrates commit—grand juries find a bill—petty juries commit—judges and chairmen expatiate upon the heinousness of the offence—and the result is, imprisonment, loss of character, banishment from respectable society, and, in nine cases out of ten, confirmed habits of thieving, to be cured by nothing on this side of the gallows. What we mean to contend for then is, that this system is wrong, not only in every one of its parts, (this is admitted by all competent inquirers,) but that it is mischievous and bad in its very essence; that dishonesty will never be controlled as long as the law tolerates all other vices; that offences against property must increase from day to day, until other offences are checked and punished; that drunkenness, debauchery, prostitution, sabbath-breaking, lead necessarily to thieving; and that to suppose we can prevent the latter, while the former are suffered to live and flourish, is just as absurd as to make war upon thistle-down with a view to the eradication of thistles.

If we look at the subject in one direction only, we are tempted to suppose that the government of this country disclaims any

right of interference in such matters, and proposes to leave virtue and vice to work their own way in the world in the same way as they leave silk or wool. We see such wanton neglect of public morals that we hardly can believe public men could have been guilty of it, unless they had persuaded themselves that it was not a fault but a duty. But then, on the other hand, we are compelled to perceive and confess that these neglecters of all that is sacred, have occasionally interfered in a manner, which prevents them availing themselves of this plea. They have made police laws, and ale-house laws, and sabbath-day laws—laws against drunkenness, swearing, idling. Wakes and fairs have been put down by act of parliament. Theatres and shows are only allowed under license. Barrow women and prostitutes are subject to special enactments made for their particular superintendence and controul; and there are divers others wholesome provisions, some old, some new, some good, some bad, and many indifferent, for the encouragement and preservation of good manners, and the punishment of wickedness and vice.

On the whole then it is not possible for government to shelter itself under the pretence of having no concern with public morals. Yet that they have taken as little concern as possible about them, is too certain to be denied.

In the original jurisprudence of England, the Court Christian occupied a conspicuous place, and watched over the morals of the people, according to the notions of the age in which it flourished. In process of time, the Roman Catholic Church appropriated the peculiar jurisdiction of the Court Christian to its own ecclesiastical tribunals, and proceeded to encumber those establishments with every absurdity, moral, religious, and political, which was spurned by Canonists and Sophisters in the age of Scotus and Aquinas. And when the Reformation rescued Britain from subjection to Rome, and Cranmer had planned a new code which might have been substituted for the popish law and popish tribunals, and would have been susceptible of gradual improvement and accommodation to the new wants and the new lights of the country, his course of practical usefulness was too soon cut short, and the completion of his work was left to those less able men who ruled the Church under Elizabeth and James, and who, among other bequests with which we are still encumbered, left other ecclesiastical courts in their ancient form to bewilder many a succeeding generation.

That these courts were designed to guard the public morals is evident not only from their history and construction, but even from their present laws and practice, and deeply is it to be regretted that an institution which might have answered the great

and sacred purposes of a Protestant and Reformed Court Christian, should have been allowed to retain so much of the popish leaven as to incapacitate it for this its great duty. The Canons, however, and the Archidiaconal Courts still preserve a semblance of moral power, however faint and ineffectual, and if they are good for nothing else, they are at least valid proof of the intention and original spirit of our constitution, they show that in theory our government professes to care for the morality of its subjects, and they leave it to those who advocate or apologise for the present state of things to reconcile it with the ancient institutions and still existing forms of the commonwealth.

What then, it may be asked, do we wish? Do we wish to see the antiquated forms of the Ecclesiastical Courts revived, and the vicious coerced into good manners? Do we wish to revive prosecutions for immorality, and to punish offenders by making them do public penance? Assuredly we have no intention of the kind. But we desire to impress both upon individuals and upon government the propriety and even the necessity of paying increased attention to the morals of the people. We desire to make our fellow-citizens perceive and remember that as long as the population are wicked, crime will and must abound, and that by reserving all their indignation for one species of offence, namely, for dishonesty, they leave the root of the evil untouched, and prepare increasing trouble and never failing disappointment for themselves—and for their successors a state of society hopeless and desperate, and regularly advancing in misery and vice. If these indisputable truths were acknowledged and attended to, we might hope that more pains would be taken in private to counteract those dissolute habits which are the seed-beds of all crime; and that public provision, very different from what can be discovered at present, would be made in this country, not for dragging the guilty before courts of justice, either civil or ecclesiastical, but for removing as far as possible the incentives to crime, for cleansing the filthy dens in which it is generated, for making vice less obtrusive and infectious, and virtue more practicable.

The first great steps in the career of profligacy are pilfering in one sex and prostitution in the other, and to these the most common and prevailing incentives are drunkenness, gambling, and all idle and excessive pleasure. Nor can it be doubted that a check at least would be given to these practices, if a system of parochial visitation were carried strictly into effect in quarters notorious for the bad characters of their inhabitants. That is to say, an adequate performance of the duties which the rich owe to the poor would bring us into contact with the great source of crime. Let each alley have its own separate visitor or overseer—

personally acquainted with every family, inquiring at regular intervals into their condition, offering the means of education for their children, and remonstrating firmly but kindly with the parents upon any improprieties of which they may appear to be guilty; and habits of cleanliness, decency, and order will be produced where at present the very reverse are to be found. This system persevered in but for a few short months would do more towards filling churches and schools, and towards emptying gaols, than a hundred new volumes of criminal law. It would produce such an overwhelming conviction of the insufficiency of our existing churches, and such a demand for a larger number of working clergy, that means would soon be found for providing both. The due observation of the Lord's Day would become imperative, not only upon those who were themselves truly religious, but upon all who were not prepared to augment and perpetuate vice and crime. A separation, more or less complete, would be effected between the reputable and the disorderly poor, and would render the latter more the objects of inspection and controul. Habits of industry, if not of piety, would be found among boys—and habits of modesty, if not of purity, among girls—who have hitherto been utter strangers to either. And the support of the law and of persons who administer the law, would come in aid of individual exertion and mainly promote the great work.

It is true that a sense of what is due to public morals should especially influence the government and the legislature. Much might be done for the prevention of crime by a resolute attack upon vice. Nothing can be gained by putting down a fair, while there are ten thousand brothels within five miles of London Bridge. Occasionally a disorderly ale-house or gin-shop may be shut up; but for every one so treated, there are at least a hundred equally notorious and abominable which the law will not reach, or the public officer will not prosecute. And can it be pretended that government has done its duty while such a state of things is suffered to continue? We are not conscious of being under the influence of Puritanism or Utopianism. We are no enemies to recreation—and we have no hope of making all men honest; but we say that the poor might have their enjoyments without being publicly tempted to every species of vice; and we are afraid that the optimist will be as far as ever from the realization of his pleasant dreams, even after public countenance is withdrawn from flash-houses, hells and brothels. The vices which spring up naturally in human society must and will continue to deform it, even after all that is possible has been done by law and by religion. But is this a reason why vice should be fostered and cherished? Are not there enough incentives to debauchery without tolerating



what is now to be found in every thoroughfare? May we not be certain that wickedness will still abound, although the laws should cease to pander to its increase, by suffering it to obtrude itself at the corners of the street upon such as may yet be happily ignorant of its power?

Many years have not elapsed since grave men, magistrates, and other officers of police maintained that it was necessary to tolerate flash-houses, in order that they might know where to meet with thieves. Greater or more contemptible nonsense was never uttered. Nevertheless, it gave rise to much discussion, and although none but a driveller would now venture to maintain so absurd a proposition, yet are we more improved in words than in deeds; and while every body sees and acknowledges that a flash-house makes the thief before it kills him, or rather that it makes fifty thieves for one that it tends to convict; yet do these moral pest-houses exist at this moment, in as great numbers and in full security as ever. The same may be said of any other description of disorderly houses, and of those scenes of temptation almost irresistible, by which the morals of the lowest orders in large towns are reduced to their present standard. As long as such a system continues we can only compare the law to a sportsman, who procures foxes in order that he may occasionally have the pleasure of hunting one to death. The nuisance which the laws prohibit, but do not destroy, are the preserves in which criminals breed, and grow up until they attain their full growth; and yet we complain when they sally forth and prey upon the flock. The system is utterly indefensible, and the wonder is that—since all condemn it—it should still be suffered to exist. The new police will have been established in vain if it does not shortly carry the war into the enemies' quarters. Every practice which the law forbids must be effectually put down by this or some other regularly organized force, or it will be a farce to talk of our desire to prevent crime. To punish it most men are willing enough, and in what manner it is punished in this kingdom the reader will shortly see; but it is idle to pretend a wish to counteract what the public institutions of the country may be almost said to patronize and promote.

It is time, however, to turn our attention to the Archbishop of Dublin, whose "Thoughts on Secondary Punishments" give a melancholy yet just account of the provision now subsisting in this country for the diminution of crime. His Grace's work contains a Letter to Earl Grey, a republication of an article on Transportation, which appeared originally in the London Review, and also of an article on Secondary Punishments from the Law Magazine; some Suggestions for the Improvement of our present

System of Colonization; and Extracts from the Eighth Report of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline. With the exception of the "Suggestions on Colonization," most of what is here presented to us has been before the public for several years. But the Archbishop's volume will be read by many whose thoughts had not hitherto wandered as far as Botany Bay; and to all such persons his work will prove useful and interesting. The introductory portion of the letter is contained in the following passage :—

"It has never been my practice, nor is it my intention, to occupy myself with questions of a purely political character; especially questions of party politics. But the present is not one of that description, and it is so closely connected with morality,—so much do I feel myself, professionally, not only not prohibited, but even called on to take an interest in it, that in investigating the subject, and endeavouring to diffuse correct views of it, I do not conceive that I am at all departing from the course I had marked out for myself. I found myself long since, as a parish minister, inculcating moral conduct under circumstances unfairly disadvantageous; when the law afforded not only no adequate discouragement to crime, but even, in many instances, a bounty on it. When I met with instances in my own immediate neighbourhood, on the one hand, of persons of the best character not only refusing to proceed against depredators, but labouring in every way to promote the escape of the guilty, because the law denounced death against the offences, and they could not bring themselves to incur even the remote and almost imaginary risk of exposing a thief to that fate; and, on the other hand, of persons receiving letters from relatives who had been transported, exhorting them to find *some means* of coming out to join them, and depicting the prosperity of their condition in such terms as naturally to excite the envy of the honest and industrious labourers whom they had left at home struggling for a poor subsistence :—when all this, I say, came under my own observation, I could not feel and teach that Government answered its end of being "for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well," while its enactments produced, on the contrary, rather a terror to the good than to the evil. And I could not but feel that, not only as a member of the community, but as a minister of the Gospel, I had a right to complain of this counteraction of my endeavours to diffuse morality.

"The utter inexpediency of the punishment of transportation, of which I have long been convinced, and of which all my inquiries and reflections convince me more and more, is at present much more generally and strongly felt than a few years back. The removal of criminals to our Australian colonies was an experiment; whose failure, though not anticipated to the extent I should have expected, has in some degree been forced by experience on the minds of most. And many, who still object to any alteration of the system, do so, not so much from conceiving it to be a good one as from despair of finding a substitute.

"If, however (as is, I conceive, decidedly proved in the subjoined

articles), the system of transportation is the very worst of all,—is productive of less advantage, and open to more objections than any that has been proposed or ever can be conceived as a substitute,—our deliberation ought properly to be, not whether or no it shall be continued till we can fix on the best kind of secondary punishment in its stead, but merely what experiment we shall try next; secure that whether, in the first instance, we make the best possible decision or not, any change must be for the better.”—p. 2—5.

We are not prepared to join in this utter rejection of the punishment of transportation; on the contrary, we can conceive cases in which it might prove a powerful check upon crime. At present, no doubt, the case is as the Archbishop of Dublin represents it—veteran thieves, hardened in crime, dead to all sense of shame, cut off from their families, and without any friends but their associates in guilt, are told that when they are detected in the commission of certain delinquencies, they shall be sent for fourteen years, or for life, to New South Wales—and they treat the denunciation with the coolest indifference. But if perpetual banishment were the punishment assigned to felony, and every felon, without exception, were banished for life, we are confident that such a punishment would be dreaded, and have very little doubt that it would tend to prevent crime. Its operation upon juvenile offenders would be very different from that upon confirmed thieves. The love of country, and the fear of exile, are to be found in almost every bosom. And parents, wives, relations, all look upon a perpetual separation as a grievous calamity, as long as there is the slightest hope of reforming the offender. Again, if criminals were transported for life, upon their first conviction for felony, they would not necessarily be a curse to the land of their exile; many of them, upon finding themselves in a new land, might adopt a new course of life. We have no right to say that a felon, banished for his first offence, would be incurable, because practised thieves are hardly ever cured. And it is quite possible that a penal colony, well conducted, might give a criminal every chance of amendment which can be afforded in the best managed penitentiaries, with two great additional advantages—namely, the power of maintaining himself easily by his labour—and the absence of that grievous and almost insuperable temptation arising from loss of character in his mother country, which can never be effectually shaken off.

With respect to the offences of the young, the Archbishop of Dublin observes—

“And more especially should all mixture of juvenile delinquents with older, and probably more hardened villains, be carefully avoided. The

evils of this are so generally perceived, that it is very common, partly for this reason, and partly from a feeling that allowance should be made for the transgressions of children, for magistrates to dismiss them with impunity 'in consideration of their youth.' But I cannot conceive a more pernicious practice than this of holding out to children the encouragement of impunity. If there is no proper place or mode provided for the punishment of young offenders, that is a reason for earnestly calling on the legislature to lose no time in providing one; not for leaving them unpunished,

"If, indeed, the infliction of suffering on the guilty were in itself a desirable object, we might console ourselves with the thought that the young culprit would be pretty sure not to escape ultimately. The fisherman who throws back the small fish into the water, in expectation that when they are grown large he shall catch them again, has seldom better ground for being confident of this, than we have for expecting that he who in childhood has been encouraged, by the prospect of impunity, to commence a career of crime, will persevere in it, as he grows up,—will have formed early habits, too strong to be subsequently eradicated by the denunciation of punishment against the *man*, and will probably end his days on the gallows, or in the hulks. But if our object be, as that of every penal-legislator ought to be, the *prevention* of crime, no opportunity should be lost of checking its first beginnings. I should say that the denunciation of punishment to young, and, consequently, as yet less hardened offenders, is even the *more* important, as the more likely to be effectual. 'If you had punished instead of applauding me,' said the man in the well-known tale, to his mother, 'when I first pilfered from my school-fellows, you would not now have to witness my disgraceful death.'

"And it should be remembered, that it is not to the children alone, but also to those proficient in crime who act as their tutors and employers, that this procedure offers encouragement. The youthful depredator is generally the tool of a more experienced offender; who so contrives matters that, in case of detection, nothing shall be brought home to himself, and that thus both shall escape,—the one on account of his youth, the other through his caution in acting through the instrumentality of his young associate.

"But even independently of this consideration, I should still say, that to repress, or nip in the bud, evil habits, is so incomparably a more hopeful task than to attempt eradicating or repressing them when fully formed, that, even for the sake of the juvenile offenders themselves, impunity ought never to be held out to them.

"On a similar principle (if I may be allowed what cannot, I trust, be thought an impertinent digression), I should deprecate the common practice of passing over 'first offences.' That a scale of punishment, indeed, rising in severity on each repetition of an offence, should (not at the discretion of the magistrates, but by the laws) be provided, is reasonable and desirable; but that absolute impunity, or such a mitigation of punishment as nearly amounts to this, should be held out to 'first offences,' tends, I am convinced, very greatly to increase the

number of second and third offences, and the amount of punishments we are ultimately obliged to inflict. In fact, next to the abolition of all penal law, I can hardly conceive any system better calculated to train boys and men gradually to crime. Every one, it should be remembered, hopes, when he violates the laws, to escape conviction; if, in addition to this, we back the temptations to crime by a prospect of impunity on the first conviction, we have every reason to expect that, by the time this first conviction has taken place, he will have become too much hardened in iniquity to be subsequently affected by the fear of punishment, except in using all the artifice and caution his experience will have taught him, in contriving to escape detection. For this, also, should be kept in mind; that the plea of a 'first offence' is generally urged and admitted without any ground. It is urged on the occasion of a first conviction, which, we may be assured, by no means implies a first offence. The mischief would be immensely diminished, if the plea were then only admitted when the culprit was able to prove a negative; and to establish satisfactorily that he really never had offended before. But, even in that case, I should appeal to the proverb, — '*C'est le premier pas qui coute.*' A man is much more easily deterred by fear of punishment, or by any other motive, from the first offence, than from any subsequent one: and, next to this, his best chance is, to have the association established in his mind between crime and suffering, by his having been so fortunate as to have been convicted and punished for his very first transgression."

No difference of opinion can exist respecting the truth of these sentiments. But perhaps they do not completely solve the problem, how to treat a juvenile offender. The practical question is not between youth and age, but between habitual crime and a first fault; and, in the present state of laws, gaols, and public opinion, a prosecutor, if not a magistrate, may be fully justified in forgiving a young thief rather than in sending him to prison. When a criminal lives by thieving, or belongs to a gang of depredators, the archbishop's reasoning is strictly applicable; but we suspect that more harm is done by proclaiming a man a thief, taking away his character, and leaving him with the least possible prospect of recovering his credit, than by passing over a first offence. If punishments existed which were dreaded, and were not corrupting, the case would be different. We were rather surprised to meet with the following observations upon criminal lunatics.

"Obvious as these principles are, they are frequently overlooked, not only in such cases as I have already alluded to, but also in those which relate to persons suspected of insanity. Strangely-confused notions seem often to occupy the mind both of judges who give directions, and of juries who endeavour to act on them, as to the question, how far a person labouring under any degree of derangement is a proper subject of punishment. I have known judges enter into most perplexed and unintelligible metaphysical disquisitions, on the question

how far such and such a person was capable or not of 'distinguishing right from wrong,' or was in a 'sound state of mind' at the time of his doing a certain act, &c. And the decisions of juries accordingly have been, in such cases, as inconsistent with each other, as might have been expected, considering that they were not formed on any clear and intelligible principle. *No man* can be, properly speaking, in a sound state of mind when he commits a crime. He whose passions so prevail over his reason as to induce him to commit murder, for instance; or who coolly and deliberately commits it, fully aware of his own wickedness in so doing; or again who has persuaded himself that it is not a wicked but a meritorious action,—like the persecutors of the first Christians, who 'thought that whosoever killed them, did God service;'—all these persons are, in some sense, in a disordered state of mind, whether that disorder proceed from any bodily disease or not. But the principle on which we are to proceed in awarding punishment, is very simple, if we do but steadily keep in mind the *end* of human punishment, prevention. If a man *intends* to do what he does, and not otherwise, he is a proper subject for punishment; because a person so circumstanced may be deterred (as it is well known persons confessedly insane often are) by the fear of punishment. If it is clear that he did not intend the act, whether the absence of intention be referable to insanity, or to any other cause, his punishment would answer no good purpose. If a man, for instance, who raises a fire, can be proved to have laboured under such a kind of insanity as not to know that fire would consume, he is properly exempted from punishment, on the very same ground that another would be who should throw a spark on gunpowder, which he believed to be dust; because no punishment denounced against incendiaries could operate on persons so circumstanced, *viz.* who have no design of the kind. But if a man designs to burn a house, or to do any other act, we have nothing to do with the causes which led to his entertaining such a design. We know on the one hand, that no one can be, strictly speaking, in a sound state of mind, who designs any crime; and we know, on the other hand, that many, who have been impelled to such designs by the strongest and most evidently morbid aberrations of intellect, have yet shown, by the precautions they have taken for accomplishing their purpose undetected, that they were fully aware of the particular act they were engaged in, and consequently that they, and others similarly circumstanced, might be checked by the apprehension of punishment.

"In fact, although no one considers the brute animals as moral agents, every one is well aware that it is possible to operate on them through the fear of punishment. It is not reckoned a useless cruelty, or an absurdity, to attempt to teach a dog, by beating, to abstain from worrying sheep. Any one, therefore, who, well knowing that irrational animals can be trained, by fear of punishment, to check their impulses, yet would proclaim impunity to any *man* who may be, partially or wholly, reduced to the state of an irrational animal—such a one plainly shows that he is allowing his views to be influenced by irrelevant considerations."



This passage smacks somewhat of those perplexed and unintelligible metaphysical disquisitions which the archbishop has occasionally heard from the judges of the land. No end can be answered by confounding two things so clearly distinguishable as the unsoundness of mind which arises from vice, and the unsoundness of mind which arises from disease. And the remark, that if "a man *intends* to do what he does, and not otherwise, he is a proper subject of punishment," is not applicable to lunatics. Persons labouring under a bodily disease, which destroys or perverts their reason, are not punishable for crimes otherwise than by confinement. Because although they may have used their wits, such as they are, in planning, and even in concealing a crime, no man can say that they have not been induced to commit the crime by madness. The defence is sometimes abused, and is unavoidably liable to abuse. But that arises from the imperfection of all human tribunals. Wherever there is reason to think that a person slightly or doubtfully insane, has committed a crime, reckoning upon acquittal on the score of insanity, the law will take its course. Yet to hang a *bonâ fide* madman, would be not less brutal than absurd. He may have "intended" to commit a murder,—but how does it follow that therefore he may be deterred by fear of punishment? We admit that some madmen, on some occasions, may be influenced by fear of punishment, and therefore coercion and threats are justifiable and proper modes of treatment in such cases. But if these are found insufficient, as is the case at times with almost all lunatics, the practise is not to proceed to other and to more severe punishments, but to have recourse to prevention. A dangerous lunatic is handcuffed or otherwise prevented from doing mischief. Would the archbishop advise that he should be set at liberty, and hanged for the first murder he may commit, provided he evidently intended it? If not, why hang the lunatic whose disposition to murder manifested itself for the first time before he was placed under restraint? A madman, under delusion, will intend and contrive and execute; and yet because he is mad, will be inaccessible to all the reasons which should deter him from what he is about. Suicide, the crime most frequently committed by the insane, arises chiefly from this. They feel a desire to quit life—and they cannot be deterred from the gratification of it, by the motives which influence men in their senses.

In the same way a madman, who is angry with another person instead of with himself, rushes to the gratification of his passion, without that power of self-restraint, which other murderers possess, whether they use it or not. The archbishop, therefore, when he asserts, that whosoever intends a thing may be deterred by fear of punishment, must limit his proposition to the sane.

The very essence of insanity consists in not being influenced by the same motives, or convinced by the same arguments as persons of sound mind. The existence of insanity in any particular case is a question of fact; and if it appear to a judge or jury that a man's mind is unsound, that is to say, that owing to bodily disease he is not able to distinguish between right and wrong, or not able to adhere to the one and reject the other, or that he does not possess the power over his passions usually possessed by his fellow-creatures, then the law which spares his life is a wise and righteous provision.

The suggestions of his Grace, respecting the employment of convicts and the appointment of a commission for penitentiary purposes, are worthy of special attention :—

“In respect of the kind of labour in which it may be thought advisable that convicts should be employed, I would suggest, that, though it is in itself very desirable that it should be profitable enough to go some considerable way in defraying the expense of their maintenance, this is by no means a point of so much importance as many others, to which accordingly we should be always ready to sacrifice it. The best conducted of the American penitentiaries are said to defray fully all their own expenses, from the proceeds of the prisoners' labour. This, I conceive, cannot be expected in any country which does not combine, to such an extraordinary degree as America, the advantages of a very high value of labour and cheapness of provisions. But even if this, or something nearly approaching to it, could be attained, I should still say that it is an object of far less consequence than the moral improvement of the offenders, or, still more, the prevention of crime by the apprehension of punishment. That a penalty should be *formidable* is, as I have said, decidedly the first point to be looked to: that it should be *corrective* is another point of great, though far inferior, consequence: that it should be *economical*, is (though by no means insignificant) a matter of only a third-rate importance.

“There are several different descriptions of labour which have each some circumstances to recommend them. And it would be, besides, absolutely necessary to resort to more than one; inasmuch as the kind of labour that might be found most suitable for able-bodied adult males, would not be adapted to infirm persons, women, and children. I should be disposed to give a preference, other points being equal, to such kinds of labour as the convict might resort to after his discharge, as a means of maintenance; and, with this view, to such as may be carried on without the aid of much machinery. In this respect, the labour of the tread-mill is less eligible than many others. It has, however, many great advantages to counterbalance that defect. In many instances, recourse might be had to some of the less artificial and more laborious operations of husbandry, such as trenching, stone-picking, &c. This would require a larger number of such overseers as could be relied on for vigilance and firmness, to prevent the escape of convicts; but I think there are sufficient advantages on the other side, to make this plan well deserving of a

trial. In particular, it would afford great facilities for the adoption (which I consider as highly important) of the system of task-work.

“Convicts should never be allowed, as in New South Wales, to be employed and paid by farmers: but the superintendents might contract for the levelling, draining, or trenching, &c. of a piece of ground, and would then set the convicts to work under their own inspection. And though the payment for this, and indeed any other labour of convicts, could seldom be expected to cover the cost of their maintenance and other expenses, it might still be regarded as so much clear gain, since they *must* be maintained at any rate.

“An experiment has, I understand, been begun on a small scale on the Sussex coast, in the neighbourhood of Pevensey; which, whether successful or not as a matter of speculation, may be well worthy of attention in reference to our present object. There is, in that neighbourhood, an enormous extent of sea-beach forsaken by the sea, and presenting an expanse of seemingly hopeless sterility. It has been found, however, that the shingle, when covered over to the depth of a few inches with good soil, will produce good crops, and may be permanently reclaimed. And the immediate vicinity presents an inexhaustible supply of such soil. The marshy meadows which are immediately bounded by this barren region, contain a vast depth of rich alluvial soil. The method, accordingly, which I have alluded to as in a course of trial, consists in digging up this soil to a considerable depth, and spreading it over the shingle: the pit thus dug is filled up again with shingle from the beach, to within about a foot of the surface; and these pebbles, being then covered with a sufficient depth of the soil dug out, and the turf replaced, the meadow is so far from being damaged by the removal of the soil, that it is even benefited, by the substratum of gravel acting as an underdrain. The process is, of course, expensive; but it is important to observe, that the whole of the expense consists of the *labour* employed. Whether it will, in any case, answer as a profitable speculation, must probably depend on the existing rate of wages: and it has come to my knowledge, that in many parishes in that part of Sussex, labourers will, at all times of the year, refuse to work except at the highest wages, *because they receive a parish allowance whenever they are out of work*. This system, I hope and trust, will not be allowed to continue much longer. But at any rate, though it may be doubtful whether this undertaking will in any case answer, *i. e.* more than replace the expense of maintaining the labourers, especially when these are convicts, it must at least repay a *part* of the expense; and every acre of land thus brought into a productive state by the labour of those who, whether employed or unemployed, must have been maintained at the public expense, may, as I have before observed, be regarded as so much clear gain to the community.”—p. 37—42.

“Nor, again, do I conceive that this suggestion could be properly acted on, except by persons not only selected for their intelligence, experience, or habit of attention to the subject, but also able to devote the principal part of their time and thoughts to the business. For this reason, parliament, or the members of the administration, would be

unable, without calling in other assistance, to do justice to an inquiry so multifarious and so important.

“ I will take the liberty, therefore, of most earnestly recommending the appointment of a Board of Commissioners, analogous to that which is now occupied with the no less important subject of the poor-laws, and from whose labours every one, who is acquainted with the character of the individuals composing it, must hope for the most favourable results.

“ Whether the legislature is constituted in one way or in another, it is clearly impossible that it should be capable of going through, with proper care, all the necessary details of that vast and heterogeneous mass of business which belongs to its decision. And those who are at all acquainted with parliamentary proceedings, have no need to be reminded how much slovenly legislation has resulted from the non-adoption, or very slight and imperfect adoption, in the highest department of all, of that important principle, division of labour; but for which, even the humblest arts could never have been brought to any degree of perfection. Let the task of minute investigation, and uninterrupted reflection, on each subject separately, be entrusted to a small number of competent persons, expressly selected for the purpose; and let the legislature examine and judge of the result of their labours; adopting, rejecting, or modifying their suggestions, as it may see best; and I am much mistaken if a striking effect will not be produced in the increased wisdom of its enactments, in all departments in which such a procedure shall have been adopted.

“ I will not presume to point out in full detail what should be the points, relative to the present subject, to be laid before such a Board of Commissioners as I have proposed; but I would suggest that they should not be too strictly confined to their own proper subject of secondary punishment; because, in respect of, first, capital punishments, and secondly, police regulations, it is possible that many facts might be ascertained, and many improvements in our present practice suggested, which might, in various ways, materially modify our practical conclusions in respect of secondary punishments. Every thing, for example, that in any way conduces to the increase or diminution of crime, must have an important bearing on the question as to the more or less extensive scale, on which it may be requisite that penitentiaries should be established.”—pp. 43—45.

Some measure of this kind is indispensable, not only in the department of the poor laws and of criminal justice, but in every other into which it is intended to introduce necessary and safe reform. The great obstacle to improvement in the church, the law, and several other branches of government, has been the want of a very efficient and responsible body of men, with whom it might originate. It was altogether impossible that an Archbishop of Canterbury, a Lord Chancellor, or a Home Secretary, should alone undertake the responsibility and labour of devising and recommending what ought to be done in their respective

departments ; the readiness which is now manifested to appoint commissioners on essential subjects of inquiry, may be regarded as one of the best symptoms of the times.

We alluded some time back to the suggestions for the improvement of our system of colonization, which are subjoined to the volume before us. The truth of the following statement, which is extracted from it, will, we think, be universally admitted.

“ We send out colonies of the limbs, without the belly and head ;— of needy persons, many of them mere paupers, or even criminals ; colonies made up of a *single class* of persons in the community, and that the most helpless, and the most unfit to perpetuate our national character, and to become the fathers of a race whose habits of thinking and feeling shall correspond to those which, in the mean time, we are cherishing at home. The ancients, on the contrary, sent out a *representation of the parent state*—colonists from all ranks. We stock the farm with creeping and climbing plants, without any trees of firmer growth for them to entwine round. A hop-ground left without poles, the plants matted confusedly together, and scrambling on the ground in tangled heaps, with here and there some clinging to rank thistles and hemlocks, would be an apt emblem of a modern colony. They began by nominating to the honourable office of captain or leader of the colony, one of the chief men, if not the chief man of the state,— like the queen bee leading the workers. Monarchies provided a prince of the blood royal ; an aristocracy its choicest nobleman ; a democracy its most influential citizen. These naturally carried along with them some of their own station in life,—their companions and friends ; some of their immediate dependents also—of those between themselves and the lowest class ; and were encouraged in various ways to do so. The lowest class again followed with alacrity, because they found themselves moving *with*, and not *away from* the state of society in which they had been living. It was the same social and political union under which they had been born and bred ; and to prevent any contrary impression being made, the utmost solemnity was observed in transferring the rites of Pagan superstition. They carried with them their gods—their festivals—their games ; all, in short, that held together, and kept entire the fabric of society as it existed in the parent state. Nothing was left behind that could be moved,—of all that the heart or eye of an exile misses. The new colony was made to appear as if time or chance had reduced the whole community to smaller dimensions, leaving it still essentially the same home and country to its surviving members. It consisted of a general contribution of members from all classes, and so became, on its first settlement, a mature state, with all the component parts of that which sent it forth. It was a transfer of population, therefore, which gave rise to no sense of degradation, as if the colonist were thrust out from a higher to a lower description of community.

“ Let us look now at the contrast which a modern colony presents, in all these important features, and consider the natural results.

Want presses a part of the population of an old-established community such as ours. *Those who are suffering under this pressure* are encouraged to go and settle themselves elsewhere, in a country whose soil, perhaps, has been ascertained to be fertile, its climate healthy, and its other circumstances favourable for the enterprize. The protection of our arms, and the benefit of free commercial intercourse with us and with other nations, are held out as inducements to emigrate. We are liberal, perhaps profuse, in our grants of pecuniary aid from the public purse. We moreover furnish for our helpless community a government, and perhaps laws; and appoint over them some tried civil or military servant of the state, to be succeeded by others of the same high character. Our newspapers are full of glowing pictures of this land of milk and honey. All who are needy or discontented—all who seek in vain at home for independence and comfort, and future wealth, are called on to seize the golden moment, and repair to it.

‘Eja!

‘Quid statis? Nolint. Atque licet esse beatis.’

Those who do go, have, for the most part, made a reluctant choice between starvation and exile. They go, often indeed with their imaginations full of vague notions of future riches, for which they are nothing the better: but they go, with a consciousness of being *exiled*; and when they arrive at their destination, it is an exile. I am not now alluding to the morbid sensibilities of a refined mind: I am speaking of the uneducated clown, the drudging mechanic. His eye and his heart miss in all directions objects of social interest, on the influence of which he never speculated; but which he nevertheless felt, and must crave after. He has been accustomed, perhaps, to see the squire’s house and park; and he misses this object, not only when his wants, which found relief there, recur; but simply because he, from a child, has been accustomed to see gentry in the land. He has been used to go to his church; if the settlement be new, there is no place of worship. He has children old enough for school; but there is no schoolmaster. He needs religious comfort or instruction, or advice in the conduct of his life; there is no parson, and no parson’s wife. His very pastimes and modes of relaxation have been so associated with the state of society, in which he learnt to enjoy them, that they are no longer the same to him. In short, no care has been taken, as was the custom formerly, to make especial provision for the cravings of his moral nature; no forethought to carry away some of the natural soil about the roots of the tree that has been transplanted. We have thought of our colonist, only as of so much flesh and blood requiring to be renewed by food, and protected by clothing and shelter; but as for that food of the heart, which the poor man requires as much as the more refined, although of a different quality, it has not been thought of.

“Nor is this defect in our system of colonization, one that merely affects the happiness of the emigrant-colonist, by adding to the strangeness of his condition, and keeping alive a mischievous regret for his old country. He was a member of a community made up of various



orders; he was a wheel in a machine of a totally different construction; it is a chance if he answers under circumstances so different. He must adapt his habits of thinking and acting to the change; and in doing this he ceases to be an Englishman. He has no longer, probably, his superior in wealth to ask for pecuniary assistance; his superior in education to ask for instruction and advice. His wits are doubtless sharpened by the necessity of doing without these accustomed supports; but whilst he learns to be independently sacrificing some objects, or by otherwise supplying some, he finds himself and those around him gradually coalescing into a community of a totally different character from that which they left at home. Witness the United States of America. Let any thoughtful observer consider the traits of character that distinguish these children of our fathers from Englishmen of the present day; and the probable causes of the difference. We are apt enough, indeed, to ridicule as foibles, or to censure as faults, their national peculiarities—their deviations from our habits. But it would be wiser and worthier of us to trace them to their causes, and to add the result of our inquiry to our stock of legislative experience. We sent them forth poor and struggling only for the means of subsistence. Is it we that should taunt them with becoming a money-making, trafficking people? We severed the humble from the nobles of our land, and formed the embryo of a plebeian nation. Is it we that should find fault with their extravagant abhorrence of rank, or their want of the high breeding and gentle blood which we so sparingly bestowed on them? We gave for the new community only some of the ingredients that enter into our own. Can we wonder at the want of resemblance and of congenial feeling, which has been the result?”—pp. 191—195.

The scheme which this anonymous but able author suggests for the formation of new colonies is thus described:—

“Much has been said lately about enlarging our colonies, or establishing new ones, in order to relieve Great Britain of a portion of its needy population. Our success, experience shows, must be purchased, if at all, at an enormous rate, and the final result must be the rise of states, which, like those in America, may be destined to influence the character and manners of the whole world, and to form important portions of civilized society, without deriving from us any of that national character on which we so much congratulate ourselves, owing their national character, in fact, to chance, and that chance a very unpromising one.

“But what is to be done? Are we to force our nobles and gentry to join the herd of emigrants? They have no need to go,—no inclination to go; and why should they go? What inducement can we hold out sufficient to allure them? Can we afford to bribe them? They may, I conceive, be bribed to go; but not by pounds, shillings, and pence. Honour, and rank, and power, are less ruinous bribes than money, and yet are more to the purpose, inasmuch as they influence more generous minds. Offer an English gentleman of influence and compe-

tent fortune (though such, perhaps, as may fall much short of his wishes) a sum of money, however large, to quit his home permanently and take a share in the foundation of a colony; and the more he possesses of those generous traits of character which qualify him for the part he would have to act, the less likely is he to accept the bribe. But offer him a patent of nobility for himself and his heirs,—offer him an hereditary station in the government of the future community, and there will be some chance of his acceding to the proposal. And he would not go alone. He would be followed by some few of those who are moving in the same society with him,—near relations, intimate friends. He would be followed by some, too, of an intermediate grade between him and the mass of needy persons that form the majority of the colony,—his immediate dependents,—persons connected with them, or with the members of his household. And if not *one*, but some half-dozen gentlemen of influence were thus tempted out, the sacrifice would be less felt by each, and the numbers of respectable emigrants which their united influence would draw after them so much greater. A colony so formed would fairly represent English society, and every new comer would have his own class to fall into; and to whatever class he belonged he would find its relation to the others, and the support derived from the others, much the same as in the parent country. There would then be little more in Van Diemen's Land, or in Canada, revolting to the habits and feelings of an emigrant, than if he had merely shifted his residence from Sussex to Cumberland or Devonshire,—little more than a change of natural scenery.

“And among the essential provisions which it would then be far easier to make than at present, is the appointment of one or more well-chosen clergymen. It is so great a sacrifice to quit, not simply the place of abode but the habits of society to which an educated man is brought up, that, as our new colonies are constituted, it would be no easy matter to obtain accomplished clergymen for them. In truth, however, it makes no part of our colonization plans; and when a religious establishment is formed in any of these settlements, it has to contend with the unfavourable habits which have been formed among Christians, whose devotions have been long unaided by the presence of a clergyman or a common place of worship. By an accomplished clergyman, however, I do not mean a man of mere learning or eloquence, or even piety, but one whose acquirements would give him weight with the better sort, and whose character and talents would at the same time answer for the particular situation in which he would be placed.

“The same may be urged in respect of men of other professions and pursuits. The desirable consummation of the plan would be, that a specimen or sample, as it were, of all that goes to make up society in the parent country should at once be transferred to its colony. Instead of sending out bad seedlings, and watching their uncertain growth, let us try whether a perfect tree will not bear transplanting: if it succeeds, we shall have saved so much expense and trouble in the rearing; as soon as it strikes its roots into the new soil it will shift for itself. Such a colony, moreover, will be united to us by ties to which one of a different

constitution must be a stranger. It will have received from us, and will always trace to us, all its social ingredients. Its highest class will be ours; its gentry ours; its clergy ours; its lower and its lowest ranks all ours; all corresponding and congenial to our manners, institutions, and even our prejudices. Instead of grudgingly casting our morsels to a miserable dependant, we shall have sent forth a child worthy of its parent, and capable of maintaining itself."—p. 196—199.

In bringing this long article to a close, we venture to express a hope that the existing government will act vigorously in all these important matters. Their predecessors might justify or excuse non-interference, by the fact that it was their system "to use all gently," to run no risks, to submit to many well known evils rather than risk an encounter with others which they knew not. But the statesmen now in power cannot plead timidity, for they have made the boldest experiment ever heard of in this country; and if they wish to have their motives favourably construed, they must prove that they have not been influenced by personal or party considerations, but are genuine, conscientious reformers. They have dared to remodel Parliament; let them not hesitate to cut away our absurd and rotten criminal law, and our all-devouring poor-rates. If they go manfully to work, and correct the great practical evils by which we are overrun, good men of all parties will thank and bless them, and ultimately be converted into friends and supporters of their administration.

# STATE OF THE DIOCESES

## IN

# ENGLAND AND WALES,

FROM JULY TO SEPTEMBER INCLUSIVE.

### PREFERRED.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
<b>Canterbury.</b>			
Hawkhurst, C. . . . } ——— V. . . . }	Kent . . .	C. G. Hutchinson	Christ Ch. Oxford.
<b>Dork.</b>			
Holmfirth, C. . . .	W. York .	R. E. Leach . .	V. of Kirkburton.
North Otterington, V. } and Thornton-le- } Street, V. . . . }	York . .	F. A. Sterkey .	Christ Ch. Oxford.
Speeton, P. C. . . .	E. York .	George Kennard }	W. J. Dennison, Esq.
Yeddingham, V. . .	E. York .	John Ellis . .	M.P. Earl Fitzwilliam.
<b>London.</b>			
London, St. Mich. and } Trin. R. Queen- } hithe . . . . }	London . .	James Lupton .	Dn. & Ch. of St. Paul's.
Paddington, New C. .	Middlesex .	James S. Boone .	C. of Paddington.
Wormley, R. . . .	Herts . .	Thomas Pickthall	Sir A. Hume, Bart.
<b>Durham.</b>			
Easington . . . .	Durham .	H. Liddell . }	Annexed to Archdea-
Esk, C. . . . .	Durham .	J. Thompson, jun.	conry of Durham.
Hetton, C. . . . .	Durham .	J. S. Nichol . }	C. of Lanchester.
			R. of Houghton le Spring.

Preferment	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
<b>Winchester.</b>			
Banstead, V. . . .	Surrey . .	W. Lewis Buckle	Rev. W. L. Buckle.
East Clandon, R. . .	Surrey . .	J. Ward . . .	Lord King.
Guildford, St. Nich. R.	Surrey . .	H. N. Pearson, D.D.	Dean of Salisbury.
Lambeth, St. John's, } Waterloo Road . }	Surrey . .	Robert Irvine . }	Dr. D'Oyly, as Rector of Lambeth.
Littleton, P. C. . . .	Hants . .	W. Nix. Hooper	D. & C. of Winchester.
(Minor Can. in Cath. Ch. of Winchester.)			
Newport, C. . . . .	Isle of Wight	H. Worsley . .	V. of Carisbrooke.
<b>Bath and Wells.</b>			
Aisholt, R. . . . .	Somerset .	John West . .	J. West, Esq.
Fifehead, V. and } Swell, V. . . . . }	Somerset .	Ames Hellicar .	D. & C. of Bristol.
Greinton, R. . . . .	Somerset .	Cha. Kekewich }	Sir T. Blomefield, Bt. & Rev. R. S. Barker.
Merriott, V. . . . .	Somerset .	Joseph Cross .	D. & C. of Bristol.
Milton Puddimore, R.	Somerset .	H. D. Serrell .	William Millar, Esq.
<b>Chester.</b>			
Manchester, St. Mi- } chael, C. . . . . }	Lancaster .	E. D. Jackson .	
Milnrow, C. . . . .	Lancaster .	Francis R. Raines	V. of Rochdale.
<b>Chichester.</b>			
Alfriston, V. . . . .	Sussex . .	Charles Smyth .	Lord Chancellor.
Ninfield, V. . . . .	Sussex . .	John Phillips .	Earl of Ashburnham.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of .	Chichester .	— Davey . . .	Bishop of Chichester.
<b>Exeter.</b>			
Exeter, St. David, P. C.	Devon . .	E. C. Harington	V. of Heavitree.
Newton Tracey, R. . .	Devon . .	J. Dene . . .	Lord Chancellor.
Paington, V. and } Marldon, C. . . . }	Devon . .	Robert Gee . .	Rev. R. Gee.
Pinhoe, V. . . . .	Devon . .	Dacres Adams .	Bishop of Exeter.
Plymtree, R. . . . .	Devon . .	Joseph Dornford	Prov. Oriel Coll. Oxf.
St. Budeaux, C. . . .	Devon . .	B. S. Vallack . }	V. of St. Andrew, Plymouth.
Stoke Fleming, R. . .	Devon . .	Arthur Farwell }	G. Farwell, Esq. and Rev. W. I. Birdwood.
Sydenham Damarell, R.	Devon . .	John Gillard . .	John Carpenter Esq.
Woodley, R. . . . .	Devon . .	G. Burrington .	

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Ely.			
Foxton, V. . . . .	Cambridge .	J. W. Berry . .	The Lord Bishop.
Impington, V. . . . .	Cambridge .	Edward Bushby	D. & C. of Ely.
Weston Colville, R. .	Cambridge .	W. Acton . . .	John Hall, Esq.
Gloucester.			
Ashchurch, P. C. . . .	Gloucester .	F. H. Rowney .	On his own Petition.
Coaley, V. . . . .	Gloucester .	Thomas Steele .	Lord Chancellor.
Kemmerton, V. . . .	Gloucester .	John Goodman	{ Mayor & Corporation of Gloucester.
Oddington, R. . . . .	Gloucester .	W. Sweet Escott	
Lichfield & Coventry.			
Alrewas, V. . . . .	Stafford . .	John Moore . .	{ Chancellor of Lichfield Cathedral.
Bridgenorth St. Leon, C.	Salop . . .	Henry Dalton .	
Garsington, R. . . . .	Derby . . .	H. B. Chinn . .	T. Whitmore, Esq.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of .	Lichfield .	Jeremiah Smith	Dean of Lincoln.
Lincoln.			
Croxby, R. . . . .	Lincoln . .	John Alington .	Bp. of Lichfield and Coventry.
Laceby, R. . . . .	Lincoln . .	John Birkett . .	Lord Chancellor.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of .	Lincoln . .	G. G. Stonestreet	John Fardell, Esq.
Norwich.			
Aldborough, R. . . .	Suffolk . .	Robert Shuckburgh	The Lord Bishop.
Baconsthorpe, R. and Bodham, R. . . . }	Norfolk . .	R. J. C. Alderson	Lord Suffield.
Bassingham, R. . . .	Norfolk . .	Thomas Arden .	John T. Mott, Esq.
East and West Rain- ham, R. . . . }	Norfolk . .	Richard Phayre .	Rev. F. E. Arden.
Great Livermere, R. }	Suffolk . .	A. Asgill Colville	William Ainge, Esq.
with Little Liver- mere, R. . . . . }			
Harpley, R. and Great Bircham, R. }	Norfolk . .	William Pratt .	Nath. L. Acton, Esq.
Martlesham, R. . . .	Suffolk . .	Tho. D'Eye Betts	A. Hamond, Esq.
Shottisham, R. . . .	Suffolk . .	J. Wareyn Darby	F. G. Doughty, Esq.
Shouldham, C. and Shouldhamthorpe, C. }	Norfolk . .	Cha. Jos. Orman	Mrs. Eliz. Darby and Miss Mary Kett.
Sturston, R. . . . .	Suffolk . .	Walter Chennery	Sir Thomas Hare, Bt.
Tatterford and Tatterset	Norfolk . .	Hon. A. A. Turnour	Sir Edw. Kerrison, Bt.
			Sir Charles Chad, Bt.



Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
(NORWICH—continued.)			
Tivetshall, St. Mary, R. } ——— St. Marg. R. }	Norfolk . .	J. Neville White	Earl of Orford.
Tottenhill, P. C. . . .	Norfolk . .	Thomas Watson	Bishop of Ely.
Wheatacre, All Saints, R. } with Mutford, V. }	Norfolk . .	William Oakes .	Caius College, Camb.
and Barnby, C. . }	Suffolk . }		
Wicklewood, All Saints, and St. Andrew, V. . . }	Norfolk . .	M. B. Darby . }	Mrs. Elizabeth Darby, Miss Mary Kett, and Richard Heber, Esq. Bishop of Norwich.
Winkfield, C. . . .	Suffolk . .	John Bicker . .	
Wiston, V. . . . .	Suffolk . .	C. E. Birch . .	
Oxford.			
Chalgrove, V. with Berrick, C. . . . }	Oxford . .	R. F. Laurence .	Christ Church, Oxf.
Pyrton, V. . . . .	Oxford . .	Tho. V. Durell	Christ Church, Oxf.
Stanlake, R. . . . .	Oxford . .	Henry Biddulph	Magdalen Coll. Oxf.
Elsfield, V. . . . .	Oxford . .	Richard Gordon	Lady Susan North.
Peterborough.			
Barnack, R. . . . .	Northampton	Herbert C. Marsh	Bp. of Peterborough.
Eye, P. C. . . . .	Northampton	J. H. Stone . .	The Lord Bishop.
Lois Weedon, V. . .	Northampton	Samuel Smith .	King's Coll. Camb.
Preston Crape, R. . .	Northampton	Anthony Boulton	Sir Charles Knightley.
Tiffield, R. . . . .	Northampton	J. Tho. Flesher .	Rev. J. T. Flesher.
Salisbury.			
Choulsey, V. with Moulsoford, C. }	Berks . .	John S. Henslow	Lord Chancellor.
Lamborne, V. . . . .	Berks . .	Edw. Thompson	Dean of St. Paul's.
Preb. in Coll. Ch. of .	Heytesbury	John Nelson . .	Dean of Salisbury.
Wilton, R. with Nether Hampton, C. }	Wilts . .	J. S. Stockwell .	Earl of Pembroke.
Archdeaconry of . . .	Berks . .	Edward Berens }	The Lord Bishop.
Canon Residentiary in Cath. Ch. of . . }	Salisbury .	Liscombe Clarke }	
St. David's.			
Dale, C. and St. Ishmael, V. }	Pemb. . .	S. W. Saunders }	L. Phillips, Esq. Lord Chancellor.
Preb. in Coll. Ch. of .	Brecon . .	H. Burn . . .	Bishop of St. David's.
Sodor and Man.			
Archdeacon of . . .	Isle of Man	B. Philpot . .	The King.

### CHAPLAINCIES.

Ayre, John, Domestic Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Earl of Roden.

Fletcher, W. H., to be one of the Chaplains to the Hon. East India Company.

Hone, Richard Brindley, Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Haddington.

Orde, L. Shafto, Domestic Chaplain to the Dowager Countess of Roden.

Marsh, William, Domestic Chaplain to Viscount Galway.

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### PREACHERSHIP.

Plumptre, H. S., Alternate Evening Preacher at the Foundling Hospital.

Worthington, W. J., to the Evening Lectureship of St. Clement's Danes, London.

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### SCHOOLS.

Belin, Charles Joseph, Vice Princip. of Elizabeth College, Guernsey.

Butt, John William, Master of School at Bromley, Kent.

Dobree, Daniel, First Classical Master of Elizabeth College Guernsey.

Harling, J., to the Head Mastership of the Free Grammar School of Chipping Camden, Gloucestershire.

Macaulay, John Heyrick, Head Master of Repton.

Russell, W. J., M.A. to the Mastership of the Grammar School at Chard; Patrons, the Trustees.

Wilton, Edward, Master of Free Grammar School at West Lavington, Wilts.

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**DECEASED.**

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
<b>Canterbury.</b>			
Feversham, <i>V.</i> . . .	Kent . .	Joshua Dix . .	Dn. & Ch. of Canterb.
Monkton, <i>V. with</i> } Birchington, <i>C.</i> . }	Kent . .	Tufton C. Scott .	Archb. of Canterbury.
<b>York.</b>			
Stokesley, <i>R.</i> . . .	N. York .	H. Hildyard . .	The Archbishop.
Yeddingham, <i>V.</i> . .	E. York .	Matth. Mapletoft	Earl Fitzwilliam.
<b>London.</b>			
Bumpstead Helion, <i>V.</i>	Essex . .	Thomas Mills .	Trinity Coll. Camb.
Great Wigborough, <i>R.</i>	Essex . .	Edward Peter .	Henry Bewes, Esq.
Kelvedon Hatch . .	Essex . .	Ambrose Serle .	A. Serle, Esq.
<b>Durham.</b>			
Consciff, <i>V.</i> . . .	Durham .	James Topham .	Bishop of Durham.
Hurworth, <i>R.</i> . . .	Durham .	John Theakston }	W. Hogg & R. H. Wil- liamson, Esqrs. <i>alt.</i>
<b>Winchester.</b>			
Kimpton, <i>R.</i> . . .	Hants . .	Edward Foyle .	George Foyle, Esq.
Newport, <i>C.</i> . . .	Isle of Wight	Peter Geary . .	Vicar of Carisbrooke.
Nutfield, <i>R.</i> . . .	Surrey . .	Edm. Sandford .	Jesus Coll. Oxford.
<b>Bath and Wells.</b>			
Puxton, <i>C.</i> . . . .	Somerset .	Richard Davies .	Dn. and Ch. of Bristol.
<b>Bristol.</b>			
Bristol, St. Phil. and } Jacob, <i>V.</i> . . . . }	Bristol . .	W. Day . . . .	Corporation of Bristol.
Chilcomb, <i>R.</i> . . . .	Dorset . .	Edward Foyle .	Rev. E. Foyle.
Gillingham, <i>V. with</i> } E. & W. Stover, <i>C. and</i> } Motcombe, <i>C. and</i> } Osmington, <i>V.</i> . . }	Dorset . .	Archd. Fisher .	Bishop of Salisbury.
Churchill, <i>C.</i> . . . .	Somerset .	Richard Davies	Dn. & Ch. of Bristol.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
<b>Chesler.</b>			
Ashworth, C. . . .	Lancashire .	Joseph Selkirk .	W. Egerton, Esq.
Master of School at Rochdale and Milnrow, C. . . }	Lancashire .	William Hodgson	Vicar of Rochdale.
<b>Chichester.</b>			
Barlavington, R. and Egdean, R. . . }	Sussex . .	John Crosthwaite	Earl of Egremont.
<b>Exeter.</b>			
Plymouth, Charles, V.	Devon . .	James Carne .	William Carne, Esq.
<b>Gloucester.</b>			
Badgworth, R. and Eghoys Brewis, R. }	Gloucester } Glamorg. }	Edward Morgan	Jesus Coll. Oxford.
<b>Lichfield &amp; Coventry.</b>			
Barlow, C. and Brimington, C. . }	Derby . .	Thomas Field . }	Rev. F. Gisborne. Vicar of Eckington.
(And Head Mast. of Free Grammar School at Chesterfield.)			
<b>Lincoln.</b>			
Alwalton, R. . . .	Hunts . .	Henry Freeman	Dn.&Ch. of Peterboro.
Ashby-de-la-Zouch, V.	Leicester .	R. B. Radcliffe .	Marq. of Hastings.
Lillingston Darrell, R. }	Bucks . .	J. L. Dayrell . }	Rev. J. L. Dayrell.
and Stowe, V. . . }			Duke of Buckingham.
Weston, St. Mary, V. .	Lincoln . .	Walter M. Johnson	Lord Chancellor.
<b>Norwich.</b>			
Baconsthorpe, R. and Bodham, R. . . }	Norfolk . .	T. Girdlestone }	George Chad and R. Fellows, Esq.
			Thomas V. Mott.
Hardingham, R. . . .	Norfolk . .	Walter Whiter .	Clare Hall, Camb.
Newton, R. . . . .	Suffolk . .	John Whitehurst	Peter House, Camb.
Shipmeadow . . . .	Suffolk . .	R. F. Howman .	R. Suckling, Esq.
Shottisham, R. and Waldringfield, R. . }	Suffolk . .	William Kett . }	W. Kett, Esq. Nath. Randall, Esq.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
<b>Oxford.</b>			
Northmore, P. C. . . .	Oxford . .	Edw. Parris New	St. John's Coll. Oxf.
<b>Salisbury.</b>			
Bucklebury, V. . . .	Berks . .	W. H. H. Hartley	
Compton Chamberlain, V. . . . . }	Wilts . .	Tho. Penruddocke	Rev. T. Penruddocke.
Stratford Toney, R. . .	Wilts . .	George Taunton	Corp. Chr. Coll. Oxf.

Name.	Residence or Appointment.
Eisdell, Thomas . . . . .	Twyford, near Reading.
George, J. V. . . . .	Greenwich.
Goodison, Benj. Croft. . . . .	Chaplain to his Majesty's Forces at Cape of Good Hope.
Hicks, Gregory, M.A. . . . .	Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford.
Jenner, Wm. Andrew . . . . .	Senior Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.
Richards, Edw. Bridges . . . .	Epsom.

MARRIED.

Anstice, Joseph, B.A., Student of Christ Church, Oxford, and Professor of Classical Literature at King's College, London, to Elizabeth Spencer Ruscombe, eldest daughter of Joseph Ruscombe Poole, Esq. of Bridgewater.

Baker, R. H., Rector of Linchmere and Vicar of Hanney, Berks, to Miss Bowles, of the latter place.

Berry, J. W. M.A., Vicar of Foxton, Cambridgeshire, to Jane, youngest daughter of the late R. Gilbert, Esq. of St. John's Square, London.

Biscoe, Robert, M.A., Student and Rhetoric Reader of Christ Church, Oxford, second son of Vincent Hilton Biscoe, Esq. of Hookwood, Surrey, to Anne, eldest daughter of the Rev. Sam. Smith, D.D. late Dean of Christ Church, and Prebendary of Durham.

Boone, T. C., of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, to Amy, daughter of W. T. Brown, Esq. of Dunstable.

Burrows, Joseph, B.D. Senior Fellow of Brasenose College, and Rector of Steeple Aston, Oxford, to Sarah Emma, daughter of the late J. Shorter, Esq. of Bloxham, same county.

Chapman, W. H., M.A. to Elizabeth, only daughter of the late P. Brington, Esq. of Hingham, Norfolk.

Davies, Geo., M.A. Vicar of Grain, Kent, to Mary, daughter of W. Nicholson, Esq.

Edwards, James, Rector of Newington, Oxfordshire, to Jane Mary, eldest daughter of the late Rev. Charles Ballard, Vicar of Chalgrove.

Evans, J. C. of Stoke Poges, Bucks, to Marianne Louisa, eldest daughter of the Rev. J. Day, Rector of North Tuddenham.

PROCEEDINGS  
OF  
THE UNIVERSITIES.

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OXFORD.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM JULY TO SEPTEMBER INCLUSIVE.

HONORARY DOCTORS IN CIVIL LAW.

*July 4, being Commencement Day.*

The Earl of Bandon.  
Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Brisbane, K.C.B. F.R.S., &c.  
Nicholas Aylward Vigors, Esq., F.R. and L.S., Secretary to the Zoological Society, &c.  
J. D'Israeli, Esq., F.S.A., the Historian of Charles the First.

BACHELORS IN DIVINITY.

*July 4.*

Rev. Wm. Kay, Fellow of Lincoln Coll.  
Rev. Tho. Price, Fellow of Jesus Coll.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

*July 4.*

Rev. Wm. Gilkes, Pembroke College, Grand Compounder.  
Thomas Lewin, Corpus Christi College, Grand Compounder.  
Henry Cradock Nowel, Corpus Christi College.  
Rev. Alex. Stuart, Alban Hall.  
Rev. Rob. Wells Whitford, St. Edmund Hall.  
Rev. Dacres Adams, Christ Church.  
Rev. Wm. Moore, Christ Church.  
Marmaduke R. Jeffreys, Christ Church.  
Rev. Henry Curtis Smith, Balliol Coll.  
W. Walter Tireman, Demy of Magdalen College.  
William Bulley, Demy of Magdalen College.

Rev. W. J. Meech, Fellow of New Coll.  
Rev. Robey Eldridge, Wadham Coll.  
Rev. Lewis Tomlinson, Wadham Coll.

*July 5.*

John H. Philipps, Oriel College, Grand Compounder.  
Rev. Thomas H. Maitland, Oriel Coll.  
Todd Thomas Jones, Oriel College.  
Rev. J. E. S. Hutchinson, Wadham College.  
Henry Bostock, Wadham College.  
Rev. G. Cuddington Bethuene, Trinity College.  
Rev. Bennett Vere Townshend, Brasenose College.  
Thomas Streatfield Lightfoot, Exeter College.  
Rev. John Dinning, Queen's College.  
Hugh S. Tremenheere, Fellow of New College.  
Rev. Henry Samuel Sayce, Pembroke College.  
Rev. Wyndham J. Gooden, Oriel Coll.  
John Gooden, Corpus Christi Coll.  
Samuel C. J. Berdmore, Student of Christ Church.  
Rev. T. E. Burrow, M.A. of Queen's College, Cambridge, admitted *ad eundem*.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

*July 4.*

Cornelius F. Broadbent, St. Mary Hall.  
William Offley, University College.  
William Higgins, Worcester College.  
Edward C. Swainson, Worcester Coll.



William Horatio Edwards, Brasenose College.

Charles Percy Wyatt, Christ Church.

J. C. Burton Borough, Christ Church.

Sam. Ravenshaw Wood, Christ Church.

Thomas Dand, Queen's College.

Thomas Calvert, Queen's College.

Henry Benj. Harenc, Christ Church.

Thomas James, Christ Church.

July 5.

Rev. J. T. C. A. Trenchard, Trinity College, (incorporated from St. John's College, Cambridge.)

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MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY  
INTELLIGENCE.

ELECTIONS.

Benjamin Harrison, B.A. and Student of Christ Church has been appointed to the Hebrew Scholarship on the Pusey and Ellerton Foundation; and James Robert Burgess, B.A. of Oriel College, to that on the Foundation of the late Mrs. Kennicott.

Mr. Thomas Dand and Mr. Thomas Calvert have been elected and admitted Taberdars of Queen's College; Messrs. Joshua Treacy, Joseph Punt, and William Wilson, Scholars on the Old Foundation; and William Andrews, of Exeter College, an Exhibitioner on the Foundation of Sir Francis Bridgman.

Mr. Barne, of Trinity College, and Mr. John Woolley, have been elected Scholars of Exeter College; Mr. Oxnam, of Trinity College, and Mr. Spranger, of Exeter College, Fellows of the same Society.

Edward Cockey, B.A. of Wadham College, has been admitted Actual Fellow of that Society; Edward Walwyn Foley, B.A., and John Bradley Dyne, B.A., have been elected Probationary Fellows; Charles Wadham Diggle, has been elected a Scholar (Founder's Kin) and Edward Whitehead, a Scholar on the Somersetshire Foundation.

The following gentlemen have been admitted Scholars of St. John's College.

Thomas C. H. Leaver, Founder's Kin.

Samuel H. Russell, }

James A. Hessey, } Merchant Tailors.

Geo. Kidd Morell, }

Thomas Ward, Reading.

The same day, John Saltwell Pinkerton, Edward William Vaughan, John Joseph Pratt, Francis John Kitson, were admitted Actual Fellows.

The following gentlemen have been admitted Actual Fellows of Magdalen College:—Rev. H. Linton, M.A.; Rev. William James Butler, M.A.; Henry Horne, B.A.; and the Rev. William Robert Fremantle, B.A.; also, the following gentlemen as Probationary Fellows:—Rev. James Charles Stafford, M.A.; William Palmer, B.A.; and William Walter Tireman, B.A. Afterwards, the following gentlemen were elected Demies:—E. H. Hansell, Diocese of Norwich; Charles Daman, Commoner of Queen's College, Diocese of Winton; Thomas Harding Newman, Commoner of Wadham College, County of Essex; and Francis B. Wells, Commoner of Christ Church, Diocese of Chichester.

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July 11.

An Address from this University to his Majesty, expressive of attachment to his Majesty and abhorrence of the late treasonable and premeditated attack on his person at Ascot, was presented by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Jones, Rector of Exeter College, attended by the Delegates nominated for that purpose, and accompanied by numerous noblemen and other distinguished members of the University; his Majesty returned a most gracious answer, and the members of the deputation had the honour of being severally presented to his Majesty, and of kissing hands. His Majesty appeared highly gratified with the expression of affection and respect thus tendered to him on the part of the University.

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The following is a list of those Candidates who have obtained classical distinction in *Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis*:—

Class 1.

Henry Jones, Commoner of Jesus Coll  
Charles Edward Lefroy, Commoner of Christ Church.

Frederick Rogers, Commoner of Oriel College.

Edward P. Vaughan, Commoner of Balliol College.

*Class 2.*

Alfred Menzies, Scholar of Trinity Coll.

*Class 3.*

None.

*Class 4.*

Godfrey, T. Baker, Commoner of Christ Church.

H. B. Crommelin, Commoner of Magdalen Hall.

D. Deboudrey, Gentleman Commoner of Magdalen Hall.

Henry N. Loring, Commoner of Exeter College.

Number of Fifth Class, 104.

*Examiners.*—R. Walker, M.A., Wadham College; A. P. Saunders, M.A., Christ Church, and W. Falconer, M.A., Exeter College.

**PRIZES.**

Subjects.

**CHANCELLOR'S PRIZES.**

*For Latin Verse.*—Carthago.

*For an English Essay.*—On Emulation.

*For a Latin Essay.*—De Atticorum Comœdia.

**SIR ROGER NEWDIGATE'S PRIZE.**

*For the best Composition in English Verse.*—Grenada.

**THEOLOGICAL PRIZE.**

The analogy of God's dealings with men would not lead us to expect a perpetual succession of miraculous powers in the Church.

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**CAMBRIDGE.**

**DEGREES CONFERRED FROM JULY TO SEPTEMBER INCLUSIVE.**

**DOCTORS IN DIVINITY.**

*June 31.*

Andrew Hudleston, Trinity College.

*On Tuesday, July 3, being Commencement Day.*

Rev. John Brasse, Trinity College.

Rev. Andrew Hudleston, Trinity Coll.

Rev. William Hewson, St. John's Coll.

**BACHELOR IN DIVINITY.**

*June 31.*

Thomas F. Beckwith, Catharine Hall.

**DOCTORS IN PHYSIC.**

Nicholas Francis Davison, Caius Coll.

John Staunton, Caius College.

*July 3.*

Edward Beck, Jesus College.

**BACHELOR IN PHYSIC.**

*June 31.*

Robert Nairne, Trinity College.

**LICENTIATES IN PHYSIC.**

*July 5.*

John Harris, Trinity College.

Frederick John Farre, St. John's Coll.

**BACHELORS IN CIVIL LAW.**

*June 31.*

Francis Merewether, Trinity Hall.

Adair Andrew Doria, Trinity Hall.

*July 5.*

Tho. Webb Greene, Trinity Hall.

## MASTERS OF ARTS.

July 3.

## KING'S COLLEGE.

Geo. W. Craufurd  
Joseph Thackeray  
Capel Lofft

## ST. PETER'S COLL.

George Goldsmith  
F. P. Mac Carthy  
Edward Phillips  
Lamplugh P. Dykes  
Thomas Fell  
William Tillotson  
Thomas Smith  
Phelips Hanham  
Samuel Barker  
Horatio S. Hildyard

## CLARE HALL.

James Gorle  
George Cooke  
John F. Francklin  
Edward Bates  
Francis Jackson  
Charles C. Beaty

## PEMBROKE COLL.

Edward Nottidge

## CAIUS COLL.

Robert Murphy  
Alexander Thurtell  
Thomas Ladds  
W. S. Parr Wilder  
James Macdonald  
Charles Bevan  
John N. Dickinson  
William Plunkett  
John Mainwaring

## CORP. CHR. COLL.

George Coulcher  
Edward Greaves  
Barton Lodge  
John Netherwood  
T. E. Willyams  
Henry Pearse  
Richardson Cox

## TRINITY COLL.

William Hutt  
Charles J. Shaw  
John D. Walford  
Arthur Pearson  
John Pearson  
Edward Pote Neale  
Samuel N. Kingdon  
Robert Pashley  
M. A. N. Crawford  
John M. Robinson  
William Airey  
Colin Campbell

William A. Soames  
William Ogilby  
Jos. R. Marshman  
Wm. Hunter Ross  
G. M. Valentine  
James Hassall  
Edmund B. Benyon  
Edward F. Benyon  
William P. Wigram  
Henry J. Greene  
T. K. E. Chatfield  
John Braine  
John Twells  
E. C. F. Jenkins  
Thomas J. Phillips  
Thomas Barber  
Samuel H. Powell  
William Walker  
George H. Barlow  
William W. Attree  
Arthur Martineau  
W. B. A. Raven  
George J. P. White  
Matthew Gibson  
John Locke  
Samuel Hoare, Jun.  
Thomas J. Blofeld  
Edward O'Brien  
James Tate  
Jarvis Kenrick  
James P. Babington  
Robert K. Long  
John Robert Inge  
Charles S. Eustace  
Fred. Carne Rasch  
Henry Malthus  
George C. Hale  
J. E. Middleton  
M. J. G. Hawtreay

## ST. JOHN'S COLL.

William Martin  
H. E. C. Cobden  
L. Shadwell, Jun.  
George Langshaw  
David B. Baker  
Charles Sparkes  
Andrew Cassels  
Joseph Simpson  
Thomas Poole  
Solomon Smith  
William Fison  
William Clarke  
James Bostock  
T. G. M. Luckock  
C. H. Lutwidge  
Joshua Paley  
Jonathan Peel

Geo. A. Cockburn

Benjamin Spurrell  
Thomas Butler  
Richard Baldock  
Alfred Sadler  
Edward Lane Sayer  
Charles Edw. Band  
Charles Mackie  
John Smith  
William Boyle

## EMMAN. COLL.

Robert Birkett  
H. W. Mawdesley  
Robert Pulleine  
W. H. Chapman  
William Roby  
John Askew  
C. F. Broughton

## QUEEN'S COLL.

William Adams  
John Parkin  
George Phillips  
Thomas Scott  
Anthony T. Carr  
Daniel Capper  
Thomas Hooper  
Henry C. Michell  
W. N. Nicholson  
Joseph A. Morris  
Thomas Cupiss  
William Leeke

## CHRIST'S COLL.

Charles L. Smith  
Edm. H. Hooper  
Benjamin Chapman  
John Crossley  
Alleyne H. Barker

## JESUS COLL.

William L. Ellis  
James John West  
John Hodgson

## TRINITY HALL.

Edm. S. Whitbread

## SIDNEY COLL.

William F. Chafy  
Charles Goring  
Anby Beatson

## CATHARINE HALL.

Henry Philpott  
Wm. Henry Clarke  
John Robinson  
Richard W. Packer  
John Lakeland  
Edward Vinall  
William Purvis

## MAGDALENE COLL.

Chas. D. Radcliffe  
Harry L. Jones  
S. E. Bernard

## DOWNING COLL.

George Dunnage.

July 5.

Rev. W. Morell Lawson, St. John's College.

Rev. W. L. Weddall, Catharine Hall.

Rev. Wm. D. Tyson, Catharine Hall.

Rev. John Hurnall, Emmanuel College.

Rev. George Johnson, Sidney College.

H. Parsons, M.A., of Balliol College, Oxford, incorporated M.A. of Trinity Hall, in this University.

## BACHELORS OF ARTS.

June 31.

Joseph Thompson, Christ's College.

W. Boyle, B.A., of Trinity College, Dublin, admitted *ad eundem* of this University.

July 11.

An Address from the University to his Majesty expressive of its abhorrence of the outrage committed at Ascot by Dennis Collins, and concluding with praying that under the Divine Blessing his Ma-

jesty might long reign over a loyal and united people, was presented to the King on the throne by the Duke of Gloucester as Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, accompanied by the Registrary, the Representatives of the University, numerous Noblemen and Gentlemen of every degree, amounting to upwards of 200. The King having made a suitable answer, the deputation were most graciously received, and had the honour of kissing his Majesty's hand.

A Grace having passed the Senate to the following effect:—That those to whom the Sunday afternoon turns at St. Mary's and the turns for Christmas Day and Good Friday are assigned, shall, from the 10th day of October, 1832, to the end of May, 1833, provide no other substitute than such as are appointed in conformity with that grace: the following persons have been elected, each for the month to which his name is affixed:—

1832. Oct.—The Hulsean Lecturer.  
 Nov.—Rev. Prof. Musgrave, Trin.  
 Dec.—Rev. Temple Chevallier, Ca.  
 1833. Jan.—Rev. T. S. Hughes, Emman.  
 Feb.—Rev. C. Davies, Christ Coll.  
 Mar.—Rev. R. W. Evans, Trin.  
 Apr.—The Hulsean Lecturer.  
 May.—Rev. H. J. Rose, Trin.

ELECTIONS.

June 31.

Graces passed to appoint Mr. Henshaw, of Trinity College, Deputy Proctor in the absence of Mr. Musgrave; and Mr. Burdakin, of Clare Hall, Deputy Proctor in the absence of Mr. Currie.

Richard Paul Amphlett, B.A., and Charles Shorting, B.A., of St. Peter's College, have been elected Foundation Fellows of that Society; and Thomas Fell, B.A., and William Tillotson, B.A., Fellows on the Gisborne Foundation.

The Rev. George Maddison, B.A., of Jesus College, has been elected a Skirne Fellow of Catharine Hall.

COMBINATION PAPER, 1832.

PRIOR COMB.

Aug. 5. Mr. Norman, Pet.  
 12. Mr. Serjeantson, Cath.  
 19. Mr. Randolp, Clar.  
 26. Mr. James, Jes.

Sep. 2. Coll. Regal.  
 9. Coll. Trin.  
 16. Coll. Joh.  
 23. Mr. Whitehurst, Pet.  
 30. Mr. South, Pemb.  
 Oct. 7. Mr. Paske, Clar.  
 14. Mr. Chennery, Jes.  
 21. Coll. Regal.  
 28. COMMEN. BENEFACT.  
 Nov. 4. Coll. Trin.  
 11. Coll. Joh.  
 18. Mr. Montgomery, Pet.  
 25. Mr. Simpson, Pemb.  
 Dec. 2. Mr. Calcraft, Clar.  
 9. Mr. Oakes, Jes.  
 16. Coll. Regal.  
 23. Coll. Trin.  
 30. Coll. Joh.

POSTER COMB.

Aug. 5. Mr. Gleadall, Cath.  
 12. Mr. Foley, Emman.  
 19. Mr. Conyngham, Pet.  
 24. FEST. S. BART. Mr. Currie, Pemb.  
 26. Mr. Fisher, Pet.  
 Sep. 2. Mr. Cory, Emman.  
 9. Mr. Hodgson, Pet.  
 16. Mr. Nepean, Trin.  
 21. FEST. S. MATT. Mr. Crick, Joh.  
 23. Mr. Kerrich, Chr.  
 29. FEST. S. } Mr. Rusby, Cath.  
 MICH. } Mr. Myers, Trin.  
 30. Mr. Field, Trin.  
 Oct. 7. Mr. Stephenson, Job.  
 14. Mr. C. Jeffreys, Joh.  
 18. FEST. S. LUC. Mr. Dicken, Corp.  
 21. Mr. Howarth, Joh.  
 28. FEST. SS. SIM. ET JUD. Mr. Norman, Cath.  
 Nov. 1. FEST. OM. } Mr. Buller, Regal.  
 SANCT. } Mr. Hicks, Magd.  
 4. Mr. Attwood, Trin.  
 11. Mr. Stoddart, Chr.  
 18. Mr. Thomas, Corp.  
 25. Mr. Glover, Joh.  
 30. FEST. S. AND. Mr. Osborne, Pet.  
 Dec. 2. Mr. Furnival, Regin.  
 9. Mr. Jackson, Joh.  
 16. Mr. Tomlinson, Joh.  
 21. FEST. S. THOM. M. Petit, Trin.  
 23. Mr. Pearse, Joh.  
 25. FEST. NATIV. Mr. Kempson, Trin.  
 26. FEST. S. STEPH. Mr. Birch, Joh.  
 27. FEST. S. JOH. Mr. Speer, Trin.  
 28. FEST. INNOC. Mr. Evans, Clar.  
 30. Mr. Sandys, Regin.

<i>Resp. in Theolog.</i>	<i>Oppon.</i>	<i>Resp. in Jur. Civ.</i>	<i>Oppon.</i>
Mr. G. A. Browne, Trin. ....	{ Mr. Evans, jun., Clar. Mr. Green, Jes. Coll. Regal.	Mr. Bennett, Emm,	{ Mr. Dugmore, Cai. Mr. Hanbury, Emm.
Mr. Blakeney, Joh.	{ Coll. Trin. Coll. Joh. Mr. Gould, Chr.	—	
Mr. Gillingham.	{ Mr. C. Hyde, Pemb. Mr. Brett, Corp. Mr. Engleheart, Cai.	<i>Resp. in Medic.</i>	<i>Oppon.</i>
		Mr. Gibbes, Down.	{ Mr. Borrett, Cai. Mr. Wilmot, Cai.

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